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## *The Shape of Things*

1 THE NEW YEAR OPENS WITH ONE HOPE IN  
every mind: that out of the struggles ahead will come unity  
3 among the nations of the anti-fascist coalition. The war will  
go on, probably with increased fury and losses; no one to-  
day would dare venture the predictions of early peace that  
6 flooded the press and air waves in the late fall. But even  
7 this dark expectation would be more tolerable if we could  
9 believe the armies were fighting their way toward a fair  
11 prospect of security and freedom. It is the inner political  
struggle—the struggle that has spilled blood on the streets  
12 of Athens, the struggle symbolized by our continued recog-  
14 nition of the fascist dictatorship in Spain—that makes the  
14 future seem so menacing at the start of 1945. On another  
page of this issue we print an address by Juan Negrín, last  
Prime Minister of the Spanish Republican government. This  
statement seems to us to highlight most sharply, both in it-  
self and in the circumstances that surround it, the meaning of  
15 that inner struggle. Dr. Negrín was to have spoken from  
16 London to the great mass meeting at Madison Square Gar-  
den called by the Nation Associates on Tuesday of this  
week. He was refused facilities to broadcast by the British  
20 government, and as we go to press, on the day the meeting  
22 is to be held, it seems certain he will be unable to speak.  
24 Fortunately, the text of his address came in by cable and will  
24 be read at the meeting. It deserves a wide hearing. If the  
26 treatment of Spain has been a test of democratic purposes  
ever since 1936, the treatment of Dr. Negrín is an indica-  
27 tion that those purposes have not yet altered. A fuller com-  
28 ment on the meeting will appear in these pages next week.  
Meanwhile we commend to the close attention of our read-  
ers the vigorous and magnanimous protest of Juan Negrín.

★

HITLER'S NEW YEAR'S SPEECH MUST HAVE seemed tedious indeed to those who had become accustomed to earlier thunderous addresses. Not even in naming the Jews did he raise his voice to its customary pitch. The impression he gave was distinctly that of a tired man. But nothing could be more harmful to our military effort than to conclude from this external symptom that the war is approaching its end. Hitler announced that the war would go on into 1946, and the new attack launched by Field Marshall von Rundstedt, this time against the American 7th Army, should serve as a warning against taking the Führer's threat too lightly. That he would exploit to the utmost the contradictions and failures of Allied policy in the liberated countries was to be expected. But he took particular advantage of certain statements about Germany to

prove to his people that they had no other choice but to fight to the end, even if the entire country is destroyed. Here the need for more active Allied political warfare becomes evident. That does not mean we must alter our decisions to make Germany pay for its crimes and make Germany repair all the damage it has caused. On the other hand, it is imperative that no Allied government think of subjecting all Germans to the same brutal treatment to which the Germans have subjected millions of Europeans—Jews and non-Jews—during the past year. Not from the United Nations but from their still beloved Führer can every German expect the final destruction of his country, whether it happens in 1945 or later.

✱

**THE ALLEGED FAILURE OF THE INTELLIGENCE** services on the eve of the German counter-offensive stemmed not from lack of information but from inability to interpret it correctly. It is sometimes overlooked that we have the same difficulty in regard to political problems. In the days of the Murphy era, our State Department surely had a great deal of information about what was going on in North Africa and inside France. But it dismissed the De Gaullists as an extremist minority and General de Gaulle himself as a good soldier with too many ambitions and without any substantial following or sense of political reality. Of De Gaulle's "incapacity" to deal with high problems of policy we had proof in the results of his last visit to Moscow. On the other hand, Prime Minister Churchill, unless his Ambassador in Athens is the most snobbish of snobs, must have had information about what was going on in Greece. But his passion for kings and for reactionary solutions to contemporary issues led him to read intelligence reports wrongly and to minimize the influence of those "ruffians" whom he insulted in the House of Commons and with whom he met in Athens a few days later to find a way out of the terrible mess he and his generals had created. The entire handling of the movements of resistance in Europe shows the same inability to read intelligence reports intelligently.

✱

**THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PAPANDREOU AND HIS** puppet government, which the dynamics of the Greek situation have long made inevitable, constitutes an important step toward Greek unity, and the retirement of the King, for which the left has been working for years, is a most significant event. As we go to press, there is still no hint from Athens as to the probable composition of the new Cabinet. The Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, is reported, however, to have consulted the E. A. M.'s moderate leader Alexander Svolos. The E. A. M., whose demands include the key ministries of War and of the Interior, is understood to be agreeable to the choice as Premier of George Kafandaris, an elderly politician of the old regime but one who has shown comprehension of the people's movement. Meanwhile General Scobie, at the close of a conference with the E. A. M.'s representatives, has expressed optimism about an early end to the Anglo-Greek strife. It is to be hoped in any case that General Scobie will recognize that the military and political aspects of the Greek problems are inexorably bound together. If he insists that the E. L. A. S. be disbanded and disarmed while the rightist bands—the Security Battalion and the

Mountain Brigade—still remain potent factors and before satisfactory guaranties are given for a fair plebiscite and early general elections, then he will needlessly prolong the agony of Greece. If, on the other hand, he allows a comprehensive solution—one that respects the will of the Greek people—to work itself out on both the political and military planes, there will indeed be cause for optimism, in spite of the grotesque and provocative comedy enacted by Mr. Churchill in Athens.

✱

**HENRY WALLACE'S LAST SPEECH BEFORE** vacating the office of Vice-President was worthy of the man on whom liberal hopes for the future are pinned. In an address before the American Statistical Association Wallace recommended enactment of a full-employment national budget along the lines of the Murray bill discussed in last week's *Nation*. The outgoing Vice-President compared the bill with similar measures now under discussion in England and Australia, emphasizing "public responsibility for maintaining a high level of general purchasing power." The essential idea, Wallace said, "is that the federal government is ultimately responsible for full employment and can discharge its responsibility only by planning in advance to synchronize all of its programs with the programs of private enterprise so that the whole national income will be maintained at the full-employment level." The bill would provide for sufficient government investment each year to fill the gap between planned private investment and the volume necessary to create jobs for all. Wallace stressed the international as well as the domestic importance of the Murray bill; the United States is the world's largest market, and unemployment here would undermine world price levels and trade. It would be fortunate, indeed, if Wallace were to take over the Department of Commerce in the new Roosevelt Administration and operate it in the light of these policies.

✱

**WHEN BOSTON BITES A BOOK IT IS NOT NEWS,** but when a Boston judge dismisses a charge of obscenity and, in the bargain, says that policemen and detectives and judges of the Municipal Court, including himself, are not qualified to pass on the literary value of books, it is worth honorable mention. A clerk at the Dartmouth Book Stall was haled into court for having sold a copy of Erskine Caldwell's "Tragic Ground" after the Watch and Ward Society had complained about it. The detective who arrested the clerk cited a passage in the book about a woman being with a man who was naked to the waist. Judge Elijah Adlow of the Municipal Court was not impressed. He cited by comparison "some of the dancers at some of the shows in town" who continue to be unarrested. He then asked the detective if he had read "Anthony Adverse" or "Gone with the Wind." Detective Blake replied that he had not, whereupon Judge Adlow observed, "That's the trouble with the Police Department. They haven't a big enough library." He went on to say that it "is not for me or for you to try to establish the literary tastes of the community." To be sure, he could not help indulging in a little literary criticism himself. He said that "Tragic Ground" was a dull book—"one you would have to chain yourself to a chair to read"—but he

can hardly be blamed for exercising any reader's prerogative. We are glad, incidentally, to learn that legislation is to be introduced at the next session of the Massachusetts legislature by which the book and not the clerk who sells it would be on trial. If Boston must make its periodical sallies into censorship, let it pick on the author or the publisher and not the clerk who sells a book. The author and the publisher may at least be presumed to have read it.

✱

CANADA'S DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS is the counterpart of our State Department. It is a pleasure, therefore, to report that its new ambassadorial appointments to the United States and Mexico, which take effect this month, show vision and democratic insight. The new ambassadors are young career men of distinguished record and liberal outlook. Both are distinctively Canadian. Neither bears the slightest resemblance to the stuffed-shirt or school-tie diplomat. Lester B. Pearson succeeds Leighton McCarthy in Washington. He is competent, active, and blessed with a sense of humor. He has held important posts in Ottawa and London, and since coming to Washington as Minister-Counselor in 1942, has assumed several important positions in UNRRA and other United Nations committees. Hugh Keenleyside entered the diplomatic service in 1928, the same year as Pearson. Previous to that he had had a distinguished academic career as a teacher of history in British Columbia and in Syracuse and Brown universities. He served in the Canadian legation in Tokyo, rose to be Assistant Secretary of State for External Affairs in Ottawa, and at the time of his new appointment was acting chairman of the Canadian-United States Joint Board of Defense. The appointment of a liberal, top-career diplomat to the Mexican embassy suggests that Canada is gaining a new appreciation of its role in inter-American affairs.

## *Avery's Last Stand*

IN MOST surface details the latest episode in Sewell Avery's sitdown strike against the United States government resembled his previous performances. This time, it is true, he yielded possession of his open-shop fortress without physical resistance. After a three-and-a-half-hour debate with the army major directing the occupation, he walked out unescorted. Otherwise the scenario was largely unaltered. Once again he had stubbornly defied War Labor Board directives which had been unanimously indorsed by the industry members as well as by the public and labor members of the board. Once again his intransigence provoked a walk-out of Montgomery Ward employees. Once again he jeopardized the whole structure of war-time mediation machinery. Once again the President and part of the army had to take time out from the war to quell Sewell Avery's rebellion.

As in the case of John L. Lewis's succession of coal strikes, the repetitiousness of Avery's tactics may have destroyed the ardor of some of his initial backers. Even the Union League Club diehards must find his behavior a trifle monotonous; many of the editorial writers who championed his earlier stand—in the months preceding the national election—are

now less disposed to picture him as the last guardian of the American way. Although Mark Sullivan continues to view the government's procedure with alarm, even his prose has lost much of its springtime passion. To a large part of the United States, it seems, Sewell Avery is becoming an old bore with an obsession.

The familiarity of the Avery formula, however, does not minimize the importance of the issue. Moreover, in several vital respects the current incident differs from preceding chapters. These new factors may also explain why a lot of Avery's sympathizers have cooled.

For one thing, the clash occurred at a time when American armies were engaged in their bitterest and bloodiest fighting of the war. This was an unpropitious moment for anyone to renew a private war with the government. Secondly, in the current showdown, the payment of back wages owed to Ward employees was as basic a cause of the dispute as the celebrated maintenance-of-membership issue. Heretofore Avery and his legal mouthpieces have valiantly insisted that they were battling for a sacred American principle, that maintenance of membership was a violation of the rights of free men, that they could not yield without permitting the enslavement of their employees under union tyranny. The merits of that argument have been thoroughly exploded by now; but at least it could be couched in pretty phrases by public-relations men.

The strike of Ward workers in Detroit, however, highlighted the disclosure that Avery was no less tenacious in resisting wage rulings of the WLB than in challenging its maintenance-of-membership order. Directives calling for increases in substandard wages had been systematically ignored. The union had fought vainly for payment of several hundred thousand dollars in back wages accumulated since the board's decision was handed down. As William H. Davis, WLB chairman, pointed out, the wage-stabilization program is doomed if it is carried into effect by employers only when wages are frozen and flouted when the board attempts to adjust inequities. Mr. Davis also observed that Avery was now apparently using the maintenance-of-membership bogey for the prosaic business of thwarting a wage increase awarded by the WLB. With this revelation Avery's heroic stature shrank a little further; the odor of sweatshop methods became more distinct.

The government clearly had no alternative except seizure. Failure to act would have wrecked the WLB. It would have shattered labor confidence in that tribunal and invited a wave of strikes, affecting plants engaged directly in war production as well as civilian enterprises. Despite the insistence of some so-called left-wing C. I. O. leaders that their members will refrain from strikes regardless of provocation, no realistic labor observers believe this restraint would have been widely imitated if Avery's defiance had succeeded. The whole foundation of industrial peace rests on employer as well as employee compliance with WLB directives.

Labor unrest, growing out of delays in board procedure and strict application of the Little Steel formula, has already achieved explosive proportions in some places. One effective management sitdown strike against the board could lead to wholesale disruption on the home front.

We do not see how the federal court in Chicago, to which

the government has appealed for an injunction restraining Avery from interfering with the seizure and requesting a declaratory judgment on the legality of the government's action, can resist the logic of the government's case. In the last Montgomery Ward dispute these issues never reached judicial settlement because the Justice Department was seemingly reluctant to run even the slightest risk of defeat. It is now clear that the issues must be settled to avoid future management rebellions. It is difficult to visualize how they can be decided in Avery's favor without creating chaos in the relations between government and labor.

Unfortunately many newspapers, having plainly lost sym-

pathy with Avery's crusade, appear unwilling to damn him with the righteous indignation they once bestowed upon John L. Lewis. But the mildness of their current comments is at least indicative of how much ground Avery has lost. His record of distinguished disservice in World War II has been too dismal for even his best friends to contemplate. His pious sermons against the closed shop have been exposed as a camouflage for the shabbiest kind of wage chiseling. He has achieved a peculiar form of immortality in World War II: he is the only employer who has occupied the United States army on so wide a front and in so many engagements. Few people will envy him that glory.

## Future of the Spanish Republic

BY JUAN NEGRIN

TONIGHT I am breaking my long silence on the Spanish cause. For I am not one of those who feel that this cause should be allowed to die with the shameful episode that precipitated the occupation of our entire national territory and the subjection of our people without conditions, helpless and manacled, to those confederates of Hitler and Mussolini who won for themselves the distinction of being the first quislings.

I have seen fit to speak out because we are now entering the decisive period in which the conduct of Spaniards, and also in part the attitudes of our friends, will determine the future of the Republic and, I might say, the very future of Spain. Until this moment, I thought it better to keep silent. My silence was self-imposed and not the result of any suggestions whatsoever, much less of any pressure, which I would never for a moment have tolerated.

I have kept silent because I did not want to add fuel to the political bickerings within the Spanish emigration. For to have agitated or tried to ventilate outside of Spain certain questions which the Spanish people alone are competent to decide would have stimulated the misunderstandings that are unhappily a feature of exile and that so easily degenerate into personalities and back-fence squabbling. This is bound to happen in exile when there is missing that great balance wheel of democracy which is the constantly exercised judgment of the people. There are some among us who feel that politics should be conducted on the level of dedication and that the ultimate goal of the man in public life is the common good. In the pursuit of this end it is advisable to take account of and avoid the frustrations and resentments that tend to develop among those whom the defeat has robbed of home and country in the great present-day diaspora of the Spanish people. To do otherwise would amount to diverting our energies from the war itself.

I have kept silent so as to center attention on the struggle against the Axis, on the outcome of which the destiny of Spain depends as much as that of any other country. For without a clear-cut victory over the Axis there would be no Spanish cause, nor would there be a Spain either, for long. The Nazi, victorious, would not only enslave their enemies, but like Saturn with his children, devour their satellites.

I have kept silent so as to be able the better to labor for the day when we the Spaniards may share with the victors in the victory for which we have sacrificed as greatly as any others. And my silence, far from signifying inactivity, was rather, by the force of circumstances, a prerequisite to securing for Spain a rightful participation in the eventual triumph of the Allies or at least to fending off the fate of being served up as a sacrificial victim in the great defeat of the Totalitarians.

Alone we fought. For three long years we stood alone, completely alone, save for the glorious participation of the volunteers of the Brigades. During those years it fell to Spain to lead the fight against the Axis and their acolytes, the rebellious military of our country.

In September, 1939, the direction of the war fell to other hands. We were prevented from mixing in it because there was still that strange determination to go on ignoring the true character and meaning of the Spanish conflict. Whether we liked the course events were taking or not, we were obliged not to interfere or even get involved any more than was necessary to stand up for our rights. This was the only way that we could hope to be heard when we had to be heard, or service from us was required.

Today things have changed. The war is nearing its end. The death agony of the enemy may drag on, but final defeat is unavoidable. The setbacks of the moment can be likened to the mauling a gladiator gets when he is over-confident and careless in the face of the dying monster's last convulsions.

The Spanish problem is no longer the *noli me tangere*—the great untouchable unmentionable of Allied diplomacy. Those who a few months ago were playing up to various little chieftains of the Spanish factions today cast them off disdainfully.

What I am asking is that the situation of Spain be clarified so that, after the final destruction of the Axis, we can avoid being relegated to the corner of the vanquished by the very people who brought about our defeat. And so that we may avoid the interferences by remote control and the disguised efforts of supposed friends acting unofficially; for they could handcuff the will of our people and block the peaceful transition from praetorian tyranny to the legal regime of

liberty, tolerance, and democracy that was established by the constitution voted into being by the Spanish people in 1931.

Since as long ago as July, 1936, the government of the Spanish Republic has considered itself without interruption in a state of war with the Axis powers. It has been in fact at war with Germany and Italy from the moment when they provoked the military rebellion, made us the first victims of what was later to be called internal aggression, and then topped off their crime by invading our country with regular units of their armies and air forces. In March of 1939 the government only just managed to escape from a trap laid to assassinate its members or turn them over to the mercies of the rebels. The events of those weeks in 1939 were all part and parcel of the development of the conspiracy called Non-Intervention, which no one has qualified with such harshness and discretion as Sumner Welles in his "The Time for Decision." The February coup d'état against the Republican government was a part of the major design of Non-Intervention. So were the handing over to Franco a few weeks before of our island fortress of Minorca and the whole treacherous campaign of defeatism which, directed within the country from positions, or should I say buildings, that because of diplomatic tradition were immune to the authority of the Republic, undid our very defense mechanism in its most vital parts. But it was the Madrid coup d'état, or if you like putsch, which was the most fitting epilogue to the crude and tragic farce that was Non-Intervention.

On abandoning Spanish soil, as the result of this putsch, the government of the Republic proclaimed its legitimacy, and on arriving a few hours later in France reaffirmed it, together with the determination to fight on endlessly until it could bring about the reestablishment of the Republic which it considered overpowered, subjugated, but still very much alive.

From March to September, 1939, I never ceased admonishing and even importuning those whom my warnings might have served that the present conflict was imminent. Even more, only a very few days before the outbreak I offered the French government my services as mediator to see if there was not some solution to the fatal inability to agree between those powers who two years later were at last to be brought together into an alliance by a still more tragic necessity. What might not have been accomplished if this alliance had come into existence in 1939 instead of in 1941? I was to discover afterward, when it was already too late, that regrets were felt at not having accepted my offer.

From the very beginning, my policy, which is to say the policy of the government of the Spanish Republic, was to try to convince all concerned of the absolute necessity of building the widest possible front against Germany. A front which would include even the country to which today I am speaking—the United States of America—because we knew all along that if this war was ever to be won the United States would have to bring in her immense power and her limitless resources. The sorry truth seems to be that our persuasive abilities were not very potent and that our means of action were still less so, but the day will come when it will be proved and accepted that in this crisis in history we did absolutely everything that it was in our power to do.

But the conflagration came anyway. Our position I made

clear at once—by personal overtures to the Allied governments and also by a public statement to world opinion. I called upon our fellow-Spaniards to rally to the war and to enlist wherever their services would be accepted, as volunteers. By tens of thousands they came forward. They offered their lives, these Spanish Republicans, and won undying glory at Narvik, in Syria, at Bir Hacheim, in Tunisia, in Normandy, at Paris, with the guerrillas of the French *maquis*, on the steppes of Russia, in a hundred other places. The magnitude of their effort, of their sacrifice, is well known in the navies, the merchant marines, the armies and air forces of the Allied nations and well known among the paratroops and the intelligence services also.

Here and now let me tell you that the Spaniards of the Republican emigration who volunteered to fight in Allied ranks outnumber many times—I repeat, many times—the mercenaries recruited in Spain by the gunmen of the Falange for the Blue Division that was sent to fight in Axis ranks against the Russians.

On the day of Pétain's capitulation I left France for Great Britain. I did not go in search of refuge, of asylum, for the man who is determined to carry on the fight never feels himself a refugee, never. I went to England because I wanted my physical presence to symbolize my loyalty and our loyalty to the country that then was the only champion of the common cause. And to demonstrate the faith we had in her when not too many shared it.

Spain is not, and never has been, neutral. For Spain has never let up for one second in this war. Spain is a belligerent, the first belligerent; with us this war is now going into its ninth year! Of course when I say Spain I mean the real Spain, the Spain of the Spanish people, represented by the institutions of their Republic, and not the Spain that is a mere geographical reference and that is today an occupied country precisely as Norway and Holland are occupied countries, as Belgium and France were until a few months ago.

It is in the name of this true Spain that I am speaking to you, her American friends, so as to assure you that the Spanish people are ready and able to handle their own affairs, on condition that we are let alone, on condition that our hands are not tied, on condition that we are not subjected to pressures and maneuvers from without. We do not ask for—and please get this—we do not ask for and we do not want intervention by other governments or armies. We have had two centuries of experience with foreign interventions and from them a bitter memory of all that they have cost us. And for the last of these interventions, that one that by supreme sarcasm was so hypocritically labeled Non-Intervention, we are still paying. Nor do we draw any comfort from certain recent examples of the same kind.

We would welcome and we could be grateful for the sympathy, the help, the collaboration of friends. But the intervention of power—No! Roundly no! We would only ask that no obstacles be placed in our way and that no aid be extended surreptitiously to the enemies of the Republic with arms so subtle that they cannot be matched by the meager means at our disposal. No, no intervention, please! All we ask is that the screws not be put on us to hold us down and that our future not be denied us.

But if there exists a disposition to repay the grave insult

that was done to justice and to the rights of people in the recognition of Franco, six years ago, then the thing to do is to break with this regime on the simple grounds that it violates the expressed will of our people and is an outrage to human dignity.

Oh, I know that the bickering among Spanish Republicans has been a source of concern to many among you. And I have no desire to diminish the importance of these disagreements, for they offer direct support and comfort to the rebels. And they are pointed to by the solicitous enemies of the Republic to predict its instability in an eventual future.

But, as for our friends, let them calm their fears! Disagreement is a phenomenon common to every democracy, and one which is aggravated among exiles by the sting of misery and failure which all of us carry within ourselves. And then, too, when politicians are removed from the constant observation of the people, they run a little wild.

But let me ask you something, you Americans? Do not disagreements take place in all democracies, even sometimes in the midst of a war? Now, if the Spanish Republic were a totalitarian regime, there would be no disagreements; they

would be smothered by repression and terror. We are liberals and democrats, and because we are we have got to try to overlook the spots that mar the beauty of our system and maybe clean them up or at least touch them up.

But let our friends rest assured that when the moment comes we will all of us prove capable of surmounting our animosities and our discords as we did in 1936 when the war broke over us. And rest assured also that there will be in Spain a stable, tolerant, and progressive republic, a republic without vengeance, grounded on a sweeping amnesty like the one pledged by our government during the war, with the unanimous approval of the parliament and the people, not an amnesty full of tricks and traps like those proclaimed by Franco. Our republic will be strong because it will be built upon, and cemented by, the will of the Spanish people. Because strong, it will be generous, and its generosity will draw its inspiration from the humane traditions of our people. It will bring about a nation-wide reconciliation. For without reconciliation there can be no future for the Spain that is to play her part in the creation of the new world of peace, liberty, and progress.

## The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

**H**EREWITH some reflections on 1944 and resolutions for 1945:

The last three weeks gave the old year a bad name, and it departed unwept. The new year arrived without cheers, in my vicinity at least, and it must have been the same in the important places of the world at that moment—Bastogne, Rochefort, the Danube north of Budapest, Mindoro, the air over Milan, the jungles of Burma. I never knew a more restrained jubilee. The only toast was a grim one—Confusion to the enemy!—and it was heartfelt, for there were several young veterans and service men in the room.

Which illustrates the well-known fact, difficult of comprehension by the new "other half" of the world, the group that's not been in service: the farther you are from the fighting, the more you worry about the war. The best New Year's Eve I ever had was in Cairo two years ago. A hobbling Scot, a damaged Irishman, and I on crutches had a fabulous dinner at the Auberge du Turf, topping it with brandy from Cyprus that tasted like anti-freeze solution just drained from somebody's radiator. We loved it, and went back to the hospital, where the Scot produced a secret bottle of rye and we sat on the bed of a Georgia flier molesting him with a quietly maudlin version of "Auld Lang Syne," the top part taken by the pretty young night nurse. This gaiety in the face of pain and death—one of our best friends in the ward had just had his second foot amputated—was not matched in New York last week-end, and I found myself like an old bore pining for the company of Hector Thomson, Pat Hickey, Georgia Claxton, and the pretty night nurse, whose name I have forgotten.

Why shouldn't the military critics pick a Ten Best of the Year list, like the theatrical fellows? Viewing 1944 impartially, and with an admitted leaning toward the grotesque in war, one would single out:

The Red Army all year, for engaging the bulk of the German divisions, inflicting the heaviest casualties, carrying forward the greatest offensives.

The first six days of the Russian summer offensive, in which five major fortresses, including Vitebsk, were reduced.

Alexander's Italian spring offensive, combining forces from the main front and from the Anzio beachhead, which smashed and tricked the Germans below Rome and liberated that city without a battle inside its limits.

The invasion of Western Europe, for which the keen analyst Marshal Stalin provides the best citation: "One must admit that the history of war does not know any such undertaking so broad in its conception, so grandiose in its scale, and so masterly in its execution."

The one-two operation on the right flank of the beachhead when General Bradley broke through and General Patton swept out into the clear.

The remorseless, bitter advance of the British and Canadians on the left flank at Caen, which made this possible.

The British reduction of Walcheren Island, finally opening Antwerp.

The air-borne delivery of troops to Arnhem and the stand the Red Devil paratroop division made there (with an implied criticism of the operation's planners: because they sent a boy to do a man's job—a British critic said last week it was Eisenhower's fault for not following through on the ground with ten divisions, but I've heard an American criticism of Montgomery because he allegedly said he could

handle it without American help. This illustrates the difficulty of getting intelligence in war time; also of being a military critic, if you place honesty above chauvinism).

The United States Strategic Air Force in Europe, especially for the week in February when it broke the back of the Luftwaffe.

The United States Marine Corps, especially for Saipan, Guam, and Peleliu.

The United States Pacific Fleet, especially Task Force 58, for the whole year, highlighted by the great victory in the Second Battle of the Philippine Sea.

The Japanese offensive in China, which cut the country in two and probably forced a revision of our Pacific strategy.

The German recovery in the fall, especially the December counter-offensive. A British infantry captain said, "They died very well, the Germans, as well or better than in 1940. There seems to be a good many of them left."

The bravery of American doughfoots in meeting the counter-offensive, especially at Bastogne, St. Vith, Stavelot.

The performance at year's end of some American pilots in Burma, who shattered a Japanese supply column by buzzing it and dispersing its vehicles (elephants) into the jungle.

I see the list numbers fifteen. It was a big year.

Nobody ever reads the communiqués, printed in six-point type, which is probably why there has been no public outrage over the recent batch from Rome. They are issued at Allied headquarters, and lately they have included a section called "Land Forces, Greece," starting off thus: "Good

progress was made in liberating further districts in Athens." So in history the Americans bear equal responsibility with the British for killing Greeks. Consider this notice a call for public outrage.

My New Year's resolution is to have more resolution and make fewer predictions. Let us therefore neither support nor condemn Mr. Stimson for his statement that the German counter-offensive will shorten the war. It is surely enough that it has been held, that General McAuliffe said "Nuts," that General Patton successfully swung his army through a 90° change of advance, that progress toward the Meuse has been halted, that the drive to Liège has been cut off. The chances of nipping off the salient, destroying a dozen or so of the best German divisions, and therefore really shortening the war now seem slim. The terrain is bad, the lateral communications are worse, the enemy is determined to hold his gains. His aim of relieving pressure on the Aachen and Saar fronts has been achieved; plans for our winter offensive are certainly gone askew. The enemy has achieved what must have been his primary objective: to gain time, time for training new divisions, time for vengeance weapons to do further work, time in which political squabbles can further disunite the United Nations and give the enemy his only chance for a negotiated peace. Our abiding resolution for 1945 must therefore be to support our armed forces by refusing to become disunited, thereby contributing to the toast of the young veteran: Confusion to the enemy.

## *Fumbling with I. G. Farben*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, December 29*

ANYONE who thinks that supervision of German industry could prove effective in preventing renewed war preparations would do well to make a study of the operations of the Alien Property Custodian in the last war and in this one. We failed miserably to prevent key German American firms from slipping back into German hands after the last war and we are failing again. If we do so poorly in supervising German concerns in the United States, is there much chance that we would do any better in supervising German concerns within the Reich?

Woodrow Wilson warned Congress on May 30, 1919, "The German chemical industry was and may well be again a thoroughly knit monopoly, capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind." Just how dangerous and insidious has been demonstrated by revelations made since Pearl Harbor of the part played by I. G. Farben, directly and through its American subsidiary, General Aniline and Film, in restricting the production in this country of a long list of basic war materials, from aluminum and magnesium to synthetic rubber and dyestuffs.

But not long after Wilson's warning, in that very same year, the Germans laid the foundation for their comeback in the dyestuff, chemical, and drug markets of the Western

Hemisphere. Our first fatal step was the licensing of Kutfro-Pickhardt and Company to resume imports from the Badische Company, one of the firms in the Reich which later formed I. G. Farben; import licenses were granted although the Chemical Foundation established by Congress held the enemy patents under which these same products could have been manufactured in this country. The second fatal step was the sale by Wilson's Alien Property Custodian of the plant and patents of the German Bayer Company, another member of the I. G. Farben family, to Sterling Products. The Sterling company promised faithfully never to permit the return of these assets to a German concern, and the Alien Property Custodian, in authorizing the sale, found "no trace of German influence—near or remote—in the company." Within a year Sterling had secretly undertaken to pay the parent Bayer company in Germany 50 per cent of its profits on Latin American drug sales.

Post-war revelations have made Mr. Roosevelt even more keenly aware of the danger than was Woodrow Wilson. The President has pledged himself on several occasions never to permit the return of seized German patents and other properties to German control. His Alien Property Custodian, Leo T. Crowley, has declared that he is faithfully carrying out these policies. In the first annual report under govern-

ment management of General Aniline and Film, I. G. Farben's \$70,000,000 American subsidiary, Crowley said "it was the government's policy that the company never should return to German ownership, German control of operations, or German influence." Yet the fact is that General Aniline and Film and its sales agent, General Dyestuffs Corporation, are being operated as closely as possible under their old pre-war policies, that the leading figure in their management is Ernest K. Halbach, a lifelong American employee of I. G. Farben and its predecessors, that this management is thwarting the President's policies and wishes, and that Halbach has been drawing \$82,000 a year in salary and bonuses for his work in these now presumably publicly owned corporations.

You will be hearing more of Halbach. Some mysterious compromise is being worked out by the government to pay him for his controlling shares in General Dyestuffs, although these shares were seized and his bank accounts blocked under the Trading with the Enemy Act. Halbach's father before him was employed in the German chemical industry. Halbach himself is American born, but has worked for American affiliates of German chemical concerns ever since 1899, when he became an office boy for Pickhardt and Kuttroff, the first firm to begin reestablishment of the old German ties after the First World War. Halbach attended conferences with I. G. Farben officials in Europe in the summer of 1939 before the outbreak of war. When war began, Halbach took over the controlling stock at \$100 a share, though the asset value was about \$500 a share. Conditions attached to the sale prevented its resale to interests unfriendly to I. G. Farben, and it was seized by the Alien Property Custodian in June, 1942.

Through Sullivan and Cromwell, Halbach is now suing for the return of this controlling stock on the ground that the purchase in 1939 was a bona fide transfer to an American citizen. Interestingly enough, John Foster Dulles of Sullivan and Cromwell is listed in the first annual report of the Alien Property Custodian as one of the A. P. C.'s consultants. Sullivan and Cromwell are also counsel for the Schröder banking interests of London and New York, leading collaborators in helping the Nazis before the war to obtain strategic raw materials in Europe and to circumvent the anti-Nazi boycott in America. It was through the backing of the Schröder banking interests that Victor Emanuel, the New York financier, was able to get control of Aviation Corporation and Standard Gas and Electric in the '30's. Emanuel now dominates the boards of directors appointed by the Alien Property Custodian to manage General Aniline and Film and General Dyestuffs. Leo T. Crowley, who resigned as Alien Property Custodian last year after these ties were first disclosed by this correspondent in *PM* and *The Nation*, was recently reelected to his \$75,000-a-year job as head of Standard Gas and Electric. His former deputy and successor as Alien Property Custodian, James E. Markham, was reelected at the same time as a director of Standard Gas, a job for which he is paid \$4,850 a year while drawing \$10,000 a year in salary from the government.

This whole situation cries out for Congressional investigation. No one knows, for example, who were the unnamed customers for whom the Schröder bank in London bought

300,000 shares of stock in Cord Corporation in August, 1937, enabling Emanuel to take control and reorganize the concern as Aviation Corporation. This is a key war concern, and a very profitable one. No one knows why these unnamed customers—all of them—suddenly decided to sell these shares late in 1939. No one knows the circumstances of the sale or the interests to whom the sale was made, or how it happens that so huge a block of stock was sold without bringing any change in the management.

Much is unknown, but a little has leaked out. We do know that on receipt of cables from I. G. Farben after the war began Halbach at once took steps to take care of Farben's old Latin American outlets. We know that General Aniline and Film tried to sell its controlling stock to General Dyestuffs to avoid seizure but that the Treasury blocked the sale. We know that after General Dyestuffs was taken over, Halbach was retained by Colonel Louis Johnson, the West Virginia corporation lawyer and former assistant Secretary of War whom Crowley appointed president of the concern at \$75,000 a year. We know that Colonel Johnson insisted on keeping Halbach on even after many protests from within the office of Alien Property Custodian, that Halbach was ostensibly paid \$36,000 a year but that a few weeks ago the government learned he had actually been drawing \$82,000 a year in salary and bonuses.

We know that the Emanuel-dominated managements of these two interlocking companies and Halbach have succeeded in preventing the government from voiding the old cartel contracts with I. G. Farben, and that they have thwarted the program by which the President and Sumner Welles promised to help Latin American countries to replace old Axis-controlled drug and chemical firms with new firms owned by their own nationals. We know that after a behind-the-scenes struggle within the Office of the Alien Property Custodian the replacement division of the office was abolished, and that in Brazil and Mexico General Dyestuffs is dealing with men and firms suspect by reason of old ties to I. G. Farben.

The most amazing aspect of the story as it is developing is the government's embarrassment over its own fatuity. If there were reasons to block Halbach's accounts and seize his stock, one would think the same reasons would dictate his removal from any position of influence with the old I. G. Farben firms. But Halbach can go into court and point to the fact that for two and a half years he has virtually run General Dyestuffs under government management, and he can point to the advisory position on dyestuffs to which he was appointed shortly after Pearl Harbor by Sidney P. Weinberg of Goldman, Sachs, as evidence of his reliability. He can, that is, if he wishes to subject himself to public cross-examination. The whole case calls for the most drastic kind of shake-up—a new Alien Property Custodian and new managements in both General Aniline and General Dyestuffs. No one accuses Emanuel, Johnson, Crowley, or Markham of Nazi sympathy. But whatever their intentions, the activities of the present and past Custodian and the managements tend in but one direction. As one exasperated subordinate protested in a private memo to Markham, "We might in fact just be doing a nice job of holding this market for the Germans."

# Britain—Sixth Winter

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WHEN I arrived in England, it had just become clear that the hopes raised by the swift rush of the Allied armies through France and Belgium were premature, that no early collapse of Germany could be expected, that the discomforts, the shortages, and the strains of war must be endured for months to come. Moreover, it was apparent that the capture of the "rocket coast" had not ended the dangers of war for the civilian population; southern England was still within range of the enemy's vengeance weapons and faced continued desultory bombardment. Disappointed but not discouraged, certain that victory was only postponed, Britons were bracing themselves for the sixth winter of war.

The watchword was still "austerity," a word which summarizes with characteristic understatement the whole process of stripping the civilian economy as nearly as possible to the bare bones. Statistically, its meaning is made plain by the very impressive White Paper on Britain's war effort published at the end of November. But it is only when cold figures are translated into terms of actual human experience that they acquire life and meaning.

According to the White Paper, total personal expenditure on consumption, reduced to pre-war prices, is only 79 per cent of what it was in 1938. In the non-food categories the fall is much more striking: clothing and dress materials, 55 per cent; boots and shoes, 73 per cent; furniture and furnishings, 23 per cent; hardware, 33 per cent. When I read these figures I see them expressing Britain's desperate shabbiness. Houses groan for paint, furniture for new covers. A broken cup becomes a minor tragedy; it cannot be replaced except, possibly, by thick, plain-white "utility ware." New furniture is reserved for the bombed-out and newly married couples; second-hand furniture commands huge prices, as do second-hand clothes, which can be bought without coupons.

"Mend and make do," say the posters, and even well-to-do men go around with patches on the elbows of their business suits. Women, with great ingenuity, turn and remodel their own and their children's clothes. My English sister-in-law sported a very handsome housecoat, which she had made from an oddment of curtain brocade, until the pre-war zipper, taken from another garment, refused to function. That again was a tragedy, for zippers can be neither obtained nor repaired.

Service and spare parts for household equipment are very hard to come by, and for this reason many electrical appliances are out of commission for the duration. At the home in which I stayed the refrigerator broke down, and it was a month before an electrician could be found to make the simple repair needed to set it going. Cleaning is a problem, with soap rationed and the supply of household brushes and brooms, according to the White Paper, reduced to less than half the 1935 quantity.

This is what austerity means in terms of keeping the home together. So far as food is concerned, the caloric values are adequate, and there is a sufficient if not ample supply of the protective foods, but the diet is apt to be monotonous. The housewife who attempts to give an appearance of variety to her family menus has no easy task. And shopping is a long and weary business when everything must be carried home and one must wait in queues for any off-ration extras such as fish.

To return to the White Paper: in the table showing imports of raw materials my eye is caught by an item of professional interest. In 1939, 423,000 tons of newsprint were imported; in 1943, 95,000 tons—less than a quarter. Domestic production is only 15 per cent of 1935. One has to see the sadly attenuated British newspapers and experience the difficulties of buying them to appreciate these figures. When I first reached London I found it hard to keep up with the news, for I could neither arrange for the daily delivery of the papers I wanted nor buy them at the newsstands. The *Times* and the *Telegraph*, I was told, had long waiting lists of would-be subscribers, and the same situation prevailed with the leading weeklies—the *New Statesman and Nation* and the *Economist*. Eventually, after a direct appeal to the circulation manager of the *Times*, I was permitted as a special courtesy to obtain a daily copy of that paper.

Here, then, are some indications of the costs to the civilian economy of Britain's mobilization of man-power and resources for war, a mobilization begun more than five years ago and steadily intensified until the present moment. The details of that mobilization and of the achievements it has made possible, as given in the White Paper, have been widely publicized, and there is no need to repeat them here. It is sufficient to emphasize that of the gross national product less than one-third is available for private consumption, and that of the labor employed in the manufacturing industries only one-fifth is now working for the home market.

It is a matter for argument whether the White Paper justifies the claim of Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, that "the total war effort of the population of Great Britain per head is greater than that of any other belligerent." Such implied comparisons are invidious and irrelevant. What does matter is that Britain's effort has been whole-hearted and full-muscled and one which neither defeats nor victories have slackened or discouraged.

Many people in Britain, while not making light of their own hardships, are aware that the lot of the occupied and liberated countries is infinitely worse. The British diet may be dull, but it is ample to sustain health and energy, and when the Food Ministry announced extra Christmas rations it received thousands of letters protesting any increase while the needs of the liberated countries remained so great. Fuel may be short, but it is possible to keep at least one room

in each dwelling fairly warm; railroad and bus travel is exceedingly uncomfortable much of the time, but the service is maintained.

Visitors from shivering and hungry Paris find London a paradise. Londoners, on the other hand, look across the Atlantic rather enviously. The tales of travelers and homesick American soldiers about the bright lights and plenty of American cities lose nothing in the retelling. "Is there any rationing in America?" I was frequently asked. "Are there any shortages?" I did my best to talk convincingly of the scarcity of butter, shoes, cigarettes, and gasoline, but had to admit that our shortages were partial and intermittent rather than total.

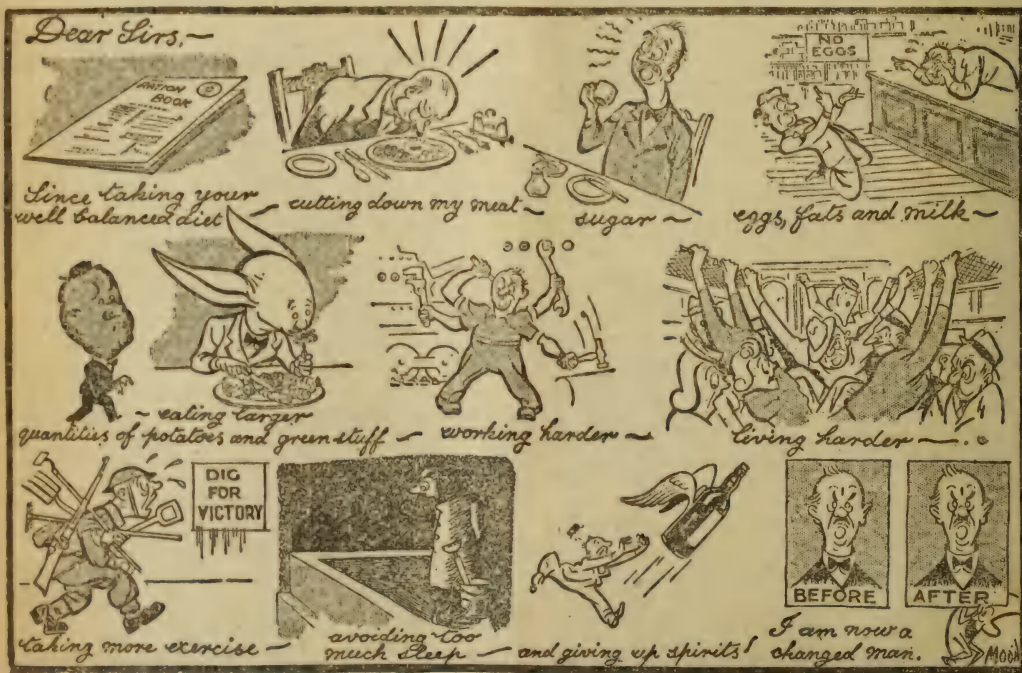
It has been America's great good fortune that its staggering productive capacity has made possible both a gigantic output of war material and the maintenance of a comparatively high level of civilian consumption. It has been its greater good fortune that, except for Pearl Harbor, its soil has been immune to enemy attack. The fact that Britain has been in the front line for five long years has meant constant interference with production and the diversion of a great deal of man-power to civil defense and the carrying out of essential repairs. The White Paper does not mention the number of industrial establishments damaged in enemy raids, and while I have been given the figures, I am not allowed to publish them. But I can say that they make Britain's productive effort still more impressive.

The White Paper does report, however, that up to August 31, 1944, 57,298 civilians had been killed by enemy action and 136,116 seriously injured. I read these figures

thinking of the once pretty girl whose face is now hideously scarred by splintered glass; or of the friend who, on A. R. P. duty nearby, saw his home demolished by a direct hit and knew that the old servant and the two friends to whom he had given shelter could not hope to survive. When I note that 202,000 houses in the United Kingdom have been totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair and that an additional 4,328,000 have been damaged more or less seriously, I see this figure in concrete terms. It means homeless people sleeping in rest centers, people living in the one corner of their home which they have managed to make comparatively weatherproof, families uncomfortably doubled up with relatives. It means twisted and burnt remnants of furniture the purchase of which represented long years of scraping and saving; it means cherished collections of books and pictures gone forever.

Nor do the statistics of casualties and damage cover the sum total of human suffering in a country subjected to air attack. When one notices how few children are to be seen in London's streets and parks, one thinks of how many heart-aches, how much lost security, can be implied in the word "evacuee." The breaking up of homes, the long separation of parents and children, the difficulties of adjustment among strangers, however kind—these are war costs which no White Paper can possibly assess.

After five years it still goes on. In early September a government spokesman declared triumphantly that the danger of air raids was over for all practical purposes. The Luftwaffe, struggling to defend its homeland, seemed unlikely



The Ministry of Health says that the nation is healthier than before the war

Courtesy the London Sunday Dispatch

to be able to regain the offensive sufficiently to renew the blitz in its original form. The capture of the bases in northern France and Belgium had, it was thought, ended the flying-bomb menace which had given southern England so nerve-racking a summer. This optimism proved premature. Within a few days robot bombs again started to come over, though not in anything like the same numbers as before. German ingenuity had found a method of launching them from planes, and some managed to penetrate the highly efficient defenses and scatter death and destruction in the wide target area.

Simultaneously a new menace developed, against which there appeared to be no defense and for which no warning could be given. Southern England began to get accustomed to sudden loud explosions followed by a long rumble. Nothing was said in the press, and if you asked for an official explanation you were told "gas-main explosions." But everybody talked about them, and everybody knew that V-2 had arrived, the real rocket bomb which travels through the stratosphere and descends at a speed greater than that of sound. The noise of its bursting is therefore the first warning; the after-rumble is caused by its rush through the last few thousand feet of air registering on the ear after its contact with the ground.

People took V-2 surprisingly calmly. Nearly everybody said that it was much more bearable than V-1, which created a minute or two of suspense between the time its approach was first heard and the cutting-out of its motor. Then followed, for all within a wide radius, an interval of interminable seconds before the explosion came. When this experience had to be endured many times a day, as it did at the height of the buzz-bomb terror, even the stoutest nerves were lacerated. A friend of mine who fought in France during the last war and had been in the thick of the 1940-41 blitz as a civil-defense officer told me that he had found buzz-bombs much harder to take than any other form of sudden death he had faced.

When one hears a V-2 one is safe; those who are killed never know what hit them. But to the imaginative it is not a pleasant sensation to be awakened in the middle of the night by one of these masterpieces of science and to lie thinking of the unlucky ones who were underneath and wondering where the next one will strike. Unable to get to sleep again, one goes on to consider what it would be like if such missiles began to fall, not occasionally and at irregular intervals, but every few minutes. And that, one realizes, is the kind of bombardment we must anticipate if we are weak and foolish enough to permit another war. At such moments Dumbarton Oaks does not seem a very impressive feat of statesmanship.

The difficulty lies in transmitting experiences of this kind to those out of range. Even in Britain outside the area under fire there is a distinct difference in attitude. In one way the immediate danger is exaggerated; people in safe districts feel that to go to London is a perilous and foolhardy adventure. Yet they are somehow detached emotionally from the experience of their countrymen in the danger zone and a trifle complacent about it; they cannot fully grasp an ordeal which they do not share. How, then, can one make New York and Chicago understand?

## 25 Years Again "The Nation"

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU'S statement in the Chamber of Deputies, on December 23, regarding the proposed Allied policy toward Russia does not differ in substance from previous declarations of French statesmen on that subject, nor, in general, from the policy which the Allies have all along pursued. There is to be neither peace nor compromise with the Soviet government; Russia is to be hemmed in as by a barbed-wire fence; and the Poles, Rumanians, and other peoples whom Russia has attacked or may attack are to be aided. Wherever Bolshevism shows itself, there the Allies will join in resisting it.—January 3, 1920.

THE EXTRAORDINARY MELODRAMA which the world has been witnessing in Fiume during the past few months seems to have taken a turn toward farce. . . . The world needs a guaranty of immunity not only from civil strife but also from further D'Annunzio proclamations.—January 10, 1920.

LAST SUNDAY the country was treated to the interesting news that the impending revolution in America had been nipped in the bud. "Red Raids Smash Revolutionary Coup"—so ran the headlines. As many as twenty-five rifles and four bombs were captured in the entire state of New Jersey alone, and of 675 prisoners in New York, 201 were held and the rest released. Girls fourteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age were arrested in various places as criminal anarchists, and women were sent to the overcrowded Ellis Island quarters, although the acting Commissioner of Immigration protested that it was neither decent nor sanitary to have more women there. The total number of arrests in this most spectacular of "red" raids thus far will probably be not less than 6,000.—January 10, 1920.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES had again joined in the game of making additional Socialists and increasing the popular unrest by once more refusing a seat to Mr. Victor L. Berger [Socialist, Wisconsin] on the ground of his "disloyalty" during the war. . . . The attempt of the Assembly of the State of New York to shut out the five Socialists who were elected last November has evidently disturbed a great many people who hitherto have watched with apathy or satisfaction the increasingly lawless attempts to coerce opinion in the United States.—January 17, 1920.

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY is one of uncertainty and menace. While Berlin and the other areas of disaffection are quiet under the menace of Noske's guns, the quiet can be counted upon to last only so long as these guns are held in readiness.—January 24, 1920.

THE CALIFORNIA dark horse has moved to the front in the Presidential race about a month before the scheduled time. Mr. Hoover's candidacy has received a tremendous impetus.—January 31, 1920.

# Tomorrow the Movies

## I. HOLLYWOOD INTERNATIONAL

BY JOHN GRIERSON

IF, AS many believe, the basis of international relationships is in course of drastic alteration, industries trading in foreign parts must examine the nature of this change. I am told, for example, that Bretton Woods must inevitably revolutionize the fishing industry in Canada because multilateral agreements preclude bilateral agreements and we can no longer "sneak behind," say, the back of Newfoundland: meaning, I take it, that the race is no longer exclusively to the strong or the smart. In the case of the fishing industry the situation calls, it is said, for a revolution in production and distribution methods which, by improving the product and meeting a real and not spurious taste, will give it greater international validity.

The analogy between films and fish should not be lightly dismissed. I could cite the case of the people of London, whose taste has been so perverted over the years that if they ever tasted a fresh fish they would certainly reject it as rotten. Both films and fish are obviously fields of illusion where standards, however widely accepted, may yet be false. The test, however, should not be the taste but the well-being of the consumer. What is called for in fish I shall now forget and consider instead, the economic relations of the film industry, the nature of its past bilateral and even unilateral arrangements, and the effect of the multilateral pressure which will presently be put upon it by nations with their own standards of nutriment.

The film has always been an international traveler. It had no trouble with national barriers when it was silent, and even now titles, dubbed-in voices, and foreign-language versions can give it an extensive market outside its country of origin. Where, as in the case of American films, the home market takes care of the cost of production, the costs of conversion are not a considerable obstacle. In any event, the English-speaking world provides an international market in itself. Of all films, those of American origin have been the most widely circulated, partly because of their style and the enterprise of their salesmen, but mostly because of the economic advantage of their very large home market. The American producer has been able to command directors, actors, and writers from all over the world and so to provide pictures with international appeal. Even when he has been most American, he has had large enough funds to produce a highly polished, chromium-plated account of his country's material progress; and this, in the years gone by, had its special attraction for less privileged peoples.

### TRADE FOLLOWS THE PICTURE

To what extent this American film empire can be maintained is another matter. Great Britain has always envied the strength of the American film industry, not least because of the vast propaganda support it gave to the sale of American products. The persistent champion of English film produc-

tion has not been the industry itself, which in the distribution and exhibition fields does very well out of American films and is allied at many points to American companies, but the British Board of Trade, which is concerned with the trade that follows the picture. England's protective policy has therefore been different in kind from that of countries like Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Soviet Union. These latter had specific political ideas to protect from the anarchic impact—as they no doubt conceived it—of Hollywood values. England, however, has been primarily concerned with building up an exportable product which would share screen space abroad with American films and fly the flag of England over incidental automobiles and bathtubs. Sir Alexander Korda, Carol Reed, Michael Powell, and other good British producers would of course hardly think this a sufficient account of their production motives; but it would be safe to say that the clerks of Whitehall have had more to do with the formulation of long-time film policy than the producers.

The relationship between the government and the industry is different in England from here if only because the industry is coming from behind in international competition and has needed government help. Britain has for a long time required American operators in the United Kingdom to carry a specific proportion of British product. And the government has entered boldly into an analysis of the kind of British film most likely to serve British interests abroad. As a result it has given special encouragement, not to the small budgeted film, which on the whole tends to be very English, but to the sometimes denatured million-dollar type for which international markets are an economic necessity. It has observed with great equanimity the expenditure of very large sums during the period of experimental growth, on the good ground that only by trial and error can the larger showmanship be learned. Even in the midst of war, large quasi-experimental sums are being found.

The relative strength of the British film industry is certainly greater today than it has been for years. A very large proportion of British buying power has been combined under A. J. Rank, a miller of great wealth who has only recently gone into the film business; and the same group of interests has announced its intention of progressively buying into theater and distribution systems across the world, particularly in the dominions and colonies. A different official attitude toward the industry might not so easily have allowed the large combination of buying power in the hands of one man or approved such expensive production schemes at the present time; and public opinion might be unfavorable if there were not good assurance that Mr. Rank's great venture was going to be in every sense a national one.

The strength of this new buying power is reflected at present in new and more effective arrangements for the dis-

tribution of British films in the United States. The fact that, in general, the British market constitutes the margin of real profit in American film production has at last been turned into a strong bargaining weapon. This is not to say that British films will be any more successful than before—that depends on the drawing power of the films themselves—but it is important that the distribution machinery of the United States is being increasingly engaged for films other than American.

This development is only one among many likely to affect American policy in the international field. The old days of easy monopoly have gone: in England, because of its special need for markets, but also in every country which has come to appreciate the power of the screen and has its own national interests to serve. There is a growing tendency everywhere to encourage home production. Increasing attention is being paid to the effect of American films on the mind of the people and to their relation to native philosophies and needs. On the one hand, foreign countries want Hollywood to include more native themes in its schedules of production; on the other hand, they are becoming more sensitive about the handling of such themes. In nothing is the spectacular growth of propaganda consciousness better demonstrated.

Obviously, Hollywood will require a new approach in its international operations. In the past its salesmen have done very well for it. The need tomorrow may be for representatives who can go behind the mere problem of sales to the problem of international relations and build up, as statesmen try to do, those genuinely good relations which are based on common interests.

#### RELATIONS WITH CANADA

One might generalize in this regard from the situation in Canada, a country of 12,000,000 people which provides as great returns to the American film industry as all of South America with a population of 75,000,000. The tastes in entertainment of Canadians are much the same as those of people south of their border; because of the connection with England an English film will perhaps do 5 per cent better in Canada, relatively, than in the United States, but this is a small difference. By and large, Canadians like the same stars, the same story line, and the same evaluations of character and issue as other Americans; Canada's own share of Hollywood stars, directors, and writers is considerable, and no one there or here knows the difference.

It might seem, therefore, that the American film could circulate as easily and happily in Canada as in its own country. But such an assumption on the part of the American film industry would be lacking in foresight. Canada is an up-and-coming nation. It feels that it has a tremendous future. It is already, it thinks, one of the greatest of the "middle" nations, and its huge agricultural and industrial output during the war and its contribution in fighting power support its claim. Inevitably, therefore, Canada is giving consideration to its place on the international screen. It certainly cannot leave its reputation entirely in the hands of the newsreel editors in New York and the producers in Hollywood, who might be so shortsighted as not to think of Canada at all.

Canada's attitude toward American films may well be an example to other countries, especially those whose native film industries are of limited strength. The natural good-will

existing between Canada and the United States has made it possible for Canada to secure from cooperative discussions as much as if not more than a protective system and a competitive film industry could have given it. The Canadian content of American newsreels in Canada has been increased in recent years to a point near to satisfactory, and, just as importantly, the Canadian content in American and world newsreels has also been increased. American distributors in Canada are not only cooperating well with the government in the presentation of the nation's war effort but making it a matter of policy to obtain for Canada its measure of film representation. As a result one series of Canadian-produced short films, "The World in Action," enjoys worldwide circulation—incidentally, it is the only foreign series now shown regularly in American theaters. American companies, moreover, include numerous Canadian films in their travel talks, science films, and the like.

In addition to this cooperation in the matter of newsreels and short films, Hollywood has over the war years produced three major Canadian films and used Canadian backgrounds for others as part of an earnest attempt to provide a quid pro quo for a very useful market. Like the Hollywood productions for South American markets encouraged by the State Department, this marks the beginning of a new and responsible policy toward foreign fields. The development of such a policy would be facilitated if countries like Canada would not only bring political pressure to bear on Hollywood and London but establish machinery for the encouragement of stories and plays that would of themselves command the attention of producers.

Of course in every country there will always be some who want to see a native feature industry established and who consequently demand protective quotas. But the international field tends to be kept clear for Hollywood and London by the fact that feature production imposes tremendous financial burdens, especially for a country with a small population. It is all the more difficult for a country which is not protected by the barrier of a different language and which lies within easy reach of the pull of American salaries and other attractions.

It seems clear that the American film industry has come to the most difficult period in its long international career. Its problems reflect the foreign problems of statesmen and demand a new and high degree of international knowledge and good-will. Concessions here and lobbyings there, such as the cruder exponents of international commerce may propose, will not suffice. Hand-outs, however well-intentioned, do not please sovereign peoples, and there is a sure law of diminishing returns on political pressure when applied by great nations. International success in a sphere of influence so extensive as that of films will demand finally, as in the political sphere, considered and creative cooperation in the pursuit of common values and common ideas. Great nations with superior means of production must be expected to take the lead in this matter.

It is not certain whether Hollywood and London have gone far enough in equipping themselves for this new and considerable task, although progress has been made. Hollywood is more politically conscious today than it ever was. Many of its principals are engaged in war duties of impor-



tance and know what it is to serve the state. But this may not be enough. Closer contact needs to be established with the body of international knowledge in Washington; and it is the best of news that this is now being deliberately furthered by a scheme for installing government film specialists abroad. There is certainly room for a diplomatic force which will not just support Hollywood sales power but will supply systematic information to Hollywood producers on the larger considerations governing their foreign trade. It may be that Hollywood needs an institute of international affairs through which producers, directors, and writers can study the relationship of their films to the wider and more difficult world in which they will operate after the war. There are clearly other levels of consideration than those of buying and selling, and neither Hollywood nor London will be able to ignore them.

[This is the first of a series of four articles. The second, *Pictures Without Theaters*, also by Mr. Grierson, will appear next week.]

## Two Terrorists on Trial

BY GEROLD FRANK

*Jerusalem, December 23 (by cable)*

WITH the police investigations virtually concluded, the trial of the youthful terrorists Aliahu Hakim and Ephraim Ben Zuri for the murder of Lord Moyne is expected within a fortnight. The feeling here is that the execution of the two men, both members of the small but vicious Stern gang, is inevitable: they have admitted going to Cairo to kill Moyne, and in Egypt the penalty for murder is hanging. The only question now is what political significance can be given to the trial.

Hakim and Ben Zuri will be tried before a tribunal of five civilian judges sitting in a civilian court under martial law. The proceedings will be conducted in Arabic with translations in Hebrew—the prisoners refuse to speak anything else—and in English. The public will be admitted to the trial by ticket. The prisoners have announced that they will conduct their own defense, as members of the Stern group have done in the Palestine courts. However, Hakim's father has said that while he recognized that his son committed a reprehensible deed, bringing shame and tragedy to all Palestine, he could not, as a father, have peace if he did not do all in his power in his son's behalf. He has therefore asked the well-known Jerusalem attorney, Asher Levitsky, to go to Cairo to defend the young men. Levitsky has not disclosed whether or not he will accept the case.

If the prisoners handle their own case, some idea of their defense can be gained from the books they have requested from the Egyptian authorities and are now studying in their cell. These include the Bible, a modern revolutionary history of Egypt, the Egyptian penal code, a volume by Beilinson which describes Italy's freedom fighters of 1815-17, and the Peel report.

Speculation about the trial revolves around two points: First, who if anybody backs these terrorists? Is some other country using them as pawns in an anti-British game. Second, the background and political program of the terrorists, who, it

must be remembered, belong politically to the extreme right-wing nationalists and are denounced as "fascist" by the Labor Party, which constitutes the majority of the Jewish electorate in Palestine. It is believed that the prisoners will attempt to use the trial as a rostrum from which to proclaim to the world what they consider Great Britain's betrayal of its promise to Zionism. The harangues of other prisoners tried in the military courts here have been given the fullest publicity in local anti-labor newspapers.

What the prisoners say may have a bad effect on emotional Jewish youngsters in Palestine, but it must be emphasized that Zionists do not see this as another Sacco-Vanzetti case. Terrorism is abhorred here on political as well as humane grounds. The prisoners do not represent Palestine; yet they serve to highlight Palestine's grievances.

## In the Wind

RALPH G. CARPENTER, director of the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department, in an interview with the *Concord Daily Monitor* and *New Hampshire Patriot* on December 1, offered the following suggestions for the economic reabsorption of World War II veterans: (1) "A few of them might well hunt and raise porcupines, commonly known as quill pigs, if they have the ingenuity to find a market for their meat." (2) "Yankee shrewdness, coupled with vision and patience, might well create a new and profitable market for quill pens, which once were the only kind used in signing official documents. Quills from ducks have been used in the past, but it is quite possible that turkeys' quills, white or black, might be used if the idea were properly cultivated."

A GENTILE BUSINESS DIRECTORY is being compiled in Chicago. The letterhead of the promoters bears this motto: "Millions of Gentiles Banded Together to Preserve the Gentile Way of Life, Gentile Business Ethics, Gentile Educational Systems, Gentile Moral Standards." The address is in the heart of the financial district.

CAPTAIN LUCIEN A. DUMAIS, a French Canadian from Montreal, has recently returned to London after nine months' work with the French *maquis*. He was one of seventy Canadians who parachuted into different parts of France to help organize resistance to the Germans prior to the Allied invasion. He said it was "exciting work, but too much administrative detail."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi propaganda machine in Norway has abandoned its campaign to convince the people that the forced evacuation of the northern part of the country was a "flight from Bolshevik terror." The stories of the evacuees are so uniformly unfavorable to the Germans that they have been ordered not to talk. The penalty is death. . . . A report from Prague has it that the wives of the S. S. men have been supplied with revolvers and hand grenades.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Yenan, 1945

BY PACIFICUS

AMERICAN newspapers virtually ignored the two-week session of the Second People's Congress held at the beginning of December in the bustling terraced city of Yen-an, nerve center of the Communist-led Border Regions of North China. Their boycott, maintained in the face of daily broadcasts by the Yen-an transmitter, recalled their earlier silence on Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Partisans.

There can be little doubt that the actions stemming from the congress will make a deep imprint upon political and military developments in 1945, even beyond the Border Regions with their, at present, 90,000,000 inhabitants. It is not too rash to predict that before the year is out Yen-an, and not Chungking, will be the center of military and political power in China. It will gain this position through the superior ability of the Yen-an forces, which have fought an anti-fascist war in an anti-fascist manner, to exploit the opportunities offered by the changed military situation.

The Generalissimo's recent house-cleaning is a sign that he recognizes how fundamentally the situation has changed. Previously he had believed that he would be rescued from his military and political predicament when the Americans landed somewhere along the southern coast to drive the Japanese out of China as a prelude to an attack on Japan proper. This, he thought, would enable him to deal simultaneously with the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Route armies. His hopes were deflated when the Japanese, influenced by their severe shipping and naval losses, launched a major campaign in South China to open a north-south railroad and were so successful that a landing on the China coast appeared less inviting to the Americans.

Additional Japanese naval losses off the Philippines changed the whole strategic concept of the Pacific war. Early in 1944 Admiral Nimitz had stated that he intended to strike for a Chinese port in order to attack Japan in China. After the Philippine naval battles Admiral King told Forrest Davis of the *Saturday Evening Post* that we could now attack Japan directly. This change in strategy means that the ejection of Japanese troops from China will probably follow rather than precede an invasion of Japan proper. In consequence, a weakened Chungking will have to depend for a longer time on its own resources, plus the small amount flown "over the Hump."

Japan's fighting power will inevitably diminish during 1945. The comparative ability of Chungking and Yen-an to exploit the opportunities thus opened will be a test of their strength—of their popular support, their military resources, and their administrative and organizational ability.

That Yen-an recognized the immediate possibilities was made clear at the congress. Lin Tsu-han, chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, formerly a colleague of Sun Yat-sen and recently one of the negotiators with Chungking, told the delegates, "Fascism is at the point of

collapse; victory for the democracies is already in sight." With that perspective the Congress devoted its self-critical efforts to mobilizing the people's strength for the final liberation of China.

Behind the entire discussion was the conviction that an improvement in living standards was basic to the solution of all other questions. The keystone of such improvement was held to be agrarian reform, which as put through in the Border Regions has increased production and decreased tenant-landlord strife. Rents have been reduced, in stages, from 50 or 60 per cent of the crop to 35 or 40 per cent, but at the same time the landlord has been guaranteed his rent. And since taxes have also been reduced, his position has not been worsened. Furthermore, his lessened income from tenantry has tended to push the landlord into becoming an agricultural producer himself or investing in the small local industries which the government encourages by keeping them tax free and guaranteeing a minimum profit.

The government's intention to improve the lot of the tenant and small peasant and at the same time to retain the support of the landlord was evident in the remarks of Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, at the opening session: "Rents have been reduced," he said, "in every area, but in certain places less has been achieved than in others. Cases still occur of nominal but not real reductions. On the other hand, in some cases rents have been reduced too much, and no attention is paid to the payment of rent after reduction. Both . . . tendencies must be corrected." Nan Han-chen, head of the Finance Department of the Border Government, revealed that less than half of the expenses of the government is met by taxes. The rest is contributed by agricultural and industrial production carried on by the army and the government. In order to ease the tax burden further a progressive agricultural tax is being tried in three counties as a prelude to wider application.

The Communists reiterated their resolve to limit themselves to one-third of the places on administrative bodies. The only known exception to the rule is the Yen-an Municipal Council, seventeen of whose forty-seven members are Communists. One of the seventeen is the Japanese Communist Shisuo Koji, who is active in the Japanese People's Emancipation League headed by Susumu Okano. Among the non-Communist members twenty-one are non-partisan, five are Kuomintang members, two are Protestants, and one is a Catholic.

Speaking to the congress on the subject of political collaboration, Mao Tse-tung said:

The basis of anti-Japanese national salvation is the national united front. In liberated areas this expresses itself first of all in the "one-to-three system," under which all classes and all parties and groups cooperate. Some

have done good work in this field, but some have not, and the experiences of every area should be appraised.

Communists must frequently deliberate and hold meetings with other parties and non-party groups. The aim is to break down barriers, clear away misunderstandings, and correct any bad relations, so that all will cooperate in administration and public work. Anyone who takes part in the representative council's work or performs other public duties, will be respected and hold the post with authority, no matter what party or group he belongs to.

This policy of encouraging the emergence of non-Communist—but not anti-Communist—leadership, together with the policy of conciliating landlords, has tremendously broadened the base of the Yen'an regime. While the Communist Party remains the regime's hard core, an increasing number of other interests are coalescing around it, and the Communists have had to modify their sectarian character.

One of the most important decisions of the congress was to increase the numerical strength of the regular forces of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Route armies—as distinguished from the irregular or partisan forces—from 475,000 to 650,000, and to plan a further increase as the Border Regions are able to support it and arms can be obtained. Mao Tse-tung called also for other improvements, though the fighting qualities of the Yen'an troops long since aroused the enthusiasm of foreign observers, among them Colonel Evans F. Carlson of the Makin Raiders:

Old areas must replenish the losses of their original armies. New areas should expand the number of troops furnished as economic conditions permit. But whether expanding or replenishing, areas must not increase the financial burden of the people. This point must be carefully kept in mind. Otherwise, we shall fail.

The internal unity of the army is very important. Our Eighth Route and New Fourth armies have always relied on the solidarity of officers and soldiers to win our glorious victories. But some of the military habits of the Chinese war lords still persist among our troops. Bad relations between officers and soldiers, such as betting, cursing, neglecting food supply or soldiers' diseases, not using patient education and persuasion in correcting the mistakes of soldiers, punishing freely, and even such wrong attitudes as insulting and shooting deserters, etc., must be thoroughly rooted out in 1945.

As a result of basing its military strength on a rising standard of living and the people's increasing participation in the government, the Yen'an regime has been able to retake from the Japanese areas inhabited by 88,000,000 Chinese—about one-fifth the population of pre-war China. During the last year it recaptured parts of the strategic peninsula of Shantung containing 5,000,000 people. In contrast, Chungking has not only lost territory but has seen tens of thousands of its soldiers—150,000 in North China alone—go over to the Japanese.

The growing strength of Yen'an plus the changed military situation in the Pacific presents Chungking with very difficult alternatives. Shall it grant the Communist demand for a genuine coalition government based on agrarian reform and political democracy, or shall it look among the collaborationist followers of Wang Ching-wei for support against the Communists? Needless to say, the latter course would almost certainly bring on a civil war which would indefinitely delay China's progress toward prosperity and independence.

## Inflation in Europe

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE economic reconstruction of Europe after the military collapse of Nazi Germany will be at best extremely difficult; if Britain and America continue the policies they have followed thus far, the results may be disastrous. One of the worst dangers facing every European country after the war is inflation; and Anglo-American policy in the liberated regions has encouraged its start and its growth.

Concerning the situation in Italy, Marcello Soleri, Minister of Finance in the first Bonomi government, declared, "Everything is scarce in Italy but paper money." The condition of the currency is a nightmare; it worries responsible people in the Allied Commission and the Italian government even more, if possible, than the shortage of food. The Anglo-American administration, however, is largely to blame. The value of the lira in relation to the dollar has been set far too low—100 lire to \$1. Under the Germans the purchasing power of the lira was a great deal higher.

Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote in the *New York Times*:

Italy is obliged to accept an imposed rate, which has had the same effect as if the American government suddenly reduced the value of a dollar to 20 cents. Prices immediately soared to meet the new rate and are rising steadily beyond it, so that they are exorbitant even for an American with his one-cent lira. The Italian with an income of 1,500 to 3,000 lire, which represents a fair average for the lower middle classes, might just as well be unemployed as try to exist on his earnings.

In other words, the growing inflation has already reduced a large part of the Italian middle class to indigence; they can no longer live on their salaries, and their savings have been almost wiped out.

The rise in prices has been incomparably greater than the rise in wages. George Baldanzi of the C. I. O., who recently spent some time in Italy, has reported cases of Italian workers who were paid \$6 a month. This, he said, was less than they got under the Nazis or the Fascists. The inflation, however, is a good thing for the rich landowners, who by means of the black market have boosted the prices of the necessities of life. Enrichment of the upper classes, impoverishment of the urban middle class, destitution of the workers, sharpening of social antagonisms, intensification of the class struggle—all these developments are reported by experienced observers of the Italian scene.

One might think that the Allies would have learned something from their experience in Italy, but all the evidence indicates that they have not. The press reports that in the occupied part of Germany the value of the Reichsmark has been set at 10 cents. England and America did not at first agree on this rate. The London *Economist* comments—not in its political section, significantly enough, but under Business Notes:

It is now known that there was a distinct difference of opinion between the British and American governments on the issue. The British Treasury would have preferred rates of about 25 marks to the pound or about 6 marks to the dollar, which would probably have represented an un-

devaluation of the mark of between 30 and 40 per cent. The American Treasury got its way, and the new rate must be regarded as the first part of the Morgenthau plan to be applied to Germany. To impose a certain degree of undervaluation on the enemy's currency is only reasonable, but to exaggerate to this extent is to make inflation in Germany quite certain.

The *Economist* is right. An exchange rate of 10 marks to the dollar will cause severe inflation in Germany. Before the outbreak of the war the mark was worth about 40 cents. It has since depreciated somewhat, even as the dollar in the United States; the Nazis, however, by rigorous rationing and price control, have kept prices in Germany fairly stable, especially those of the necessities of life. If the value of the dollar in relation to the mark is now increased 300 per cent—if, in other words, the mark is arbitrarily reduced to 25 per cent of its former value—prices will rise 300 per cent.

One might say, "Why not? The Germans must pay the penalty of defeat, and part of it is the breakdown of their price structure." I have even heard it said that those who protest against such a policy favor a "soft peace" for Germany, and that the devaluation of the mark will mean a "hard peace." The fallacy of this becomes obvious if we consider for which classes of the population a 300 per cent inflation would be hardest, and for which it would be good business. Italy has already shown us the answer. In Germany, as in Italy, such a sharp devaluation of the currency would be a heavy blow to the workers, since wages would not rise nearly so fast as prices. The white-collar employees would also be hit. It would again be the big landowners and the big industrialists who would profit.

The lesson of Italy is as plain as day, but apparently we refuse to learn. Very well there is another lesson in the German inflation of 1920-23, which followed the same pattern; those who suffered were the workers and the middle class; the Junker landowners and the big industrialists made huge profits.

We should also realize that the effects of a German inflation would not be confined to Germany. It is proving very difficult to keep the Italian inflation localized in Italy; it would be utterly impossible in the case of Germany. No one can be so naive as to believe that the reduction of the German mark to one-quarter of its value would have no effect on adjacent countries. With the first step toward inflation in Germany, all efforts to maintain the value of the currency in France, Belgium, and Holland would be wrecked.

In this connection another fact is very important: every day brings reports that the Nazis are making preparations to go underground, setting up organizations to carry on the political war after the military defeat. Alvarez del Vayo has shown us how the Nazis are trying to establish bases in Spain and South America, but what they will require even more is a foothold in Germany itself. A German inflation brought about by the action of Britain and America would give the Nazis a vast store of political ammunition. One can well imagine the arguments of the illegal pamphlets with which they would

try to influence the people. They would point out that as long as they were at the helm the mark was stable and prices were not too high, but that after the defeat all their labors were undone by the inflation which Britain and America forced on Germany.

The devaluation of the mark to 10 cents—in the face of strong British opposition—has thus far had only limited economic effect, for only a small part of Germany has been occupied. It is therefore still possible to change our course. However, great pressure from the American public would be necessary, after so stupid a beginning, to bring about a change. And to exert the necessary pressure, American public opinion would have to realize that fixing the value of European currencies is not merely a technical financial problem but one of great political importance. Every American can understand what would be the consequences in this country of a change in the value of the currency. If there were a sudden increase of 300 per cent in prices here caused by arbitrary devaluation of the dollar, the American people would rise up and sweep out of office those who were responsible. Similarly, fixing the value of the currency is a question of vital interest to the entire population of Europe. And it should be remembered that if America and Britain introduce inflation in Germany it will spread over the whole Continent.

The American administration claims that it wishes to help Europe attain economic stability and follow a middle course in politics. But if, in spite of its experience in Italy, in spite of the lessons of the former German inflation, it continues its present policies, it will undermine Europe's economy and heighten its social and political tensions. It will thus prepare the ground for revolution.



RIGHT OF ASYLUM

"Don't compromise me. I am a democrat."

Drawing by Rivero GH

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## DISTRUST OF BRAINS

BY JACQUES BARZUN

EVER since Andrew Carnegie supplied the country with public libraries, the public has thought of millionaire munificence as endowing learning. This has hardly been true for twenty years. There have been vast outlays for brick and mortar, for memorial halls which could be named after the donor, but these were already anachronisms. The universities had physically expanded up to and beyond their legitimate size; what they now needed was the means to support living talent. They still need it, but unfortunately for higher learning the typical bequest is one of \$30,000 for cancer research. I have no love of cancer and no jealousy of medicine, but this sort of gift does nothing for higher learning. It springs from a sympathy grounded in animal fear, leaving untouched the duty to train young minds that are still free from the deadly scorpion. Taking at random a recent announcement of gifts to one institution and analyzing it, I find that of \$69,900 the bulk was earmarked for medicine, chemistry, engineering, and allied sciences; a small fraction went to history, public law, business, and occupational therapy; and an anonymous donor assigned \$10,000 to research in syphilis. If we count the subjects, the ratio is two to one in favor of serving animal needs—and the distribution of cash makes it more like 150 to 1.

We meet again our national faith in facts and our distrust of mind. This might be a permissible choice if it did not also amount to a mistrust of men. We think the American way respects ability and trusts in individual initiative—it may be so, but not in education. A glance at the policies of the great educational foundations will make my meaning clear. All of them naturally feel a serious responsibility in administering their vast resources. They want to avoid mistakes and they would like to see results. Nothing could be more proper, were it not that the word "see" is ambiguous, and that since the money must be given out ahead of performance, a safeguard is found in carefully planned "projects" which look as if pregnant with results. The seeing eye naturally jumps to the concrete, the familiar; and the upshot is an unfortunate subsidizing of measures instead of men, coupled with a strict accounting of "progress," of work published, in short, of "results."

I say unfortunate because I am persuaded that it is not the way to lay out money and get the most out of it. If we are agreed that the funds are meant for education, scholarship, science, art, wisdom, and good teaching—one foundation is for the advancement of teaching—then the only safe and profitable thing to do is to cast the bread upon the waters, to invest the money in men—men and women—not in things, not in projects, and not under control.\* What do

I mean by "things"? I mean the secretarial apparatus, the mimeographed paper, the steel filing cabinets, of which the granting authorities are usually lavish, while they are exceedingly "careful" about awards to human beings. When I am despondent I see in my mind's eye an endless row of steel files reaching, dark green, to the moon: they are filled to bursting with records and tests and graphs, and upon each one sits the pale ghost who filled it in return for his stipend. "For the same money"—to use the vulgarest standard—he might have been a scholar, a critic, a poet, or simply an educated man, a thoughtful citizen and capable parent, with no other "purpose" in view than his own and his country's good. Which, I wonder, is the truer execution of the testator's billion-dollar bequest?

I might add that when I am despondent I do not necessarily exaggerate; perhaps I only see more vividly and comprehensively. I happen to know that it costs one foundation \$1,200 a year to maintain a young man who is working with great knowledge and fervor at musical composition based on new scales and instruments. Well, at the institution where he works are whole attics filled with discarded tests once part of a great piece of educational research. Counting all the wasted typing and man-hours of drudgery, one attic's worth would keep the musician in funds for ten years. Double his grant and he might achieve his results in less time, certainly with less wear and tear. The great obstacle to this obvious improvement is that the educational tests were tangible, undeniable "facts," though useless; whereas a piece of strange music or even an instrument bristling with stops and keys seems dubious, insubstantial, hardly fit for listing in an Annual Report.

And so the rich subsidies of education are frittered away in schemes. I have on my desk an Evaluation Study of a whole college—\$10,000; a report on Freshman exploratory work—\$30,000 a year for five years; a test on "forms of thinking" conducted at a school of education—\$27,000; a project on "approaches to history"—\$10,000 renewed for three years; a comparative examination of methods of conducting field work—\$100,000. The printed mass takes up the room of a good set of Poe's works or the "Three Musketeers" with all its sequels. It cost eyesight, adrenaline, and the social investment of dozens of college educations before the first of these thousands of useless pages could even be penned. And do not think that it is one man's biased view that puts their value so low. Go to the very institutions where each "project" was undertaken and look for its "results." They are non-existent. The very memory of the deed has been forgotten, and of all those who received the handsome report fresh from the press I am perhaps the only one who

\* The American Council of Learned Societies and the Guggenheim Foundation should be excluded from this generality. They work on the principle I advocate and their experience justifies it.

has kept it. Its use, if any, now, on this printed page of mine, as an example of How Not to Do It.

My contention is that even if the chances of choosing good men were purely those of interviewers' luck—and it may be put as low as one error in two—the return in twenty years would thoroughly condemn the present practice. There is something twice delusive about the current method, for what it amounts to is the invariable choice of men whose minds run to papery accomplishments, and I do not mean men who will write books. I mean our old friends the fact-finders, who "study conditions," devise tests, and evaluate processes. The work of one young man I know is before me, and it concludes after the most harrowing survey of data that personnel maladjustments—he means students in trouble—are due to emotional disturbances. The author is ambitious and hard-working, a good money risk, ideal foundation fodder. Encouraged by the system, he has mastered the technique of this artificial "success," and he gaily helps his elders waste the precious life blood of learning that money could become.

## WHOSE POWDER KEG?

BY ELI CHAMBERLAIN

IF THE Balkan countries are left alone they will succeed in forming a Balkan federation, to their own and Europe's advantage. A series of informing books on Balkan matters, of which Miss West's "Black Lamb and Grey Falcon" may be singled out as excellent of its kind, has brought enlightenment on Balkan problems but has not dispelled the inveterate view that the Balkans are a congeries of primitive peoples whose outstanding characteristic has been their mutual hostility and whose principal employment has been that of dragging into their quarrels those advanced states which have sought to keep a beneficent eye upon them. Even groups and individuals who have promoted schemes for pacifying the Balkans have done so with the aloof superiority of a Lady Bountiful, taking little notice of the real needs of the political minors for whom they wished to act.

But recent events have raised questions in the minds of even superficial readers of war news. In all the Balkan countries under German occupation there arose strong resistance movements which combined an extensive program of internal reform with the immediate goal of liberation. In each country a smaller resistance movement, usually with the word "national" in its title, professed hostility to the Germans but manifested even greater hostility to its liberal competitor. The support which the Western Allies extended to the liberal movements was grudging and inadequate. The support which they extended to the small "nationalist" groups was much more substantial, despite the fact that the "nationalist" leaders, notably Abas Kupi in Albania, Mihailovich in Yugoslavia, and Zervas in Greece, were also in contact with the Germans, who were willing to support such groups as an economical device for combating the larger resistance movements. Despite both German and British support of the "nationalists," the liberation movements have prevailed, most unexpectedly perhaps in the case of Enver Hoxha's L. N. C. in Albania, most spectacularly in the case of Tito, and

against the most determined opposition in the case of Greece's E. A. M. Without outside interference the progress of the liberation movements would have been speedier and less costly.

The remarkable thing about these movements is the identity of their goals and their ability to secure the cooperation of diverse political parties for the attainment of these goals. Between the disparate movements also relations have been cordial. Strains are to be expected on questions of territorial claims—the perennially vexatious questions of Macedonia, western Thrace, northern Epirus-southern Albania, the Kosovo area. In each case the liberation movements have affirmed their countries' rights to disputed areas, but it has been the nationalist groups which have made most capital with extravagant irredentist claims. It is not unreasonable to expect that the parties involved, if they are not pushed about by outside pressures, will be able to evolve amicable settlements. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are advocating an autonomous Macedonia, to be incorporated into a Balkan federation. Greece is reluctant to yield its Macedonia to such a solution, but if its foreign policy is unhampered Greece too may be expected to reach an agreement with its neighbors.

A thoughtful and timely study of federation movements in the Balkans, dedicated, significantly, "to the peoples of the Balkans who in fighting fascism today make possible their federation tomorrow," has just appeared. This is L. S. Stavrianos's "Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement Toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times" (Smith College Studies in History, Volume 27, 75 cents). There have been a number of previous studies of Balkan federation, particularly in connection with the series of Balkan conferences held in the early 30's for the stated purpose of achieving Balkan rapprochement and eventually Balkan federation. But these works are fragmentary; the merit of Professor Stavrianos's work is that it comprehends the entire subject, and not merely as a diplomatic jigsaw but with the lives and interests of the peoples involved kept steadily in view.

The year 1914 marks a break in the motivation of the drive for federation. From the eighteenth century until that year much diplomatic intrigue and many speeches and brochures were devoted to schemes for Balkan federation. Detailed and critical study of each reveals that none arose out of popular conviction or was calculated to meet popular needs, but that all were contrived to promote some nationalist interest, usually independence or territorial aggrandizement. The great powers and Balkan statesmen alike used federation as an effective slogan when it served their current purposes to do so, and discarded it when other devices seemed more efficacious.

After 1914 agitation for federation became a genuine expression of people who desired it for its own sake, for the benefits it would bring to the people directly affected, and not as a means to some remoter political end. Two groups devoted themselves to the cause:

(a) Liberal intellectuals, journalists, professional men, who hoped that by educating public opinion they could induce Balkan governments to settle their differences, establish closer relations, and eventually unite in a federation. They attained their apogee in the four Balkan conferences of 1930-33, which they organized under the auspices of the

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Universal Peace Congress. Their scheme was based on the League of Nations and collective security, and when these collapsed, Balkan conferences and Balkan entente collapsed with them.

(b) Left-wing movements, such as labor and agrarian parties. Since the end of the nineteenth century Socialists and Communists had been promoting, in word and deed, the notion of a federation of Socialist or Communist states. The agrarians, for their part, sought to attain a romantic and somewhat utopian "Green International" of peasant commonwealths. These leftist organizations, both industrial and agrarian, reached their height in the revolutionary period after 1918, when Stambolisky was in power in Bulgaria, when Radich was the uncrowned king of Croatia, and when Communist parties were strong in urban areas. But in each of the Balkan countries left-wing movements were crushed by dictatorships.

In the liberation movements arising during the present war, however, these left-wing parties have again become active; they are in the ascendancy among the Partisans of Yugoslavia, the Fatherland Front of Bulgaria, the Democratic Front in Rumania, the E. A. M. in Greece, and the L. N. C. in Albania. And they have revitalized the federation movement, with the result that it is now stronger and nearer realization than at any time in the past. It is this fact which makes Professor Stavrianos's book so timely and so significant. The book should be read by all who profess a concern for the post-war security of the Balkans and of Europe and who at the same time use the resources of the democracies to frustrate democracy in the Balkans. The history of 150 years demonstrates that the prerequisite for Balkan federation and peace are, first, democratic regimes in the Balkans and, second, a system of collective security. There can be no enduring peace among the Balkan states or between the Balkans and the rest of Europe if the anti-democratic pre-war regimes are restored.

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IT IS INTERESTING NEWS that the United Automobile Workers have established a book club which will distribute books at moderate cost to members of the union who are interested. The New York publishers Reynal and Hitchcock have been retained as consultants and advisers on technical and professional matters; the selection of books will be made by the Educational Department of the union. Six books will be distributed annually.

The Labor Book Club, as it is to be called, will not be a "left" book club. The selections will include popular novels as well as serious books on national and international affairs. It is assumed that workers, when they do read, read the same sort of books that other people do. This seems to me a sensible assumption. The statement of Reynal and Hitchcock, when it speaks of the "potentially vast market" the Labor Book Club may tap, makes the further assumption that workers are not primarily readers of books. This also is true, I think. By and large, most people, including workers, read magazines instead of books.

The Labor Book Club, it seems to me, is bound to increase the number of book readers. This is generally, and rather loosely, considered a "good thing." I see no particular virtue in reading a book like "Forever Amber" instead of a serial in the *Saturday Evening Post*. It's not necessarily true that the person who begins by reading "Forever Amber" will eventually get to "War and Peace." But there's always a chance of it, especially among the young, and the Educational Department of the U. A. W. has an opportunity, which is almost frightening, to mold the taste of a large number of readers. The job of selection will be difficult and delicate—and fascinating as well. The Educational Department won't get very far if it doesn't give the members of the Labor Book Club what they want, or think they want—the distinction is important. They will want to read what's popular, and though good books are often popular, popular books are even more often bad. It is probably true that bad books drive out good, but I'm still wide-eyed enough to believe that at a certain point in the development of a reader, good books drive out bad. And by way of a footnote, I hope the Labor Book Club won't be confined permanently, as it probably will be at first, to current books.

Anyway, I shall be extremely interested in the selections of the Labor Book Club, of which the first six are to be announced this month.

FRANK ROSS PRODUCTIONS informs me that "The Robe," which F. R. P. is going to produce in Technicolor, has now sold more than a million and a half copies, "making the *property*" (my italics) one of the "greatest of great American best-sellers." What the devil does "great" mean anyway? I am informed further that for every 100 persons who have read the book, 67 are waiting to read it, and that it is exerting a powerful influence on the lives of thousands.

"It is the intention of Frank Ross and Mervyn Le Roy," says the letter—which, if you must know, is mimeographed except for the address—"to keep faith in every possible way with this ever-widening public. For that purpose Mr. Ross has budgeted over \$4,000,000 to produce the picture."

I can't quote the whole letter. Suffice to say that Frank Ross Productions wants my advice on casting the film—and will I please send in suggestions.

Frankly, Mr. Ross, I haven't read the book, and I think I'll wait for the picture. Meanwhile, you have given me a new slant on the American—and Canadian—people. They are obviously made up of (1) those who have read "The Robe" and are now absorbed in deciding, en masse, who should play Marcellus, Demetrius, and Diana; (2) those who are reading "The Robe" and mustn't be disturbed; and (3) those who are waiting to read "The Robe" and have gone to war or are working in munitions factories just to pass the time until they can get hold of a copy.

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME: Our Famous Corset Salon, always with an eye to the future, has been lifting the bosom and tapering the waistline for months.—Advt. . . Judging by the success of "Harvey," what this country needs is a good six-foot rabbit. . . I notice someone is bringing out a book on the problem *teacher*. It's about time.

## Coming

IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

JOHN GRIERSON'S article in this issue is the first in a series of four articles—TOMORROW THE MOVIES—on the development of the motion picture as a social force. His second article, PICTURES WITHOUT THEATERS, will appear next week. It will be followed by HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR and IS HOLLYWOOD SWINGING LEFT? by DOROTHY JONES, former head of OWI's Film Reviewing and Analysis Section, who in these articles speaks for herself.

✱

STUART CHASE in the next issue contributes the last of three articles from his forthcoming book, "Democracy Under Pressure." This article, WAYS AND MEANS, discusses what can be done to curb the pressure groups and end the recurring deadlocks which are growing so disastrous for us all.

✱

A CHINESE SCHOLAR, who must remain anonymous, has written an analysis of education in China today which shows how political corruption and reaction impinge upon the minds of children through a school system designed to promote faith in feudalism and distrust of democracy.

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SIDNEY HOOK, noted American social and political philosopher, joins issue with T. S. ELIOT on the latter's conception of culture, society, and religion.

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## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Nationalism or Peace

WE MIGHT AS WELL start with a truism: Josephus Daniels is eminently likable. He is modest: if he praises his own administration of the navy, it is in legitimate self-defense. I could detect but one case of egocentricity in the latest volume of his autobiography, "The Wilson Era: Years of Peace, 1910-1917" (Chapel Hill, \$4). In 1916 California was the pivotal state. It went to Wilson, *because Daniels had expanded the naval establishments at Mare Island and San Diego*. A touching expression of faith in the potency of the pork barrel.

Daniels's great hero is Bryan, to whom he pays a heartfelt and really fine tribute. Wilson he respected, admired, and even loved; but Wilson at his most democratic, when he swept aside court etiquette at the White House, claimed to be "merely a gentleman." Bryan and Daniels were just folks.

Like Bryan, like Wilson, Daniels was an obstinate and thoroughgoing neutral. But they were not alone: Daniels quotes words of Theodore Roosevelt's which the fiery Colonel would have preferred posterity to forget: "I am not passing judgment upon Germany's action [the invasion of Belgium]. I admire and respect the German people. I am proud of the German blood in my veins." So far so good; but he proceeds: "When a nation feels that the issue of a contest in which, for whatever reason, it finds itself engaged will be national life or death, it is inevitable that it

should so act as to save itself from death and perpetuate life." Teddy was right: there is no law for the true national-ist. We shall have to choose between nationalism and peace.

For Daniels the snakes in the grass were House, Lansing, and Page. He makes a good case for his own attitude. He was ready to abandon neutrality in the defense of principles; but what House, Lansing, and Page urged and secured was an alliance with Great Britain. So the crusade for democracy was from the first entangled with "my ally, right or wrong."

Well worth reading, this book—and not merely because it is pleasant and chattily informative. Bryan and Daniels stood for a large and thoroughly sound element in our people. They love peace, and are willing to organize for peace; but they would prefer isolation to imperialism, power politics, and diplomatic intrigue. That element is still with us. It will never guarantee a peace concocted in secrecy and imposed by a new Axis. It were unrealistic to ignore that basic fact.

ALBERT GUERARD

### Washington Irving's Western Journal

ON HIS RETURN from Europe in 1832, after seventeen years abroad, Washington Irving said, "I come from countries lowering with doubt and danger, where the rich man trembles and the poor man frowns—where all repine at the present and dread the future. I come from these, to a country where all is life and animation." His eagerness to extend his knowledge of America led him to join a government commission on a visit to the region then newly set apart for the Indian tribes, in what is now Oklahoma. His "Journal" of that trip is here presented as an item in the American Exploration and Travel Series, meticulously edited by John Francis McDermott (University of Oklahoma Press, \$3.50). Its chief interest to readers of American literature is that it furnishes a comparison with its author's "Tour of the Prairies," which he worked up from these notes. It is revealing to watch Irving, the inveterate lover of the picturesque, transform his French guide and buffalo hunter into the comic servant of European tradition, into a pale imitation of Gil Blas. As a result of being so saturated in literary allusions, Irving missed the chief opportunities afforded by this experience for fresh and lively creation of actual frontier types. Mr. McDermott makes this point tellingly, and urges that greater authenticity attaches to Irving's journal than to his finished book. But the journal itself is very fragmentary, though it does add to our social history some details of frontier customs as well as the day-to-day account of a company of Western rangers, robustly casual and unmilitary in their behavior.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN

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### Memoir and Opinion

BY FAR THE GREATER PART of "Our Jungle Diplomacy," by William Franklin Sands in collaboration with Joseph M. Lalley (Chapel Hill, \$2.50), is taken up with Mr. Sands's lively, fragmentary, and very opinionated recollections of his career as a United States diplomat in Panama, Guatemala, and Mexico. This material, the author alleges, warrants and sustains a brief but violent and quite

unbalanced attack on almost the entire tradition of American foreign policy. Some of the points can be reached and reinforced from other positions; yet in this present book they appear as ill-supported observations. Mr. Sands, were he a Briton, might perhaps be thought to suffer from an Indian liver. At least, his disequilibrium of temper is easily recognized when he writes of President Wilson's aid to Carranza as follows: "Mr. Wilson's repugnance to retail political murder prompted him to provide the guns and munitions for two decades of wholesale murder, robbery, and civil war." There are many remarks as extravagant as this. Needless to say, Mr. Sands has reactionary views on the Mexican Revolution, which he fallaciously interprets as largely a succession of racial phenomena, and as an event which might have been prevented by Mr. Thompson, a former American ambassador, had he not been stupidly dismissed. At least, Mr. Sands, in a characteristic passage, tells us that when Madero appealed to Thompson for help against the dictator Díaz, the American ambassador concluded his reply with the words, "As long as I remain in the embassy there will be no revolution." For this reason, Mr. Sands declares, Thompson's dismissal "was a decision that would ultimately affect the lives and deaths of millions of human beings." On page 239 he says, explicitly, that the chief fruit of American jungle diplomacy is the "disastrous war" in which we are now engaged. He is explicit, again, when he declares that our promotion of the Panamanian revolution of November 3, 1903, provided the Japs with pattern and inspiration, and apparently cause, for the seizure of Korea in February, 1904. One had hitherto thought of that event as part of the conflict of Russian and Japanese imperialism, which had already reached a state of war in February, 1903. The vigilant specialist in Central American affairs may pick up some few particles of useful knowledge from this book, but it is too idiosyncratic to have political value for the general reader. As a volume of memoirs it offers some entertainment.

RALPH BATES

## Japan's "New Order"

SINCE MANY JOURNALISTS were included among the civilian Americans interned by the Japanese in Asia, their published accounts are beginning to add up to an informative library on conditions in the "co-prosperity sphere." These conditions, as outlined by Russell Brines in "Until They Eat Stones" (J. B. Lippincott, \$3), were not so good more than a year ago; undoubtedly, they are much worse now. New aspects of the life of American internees in Manila and Shanghai are described by Brines, who covered much the same itinerary as Royal Arch Gunnison. He is at his best in handling the observed data in the Philippines and the Shanghai area. While his further appraisals of conditions and policy in the lands of Southeast Asia, in North China and Manchuria, and in Japan proper are not without occasional errors of detail, they add up to an unusually comprehensive picture of what Japan has been doing in these occupied territories since 1941. Those who are curious about the subject may read the last half of this work with considerable profit.

T. A. BISSON

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## Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

ROSE FELD'S little sketches about Sophie Halenczik were not what most people thought of as typical *New Yorker* material. At least, however, they did not appear out of place when one found them in the *New Yorker's* pages, and it seemed reasonable to suppose that a dramatization on which the author collaborated would exhibit some equivalent of the quality which made them acceptable to readers who were sophisticated in either the good or bad sense of that unsatisfactory word. In the light of any such expectations, however, "Sophie" (The Playhouse) is simply incredible, for it turns out to be a kind of "Abie's Irish Rose" in which the tale of a love affair between the scion of an old American family and the daughter of a Czech immigrant is told with all the subtlety of Miss Nichols's masterpiece. For all I know it may find and please a large audience, but if it does, that audience is not likely to include many of Sophie's admirers in her former incarnation.

Already this season we have been given abundant opportunity to study the methods of the dramatizer and to compare plays with the novels or short stories from which they were taken. At least one adaptation, "The Late George Apley," is an extremely skillful job. One or two are reasonably satisfactory, one or two are passable despite the fact that a certain diffuseness in the material and a certain tendency of the action to wobble uncertainly indicate clearly enough that the story was not originally conceived in the dramatic form. But we have had nothing else which had suffered so disastrous a transmogrification as this of "Sophie" into hokum of the most obvious sort. No doubt part of the explanation lies in the fact that in no other case did the dramatizer undertake to deal with material which furnished him with so little that could be translated directly into dialogue or action.

Those who have read the original sketches will remember that their method is exceedingly indirect. Sophie is an industrious and useful servant. To her mistress, who tells the tale, she appears slow, stubborn, inarticulate, and of dubious intelligence. But occasionally she drops some remark concerning some acquaintance or some member of her family, and, after persistent questioning, she yields a fantastic story—about the suitor whom she dismissed because she suspected the

virility of a man too careful of his digestion; about her son who doubted the responsibility for an illegitimate child until she invented a tall tale about the birthmarks hereditary in the family; above all, about her pride in being an American. But none of the events is ever brought directly before our eyes, and none of them ever ceases to have the vagueness of distant, not quite comprehended things. The Sophie in the kitchen is real; the Sophie who conducts with great competence a highly complicated private life is a legendary figure in whom one hardly believes and concerning whom, therefore, almost anything seems at least as credible as anything else.

In the play, on the other hand, we are led directly into Sophie's own house and presented with her adventures in detailed as well as concrete form. Katina Paxinou, the Greek actress, plays the heroine, not as a slow-moving peasant but as a matriarch of Mediterranean vivacity; and the director has filled the stage with the incessant noise and bustle of a George Abbott farce. Several of the incidents are recognizable in outline as drawn from the original sketches, but once the veil of indirectness has been discarded they cease to be either interesting or credible, and a sad attempt has been made to bolster them with half that repertory of gags which ceased to be standard a quarter of a century ago—including that about a postman who takes a personal interest in his clients' mail and that involving a vast potter about a chamber pot which Sophie considers a proper ornament for the front hall as long as it is tastefully concealed in what, I believe, used to be called a "commode."

If Miss Feld thought this play a reasonable dramatic equivalent of her sketches, then the fact suggests a curious commentary on the writer's gift and the extent to which writers themselves do not always understand what they have done. If she merely stood by while her work was mistreated, then it suggests a sad commentary on the price authors sometimes pay for the willingness to permit attempts at commercial exploitation. In any event, one moral is clear. The dramatizer who selects a story to work upon should assure himself either that it can be lifted pretty directly to the stage or that, if it can't, he knows how to recapture some of its quality in a different form.

THE UNITIES and the proprieties of the classic stage are disrespected with a vengeance in the current Harlem production, "Walk Hard" (the American

Negro Theater). And yet the play, acted with skill and enthusiasm, has "punch" and, sometimes, elements of good drama. "Walk Hard" is not, as it now stands, in a class with "Anna Lucasta." If it is to be brought to midtown, it will need rewriting and polishing. It wants more unity and integration. A young Negro boxer is the too tenuous link between a number of different problems, one of which is his own psychological difficulties when faced with the others. The young boxer, a serious-minded, wholesome boy, is bewildered by his encounter with the uncomprehending and vicious world. He is exploited by racketeer boxing managers, and he inevitably runs afoul of "Jim Crow." In addition to its indictment of the world of small-time professional boxing, "Walk Hard" is a protest against "Jim Crow" and a challenge to combat it. Then, too, a certain amount of love interest is woven into the play. Unfortunately it is neither altogether a psychological study nor altogether a social document; it is not powerful drama either. It would be a more effective production if it pulled in fewer directions at once and if its realism were less vulgar. Foul-mouthed plug-uglies and drunken whores may make for local color, but in the theater suggestion often goes farther than the real thing. In spite of its shortcomings, however, "Walk Hard" is an interesting play, and the American Negro Theater deserves to be encouraged.

The A. N. T., in its program, solicits contributions to its building fund. Certainly its present installation is singularly bad. Seated squarely behind a thick pillar in the A. N. T.'s cellar theater, I found it very hard to follow the action on the tiny stage. The A. N. T. is a tax-exempt organization and, I should say, worthy of support. (The address of the A. N. T. is 104 West 136th Street, New York.)

M. G.

## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

WHILE I was watching "The Keys of the Kingdom," and for a few days afterward, I liked it quite well for its sincerity and for what then seemed its reasonably clean effort to present a hero whose heroism is moral. As I think it over, much of the sincerity and of the ethics seems beefy, uncomfortable, love-your-fellow-mannish, and in general rather uninteresting. I think

it cheap to convince the audience that a priest's a male for all that by giving him a sweetheart, then knocking her off in order to provide him with manly rather than godly reasons for spending the rest of the show in a cassock. The relationship between the priest and a handsome mother superior is unusual for films and brings a couple of good scenes, but I disliked its being fed the audience as a sort of loveless love interest. It seems a little weak, for that matter, to spend most of your two hours in China in order that those who can't take their moral conflicts, such as they are, neat can always chase them with something pleasantly exotic. I wonder, too, why I thought Gregory Peck a particularly gifted actor. Now, it seems to me that he probably has talent, in a still semi-professional stage, and that I was moved and misled rather by his newness, his unusual handsomeness, and his still more unusual ability to communicate sincerity. There are, however, some fully unquestionable pieces of acting—a beautiful one by Sir Cedric Hardwicke, a good if broad one by Vincent Price, a disciplined, highly charged one by Rosa Stradner, and I imagine a good one by Edmund Gwenn; I can't wholly like or trust my judgment of the sort of mellow old man he plays here. Actually, I suppose it's a pretty good movie all around, but I feel about it as I might if I were given the original novel, bound in veal, for Christmas, and felt I had to read it with care. I am, incidentally, getting a little tired of seeing movies thought of as "religious" which carry not much more religious meaning or insight or adventurousness than a bourgeois's good intentions at New Year's. Not that priests would be by any means necessary to a good religious picture. I can't help noticing that they have never yet been shown on the screen at their real business, public or private; just as screen lovers are seldom shown to be capable of love.

"Winged Victory" has some briskly interesting and well-assembled material about the training and testing and rejecting phases of Air Force life. Aside from that I suppose it is all right, but I don't enjoy having anyone try to persuade me, so cheerfully and energetically, that the Air Force personnel is without exception composed of boy scouts old enough to shave. "Here Come the Waves" is an almost totally negligible musical, which does, however, involve Bing Crosby, Betty Hutton (in a double role), and Sonny Tufts. I would enjoy Crosby even if he did not

amusingly kid Sinatra, and probably even if he did nothing but walk across a shot; I may begin to tire of Betty Hutton's violence some day, but I haven't yet; and though Sonny Tufts's work is almost wholly composed of "natural" mannerisms, I think most of them natural and entertaining. "Can't Help Singing" miscarries Deanna Durbin, a Jerome Kern score, and a trip across North America in 1849. It seems to me this could have been a beautiful and gay picture; unfortunately it is made without much feeling for either beauty or gaiety. "Music for Millions" so uses Margaret O'Brien and Jimmy

Durante and June Allison and Jose Iturbi and a symphony orchestra and God only knows how many dollars as to get close to the least good possible out of any of them. "Hollywood Canteen" tempted two Albany bank presidents each to buy \$10,000,000 (ten million dollars) of war bonds in order that one might "stand in" for Errol Flynn and the wife of the other for Bette Davis at a "Proxy Premiere" in that city. Buy a war bond and a ticket to the show—the proceeds go to the real Hollywood Canteen—but take care to invest in a bar of nose candy on your way through the lobby.

## IS RELIGION A DETERRENT TO CRIME?

Facts and figures disprove the accusation that the American public school is "godless," and show that religious instruction in the classroom is no guarantee of a solution for the crime problem. For a fully documented, statistical analysis of this important question, read

*"Catholic Education and Crime," by L. H. Lehmann,*

in the JANUARY issue of

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# Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

**P**ROKOFIEV's new Sonata Opus 94 for violin and piano, which Szigeti played at his Carnegie Hall recital with Harry Kaufman, is Peter-and-the-Wolf-ish, and therefore pleasant to listen to once but not interesting to hear a second time. Once is enough also for Stravinsky's Duo Concertant (1932), in which the method that produces amusing results in the gay Gigue produces a horrid distorted lyricism in the serious movements. For the first time in my experience Szigeti, who was in top form, played with a pianist who had musicianship and vitality comparable with his own; and it was wonderful to hear (Kaufman is, then, a third ensemble pianist, in addition to Rupp and Balsam, whom the New Friends might have engaged to play sonatas with Szigeti instead of Arrau). And it was astounding all over again to hear what Szigeti does with Bach's A minor Sonata for unaccompanied violin—to hear, that is, the illusion of eloquence and power created in this arid music by the eloquence and power of the performance.

I heard part of the broadcast of Eugene Istomin's performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 with the New York Philharmonic, and admired his sensitive treatment of music and instrument. The treatment of the music was in fact too sensitive: Istomin has a tendency to linger too long over the ends

of phrases, possibly out of sheer excess of the warm musical feeling that is evident in his playing.

Victor's one set (980; \$5.75) for January offers excerpts from Puccini's "La Bohème," recorded—presumably before the war—by Albanese, Gigli, and others with the Milan Scala Orchestra under Berrettoni. They comprise the two popular arias and final duet from Act 1, Musetta's aria from Act 2, the farewell and the quartet from Act 3, the Rodolfo-Marcello duet and the final scene from Act 4. As I have had occasion to mention before, Puccini was my first love in opera, but now I cannot endure the excessive sentimentalities and archnesses of this music, which moreover lend themselves to the stylistic mannerisms of Italian tenors and sopranos that make them even worse. These "mannerisms" flourish luxuriantly in almost every phrase that is to be heard in this new set; as for the singing apart from style, Albanese's voice is fresher and lovelier than it is today, Gigli's is very beautiful when it is not straining for iron power in high notes; Tatiana Menotti's is the tremulously shrieking soprano that apparently is bred for in Musettas; and Afro Poli's is quite a good baritone. The conductor's job in this performance, as in most performances of this opera, is merely to follow the great singers in their extravagances humbly—which Berrettoni does.

On a single disc (10-1121; \$.75) is a Prelude and Fugue in E minor by Bach (Novello II, 44; Peters Book 242, 88) played by E. Power Biggs on the Baroque Organ in the Germanic Museum of Harvard University. I find the Prelude as uninteresting now as I did when I listened to it played by Commette on Columbia 14273-D, and the Fugue only a little more impressive. Biggs plods through them in his usual four-square fashion; the reverberant recording occasionally does not reproduce the polyphony clearly.

On another single (11-8695; \$1) are the Mad Scene and Death of the Miller from Dargomizhsky's "Russalka," sung by Chaliapin with Pozemkovsky, tenor, and an orchestra under Steimann. Except for Chaliapin's singing it is a very poor performance; and even his singing does not make the music interesting. My copy of this record has very noisy surfaces.

Of the two remaining singles, one (11-8696; \$1) offers a rather tasteless medley of bits of Strauss waltzes by Johann Sr. and Jr., Eduard, and Josef, well performed by Goehr with the Lon-

don Philharmonic. The other (11-8694; \$1) offers the Prelude and Menuet from Debussy's early Suite Bergamasque, music which I don't care for even when it is well performed, as it seems to be by E. Robert Schmitz.

## CONTRIBUTORS

**JUAN NEGRIN**, Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic, is at present in exile in London.

**KEITH HUTCHISON**, associate editor of *The Nation*, has just returned from a three months' visit to England.

**JOHN GRIERSON** is head of the Canadian Film Board and a recognized authority on documentary films.

**GEROLD FRANK** is war correspondent in the Near and Middle East for Overseas Press, Inc.

**JACQUES BARZUN** is an associate professor of history at Columbia University. Among his books are "Race: A Study in Modern Superstition," "Of Human Freedom," and "Culture in the Democracy."

**ELI CHAMBERLAIN** is the pseudonym of a writer closely in touch with Balkan affairs.

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# Letters to the Editors

## The "Digest" Protests

Dear Sirs: Permit me as one of the editors of the *Reader's Digest* to correct the statements in your editorial of December 2 which referred to the report of the Magazine and Newspaper Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English. Your editorial relied on figures from that report, and entirely ignored the fact that the report was rejected by the Executive Committee of that association (vote five to two) because it was unreliable, unscientific, and lacked objectivity. As to the very figures you quoted, the Executive Committee's analysis says: "This array of percentages is confusing."

From these misleading percentages your editorial concludes: "To give the effect of presenting a cross-section of American thought, a substantial proportion of the 'hotbed' articles were planted in other periodicals first, and then reprinted by the *Digest*."

The facts are that in two and a half years—from January, 1942, through June, 1944—out of 1,095 articles, those devoted to economics, government and politics, industrial relations, and international relations numbered 155. Out of these, 41 articles were first created through the cooperation of editors of other magazines with editors of the *Digest*, were published elsewhere, and later reprinted in the *Digest*.

Thus, 41 out of 1,095 articles, less than 4 per cent, dealing with so-called "hotbed" subjects, were reprints from other magazines of articles created by the *Digest*. Your total certainly does not give this impression.

Even of the 4 per cent, very few of the articles were controversial in character.

One expects *The Nation* not to accept inaccurate material from a subcommittee report so biased that it was rejected by the parent body.

FULTON OURSLER

Pleasantville, N. Y., December 6

[We find nothing to correct in our editorial comment. Mr. Oursler, interestingly enough, uses different years and in his analysis a criterion somewhat different from that used by the committee of the National Council of Teachers of English. Yet he admits that 26½ per cent of the *Digest* articles devoted to economics, government and politics,

industrial and international relations were "created through the cooperation of editors of other magazines with editors of the *Digest*." If we substitute the harsher term "planted" for its euphonious equivalent, we find that there is virtually no disagreement between "the facts" as cited by Mr. Oursler and the "misleading percentages" cited by the committee of the National Council of Teachers of English—certainly not enough to affect the conclusions of the editorial. The fact that the *Digest* published 1,040 articles outside of this controversial area and that none of these were "planted" seems to us to be largely irrelevant, as was the action of the Executive Committee of the National Council. Regardless of possible minor inaccuracies, the committee has performed a useful service in calling attention to the extent to which the *Digest* is not a "digest" but a staff-planned publication whose planning, by Mr. Oursler's own admission, affects the contents of other magazines as well as the *Digest* itself.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Facts of Life

Dear Sirs: I was interested in reading the letter of John W. Scoville in your issue of November 30, in which he espoused the principle of *laissez faire*. I wish to remind Mr. Scoville that the automobile industry, to which he is attached, would never have been able to develop to its present proportions without the subsidization of highway building by government and taxation by government for such purpose.

When the first concrete highway was built in Detroit, there was opposition because of the burden placed upon the taxpayers, which would benefit only a small proportion of the people. Years later an appropriation by the state of \$50,000,000 for highways was opposed on the same ground. Since then hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent by government in highway construction in America, and the other day Congress adopted a post-war highway program which will eventually cost \$3,000,000,000. Without the constant improvement of the highways to meet the changes in automobile design and engine power the automobile industry would never have been able to expand.

Without the construction by government of air ports and government regulation of air transportation the aviation industry would be stifled for many years to come.

The Chrysler Corporation, with which Mr. Scoville is connected, some years back undertook a program of eliminating lead poisoning among its employees and did quite a thorough job of it, to the benefit of the workers and of the corporation and, incidentally, of the whole community. No one would accuse the Chrysler Corporation of being dictatorial, or bureaucratic, or even paternalistic, because it undertook this program of controlling lead poisoning.

But in the city of Detroit there are many square miles of dilapidated buildings with filthy alleys and unsanitary food-provision houses and markets which propagate rodents and spread disease. Now suppose someone were to suggest that the public markets and provision houses which cover large areas be placed in concrete buildings and concrete cellars, converting most of the

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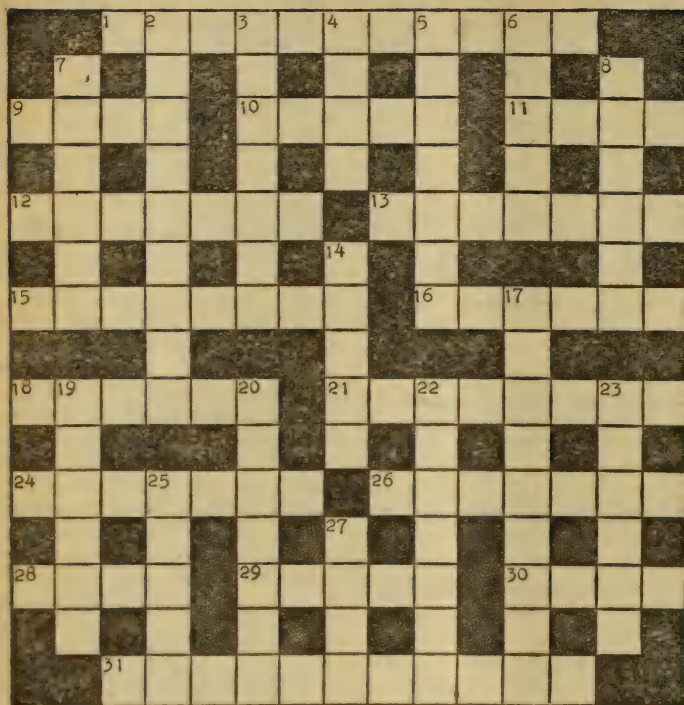
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# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 97

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Political vessel that is sometimes at sea, though it never goes to sea (three words, 4, 2 and 5)
- 9 Read it, and digest the contents
- 10 "---- I did it. Boy!" (Shakespeare)
- 11 The work is in the soup
- 12 Andiron
- 13 Confer with the government official at tea
- 15 Banter, or what poor wine becomes
- 16 Where no life is found, according to Thomas Hood
- 18 "Those who want ----- things are nearest to the gods" (Socrates)
- 21 Can't be found, and no superimposed copy taken
- 24 The butcher would find more than one in the hedge
- 26 Costers follow form closely
- 28 Carriage suggesting what might admit it
- 29 Built-out window
- 30 "Windows of the soul"
- 31 He doesn't care what happens, as long as it doesn't happen to him

## DOWN

- 2 A homely spouse
- 3 Mechanical music maker
- 4 Puffed himself up to resemble the bull, in the fable
- 5 Seems rather a precarious grip to get on a 250-pound wrestler
- 6 They give the poor workman cause for complaint

7 Tin ear (anag.)

8 He may not know his weight to an ounce, but he knows his way to announce

14 "Love seldom haunts the breast where learning lies, And ----- sets ere Mercury can rise" (Pope)

17 Since he always spelt it this way, should we assume that the Bard couldn't spell his own name?

19 Wind harp

20 Plant a good deal used in fencing

22 A draggle-tail

23 "To know, to -----, to love, and then to part, Makes up life's tale to many a feeling heart" (Coleridge)

25 Dropped and picked up with facility by a Cockney

27 The unmarried state, in short

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 96

ACROSS:—1 CLERGYMAN; 6 PIPIT; 9 EMOTION; 10 CATALPA; 11 PAN; 12 TICKET; 13 ADAM; 15 CHEERING; 16 CORNUT; 18 FOMENT; 20 FORTRESS; 23 TASK; 24 DRAGON; 25 GAS; 28 RAIMENT; 29 ENGRAVE; 30 ANGER; 31 CONCORDAT.

DOWN:—1 CHEAP; 2 ENOUNCE; 3 GLITTERING; 4 MENACING; 5 NICHES; 6 PUTT; 7 PALADIN; 8 TEAM-MATES; 14 MONTENEGRO; 15 CAFETERIA; 17 JOE GREEN; 19 MISSING; 21 ENGLAND; 22 CRITIC; 26 SCENT; 27 PEER.

land of those markets to parks for the benefit of residents in a blighted area surrounding these markets; it would be deemed by Mr. Scoville paternalistic, autocratic, and an interference with private enterprise.

Suppose the obsolete warehouses and factory buildings along the river front, which no longer depend on water transportation, were condemned by the city and the land replotted for residential purposes and converted from an ugly front door to a beautiful park and residential area; that also would be an interference with private enterprise according to Mr. Scoville's theory.

But suppose the automobile industry enters the field of prefabricated houses and discovers that a market for such houses in large enough numbers to insure mass production requires government condemnation of the ugly, filthy, insanitary areas in the cities, and the replotting of such areas into home districts within parks to be rented to tenants or sold on long-term payments. I am quite certain that the automobile industry would not consider government intervention in such activities an unwarranted extension of governmental prerogatives any more than it does government appropriations for the construction of highways.

HARRY SLAVIN

Detroit, Mich., December 18

## The Moyne Incident

Dear Sirs: Here is one reader who did not like your editorial on the "Lord Moyne incident."

You shed tears over the death of the British beer baron, forgetting that the British will exact a terrific penalty for that one killing. You forgot entirely that the brave men who will pay with their lives for that incident acted to call our attention to the long-continued acts of murder being perpetrated by Nazi-minded British colonial officials. When the British closed the doors of Palestine to innocent men, women, and children who were attempting to escape from Nazi Europe, they became guilty of murder.

Please don't whitewash British criminals who are attempting to use the "Moyne incident" to justify past and future murders. It is our duty to insist that our government act to compel the British to remove Nazi-minded officials from Palestine. If we acquiesce in the British betrayal of Palestine, we only pave the way for future betrayals on a larger scale.

LEWIS I. DUBLIN

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 6

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN COUNTER-ATTACKING not only in the west but in the east during the past week, and in both theaters they have had a considerable measure of success. The fighting around Budapest has been exceptionally bloody, even for the bloody eastern front, and the Germans have made a large-scale attempt to relieve the encircled garrison of the city—surely not through any sense of wanting to preserve Budapest's ancient buildings. Whether or not the attempt succeeds, it serves to emphasize once more the extraordinary recuperative powers of Germany, and the strength which the Wehrmacht still commands. It serves further to emphasize a fact too often neglected by many individuals among the western Allies: that the bulk of the German power is concentrated on the eastern front. The Red Army still bears the brunt of the battle against our common enemy; and, although victory may come from either east or west, the German general staff is forced to mass most of its impressive defensive strength in the east. Surely this battle for Budapest, gateway to Austria and the southern approaches to the Reich, demonstrates the falsity of the charge that the Russians drove into southeastern Europe solely for political reasons. General Dittmar, in fact, now reveals that the Germans *expected* the chief Russian offensive in this region last summer, and were completely crossed by the offensive on the central front. As for the parallel charge that the Red Army stopped before Warsaw for political reasons, the official summary of "Land Warfare in 1944," issued by the British War Office, states flatly that "German resistance hardened, and a counter-attack launched by fresh reinforcements halted the advance of the Red Army." Russian soldiers are also dying in this most bitter phase of the war against Germany.

✱

THE MOMENT OF OPTIMISM THAT FOLLOWED the retirement of the King of the Hellenes vanished in an instant last week when the new regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, asked General Plastiras to form the long-awaited unity government. British advices had pictured Damaskinos as sympathetic to the EAM and genuinely desirous of reaching a democratic solution in Greece. But instead he has inflicted a renovated dictatorship upon his unhappy country, one that seems to have the full backing of British bayonets. Plastiras, one-time anti-monarchist leader, was recently brought out of a long exile by the British. Now, as he announces his intention of imposing General Scobie's terms on the "rebels, by force if necessary," the British action no longer appears quite as disinterested as it did at first. The EAM cannot, of

course, participate in the new cabinet under present conditions and an early plebiscite, which seemed possible a few days ago, has become a forlorn hope. After weeks of bitter fighting against British regulars reinforced by Greek rightist bands—the Security Battalion and the Mountain Brigades—the ELAS, hopelessly inferior in matériel and equipment, has withdrawn from Athens. The bulk of Greece, however, remains under the administration of the EAM and it will not be forgotten that even the Germans were unable to subjugate the hinterland.

✱

THE SETBACK ON THE WESTERN FRONT HAS rendered acute the problem of shipping space and, following Anglo-American conversations in Washington, a revision of previously agreed schedules is believed to be in prospect. In this matter military considerations of course are paramount but they in turn involve many political and economic factors. What, for instance, is the minimum volume of supplies that we can afford to ship to the liberated countries? It has been stated that the Anglo-American High Command has decided to restrict such supplies to the amount necessary to prevent disease and civil disorder. But in Italy the meager allotment made available is not sufficient to meet even this requirement, for Mrs. Luce tells us that Italians are "literally dying of cold and starvation before your eyes by the thousands." Months ago Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill agreed that the Italian bread ration should be raised to 300 grams daily—a far from extravagant amount—but this proposal has not yet been put into effect. According to the State Department, the shipping situation is responsible. In France, Belgium, and the liberated portions of Holland the situation is not much better and, as a result, manpower which could be put to work for the Allied cause is being wasted. France, given some preliminary aid in the form of fertilizers, farm machinery, and raw materials, could not only feed itself but produce urgently needed goods such as textiles, of which there is an acute world shortage although plenty of raw cotton is available in this country. If French estimates that one ton of strategic imports for their factories would mean a ten-ton gain in war materials are correct, there is obviously a strong case for diverting some shipping space to a purpose of such immediate concern to Allied victory.

✱

FREDERICK C. CRAWFORD, FORMER PRESIDENT OF the National Association of Manufacturers, recently went to France expecting to find that the country was suffering acutely. But one glance at the Ritz in Paris, with its well-painted rooms, its big brass door-knobs intact, and its new silk curtains, disillusioned him. Obviously the French workers had been living well during the Nazi occupation and so it was no surprise when "a fine conservative Frenchman" told him that if it had gone on a little longer the French "would have settled for things as they were." Anxious to win the support of the French working classes, Mr. Crawford explained, the Germans primed the economic pump by setting an exchange rate which "filled the pockets of the German soldiers with money" and encouraging them to go out and spend it. This resulted in a quick turnover of consumer goods and led to a boom "that brought apparent prosperity to the working

classes." In Belgium, too, Mr. Crawford said, "business was above normal" during the occupation and "cruelty was reserved only for those who entered the underground against the Nazis." Clearly, there is no need to get too excited about that since, according to this highly qualified observer, in both France and Belgium "the underground is composed largely of Communists, young people, and underworld ex-convicts." Why haven't the many able American correspondents in Europe given us this information before? Because, says Mr. Crawford, the censorship of news distorts the European picture and on the subject of distortion he obviously speaks with unique authority.

✱

HENRI BONNET'S ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON AS the first ambassador of liberated France brings to a close a dismal period in Franco-American relations. The last official ambassador from France, Henri-Haye, represented not the French Republic, our ally from the start, but the ignominious Vichy regime at the service of the enemy. After our rupture with Vichy, our failure to admit the reality of the Fourth Republic during its early days in Algiers reinforced the erroneous impression that Americans were disdainful of the struggle for freedom of the very people who were the first to recognize our own war for independence. When, at long last, our government granted full recognition to General de Gaulle, we had the bad grace to send Jefferson Caffery as our first ambassador to Paris. Mr. Caffery, if his record in Cuba and in Brazil is any indication, is about as little qualified as any man could be to understand the spirit of the new French revolution and to keep our government well informed about France. But the presence in Washington of Henri Bonnet, one of France's leading liberals, a man with a distinguished record of service in the cause of intellectual freedom both in the League of Nations and out of it, seems, in a sense, to provide some compensation for the damage.

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GOVERNOR DEWEY'S ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE New York state legislature had a mildly progressive flavor, suggesting to some observers that his experiences as a Presidential candidate had convinced him of the need to attract liberal voters. He announced, for instance, the appointment of a committee to study revision of the formula on which state aid to education is based, thus opening the door for a more generous allotment of funds to the schools. He also proposed to increase funds for public housing and emphasized public works as a means of combatting unemployment in a way that brought him a solemn rebuke from the *New York Times*. However, as the American Labor Party has pointed out, after holding office for two years, his policy on social questions is still in the main to suggest committees to study what action should be taken rather than to recommend actual measures. His most sensational proposal—that the state should undertake the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project if the federal government failed to act—was greeted by both friends and foes with some cynicism. "Some Republicans," reports the *New York Times* Albany correspondent, "regard Mr. Dewey's stand as 'smart politics' since it would give them the 'liberal' side of a power issue, and would make it difficult for the Democrats to nominate Senator

James M. Mead of Buffalo as their candidate for Governor in 1946." Buffalo interests are opposed to the St. Lawrence project, which they fear would adversely affect their trade, and Senator Mead voted against it on December 12 last year. However, even more vehement opposition has been expressed by up-state Republican leaders. The power interests have yet to be heard from; probably they don't take the proposal very seriously.

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IN DECLARING THAT JIM CROW AND THE CLOSED shop were incompatible under the law, the California Supreme Court has put to shame the equivocal decision on the same issue handed down recently by the United States Supreme Court. In contrast to the federal tribunal's weak statement that "discriminations based on race alone are obviously irrelevant and invidious," the California court declared flatly that such discrimination affects the fundamental right to work for a living and is therefore "contrary to the public policy of the United States and this state." The California decision, which was unanimous, held that when a union has attained a monopoly of the supply of labor by means of a closed shop, such a union occupies a quasi-public position and assumes corresponding obligations—notably that of upholding the principles of the Fifteenth Amendment. Obviously, certain dangers are inherent in the California decision. Labor-baiters will undoubtedly try to extend the "obligations" assumed under the closed shop in such a way as to weaken or destroy trade unionism as such. But if organized labor expects continued public support in its campaign for closed shop contracts, it should take immediate voluntary steps to open its ranks to all workers, without regard for race, religion, or political affiliation.

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CARLTON J. H. HAYES' PRO-FRANCO SENTIMENTS have undermined his formerly high professional reputation. Eighty of his fellow historians, hailing from thirty colleges and universities, recently objected strenuously to the official nomination of the former Ambassador to Spain as president of the American Historical Association. His election, they stated, in a petition presented at the Association's annual meeting in Chicago two weeks ago, "would constitute, in the eyes of the public, an endorsement by the history profession of his friendly attitude toward the Franco regime." After heated debate the petitioners secured a secret ballot, with the result that 110 votes were cast for Hayes and 66 protest votes for Sidney B. Fay of Harvard University. And so Hayes became the first historian to be honored with the Association's presidency by less than a unanimous vote. The man who has gone on record as believing that universal schooling has served "to dispel rather than to forward the Enlightenment," may be expected to bring as little glory to the presidency of the Association as he did to the office of Ambassador to Spain. The action of his liberal colleagues is sufficient answer to the State Department-inspired article in the December issue of *Harper's* which attempts to whitewash Hayes' pro-Franco record. It is welcome demonstration, also, of the fact that academicians, when sufficiently provoked, take their political responsibilities seriously.

## National Service Again

NATIONAL-SERVICE legislation, again asked for by the President in his annual message to Congress, must be considered from three points of view. The first is its effect on the morale of the armed forces; this, to us, is the most weighty argument in its favor. The second is its effect on the morale of labor. Last year the President asked for national service but only as part of a broader program designed to stabilize the cost of living and to eliminate the profits of war. National service failed of passage with the rest of this program. This year the President's request is coupled only with an affirmation of his past pledges on the post-war economy—full employment, aid to small business, elimination of monopolies and cartels, development of more "TVA's," expansion of foreign trade, and a broader public-works program. We should think that it would be wise at least to couple national service with action to raise substandard wages. The hearings last year on the 65-cents-an-hour resolution showed how many American workers, despite talk of high wages, are making less than enough for a decent minimum living standard.

The third point of view from which national service must be considered is that of productive efficiency. So far the President has failed to make out a case for its necessity. This is true even in the limited field of the 4-F's. We favor legislation enabling the government to force 4-F's into war industry, but we do not see why new legislation is needed. We are puzzled by the new selective-service order which provides for induction into the armed forces, without privileges, of 2-A's and 2-B's who quit war work. We fail to understand why the order was not extended to cover 4,000,000 4-F's. It seems to us that selective service today has ample power to force these men into war work. Were the 4-F's left out of the order to provide an additional argument for national service?

We note in the report to Congress of James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, the statement, "The truth is that our soldiers at the front today are not short of ammunition and supplies as a result of any production failures." We note also his statement, "Several hundred thousand workers would fulfill the requirement of critical war production." Mr. Byrnes has closed racetracks, a ludicrously belated action. He has courageously ended agricultural deferments. He has asked immediate action on 4-F's. He and the President also want national-service legislation. "Because the war economy has matured," Byrnes reported, "because the labor supply is tight and relatively inflexible, moving enough workers to the right plants at the right time takes intensive effort on the part of all agencies." But the power to compel labor to move from one plant to another is only one phase of this "intensive effort on the part of all agencies." We cannot agree with the President that national service alone would insure having "the right number of workers in the right places at the right times." That takes competent organization. It takes planning. It takes a control of all factors of the productive process, labor included, that has yet to be exercised by either the army procurement services or the War Production Board. In the absence of such competent over-all direction the mere addition of compulsion

to the handling of labor might make a bad situation worse.

The first tendency of a military man is to apply compulsion, but there are tight situations in which a little thought is more important than the power to command. The army has from the first resisted planning of the war effort. One need only glance at the Mead committee's report of last December on accumulation of surpluses in order to see how much could be done in the production and man-power picture with a little more brains and a little less brass-hat stubbornness. Entirely too little progress has been made in centralizing and standardizing procurement. "There is no reason known to the committee," its report says, "why there should be different sizes and specifications for towels, blankets, sheets, artillery, and hundreds of other items." All this means waste of labor, time, and materials.

Much of the labor shortage is in skilled labor, and much of this in turn is due to the downright stupidity of the army and selective service in drafting men with irreplaceable skills who are more useful in industry than in uniform. The Mead committee made a survey of the use to which "certain highly skilled experts" were put after being drafted into the army and found most of them "landed in clerical positions or in other places where their creative ability and training were wasted." The committee reported that war-production shortages were due "to a substantial degree to the precipitous drafting of men from industry, in many cases some time before they were actually needed in the armed forces." We do not oppose national service if the need for it can be proved and some assurance can be given of competent direction. We look to Congressional hearings on new national-service legislation to provide that assurance. Without it we may merely find ourselves wasting more manpower than before.

## We're In to Stay

SEVERAL events in the past two weeks have thrown into high light the serious differences that have developed among the United Nations. The announcement of a new Greek Cabinet under General Plastiras failed to halt the fighting between the EAM forces and the British troops of General Scobie. In Lublin the National Liberation Committee proclaimed itself the rightful government of Poland and received, as one might expect, the quick recognition of the Soviet Union. Less expected was the refusal of both the British and the American government to break with the London Polish government in exile. Meanwhile the British press swung in behind the London *Economist* in its attack on the "hypocritical" and "irresponsible" American criticism of British policies in Europe, and the *Stars and Stripes* issued a moving appeal to put aside dissension between Allies as once more the bugles sounded for battle. Over the week-end the President gave a frank appraisal of Allied disharmony.

There is no doubt that American coolness toward our fighting allies has reached an acute stage. While liberals have stormed against the Mediterranean maneuvers of England's imperialistic Prime Minister, the Hearst press and its friends to the right and the left have practically called for a declaration of war on the Soviet Union. Liberal internationalists and isolationist diehards are paradoxically drifting into the same

camp. This is a serious state of affairs, dangerously reminiscent of the swing of American opinion after the last war. Once more liberals are becoming disillusioned and suggesting that the United States will be asked to approve an international organization which sanctifies the predatory decisions of the great powers against their neighbors. "Perfectionism no less than isolationism or power politics," as Mr. Roosevelt said, "may obstruct the paths of international peace."

This perfectionism has Europe worried and may even account for some of England's, Russia's, and France's latest moves. Mr. Stettinius's statements on Italy and Greece have been lauded as gentle rebukes to England: they may equally be regarded, as Dr. Niebuhr suggests elsewhere in this issue, as a Pilate-like washing of our hands as we look askance at Europe's troubles. And if the American government has a basic disinterest in Europe's future, then the big powers of Europe are going to look out for their own security without taking America into account. Power and not a regard for the rights of peoples will then be the chief consideration. England will guard its interests, its very national existence, by keeping in repair its lanes of empire and by building, if possible, a bloc of friendly nations in Western Europe. France, not casting off its traditional alliance with England, will back Russia's eastern claims in return for Russia's assistance vis-à-vis the threat of Germany. Russia will secure friendly neighbors on all its borders and extend its sphere of influence as far as necessary—but no farther than necessary—south and west. Altogether, this spells no pattern of durable peace but rather a scheme of uncertainly balanced power. In the past such a scheme has not prevented wars. It is not likely to prevent wars in the future. In fact, with Europe in its present revolutionary state, the attempts to suppress popular movements are almost bound to produce a state of civil war from which European civilization may never recover.

It is with such a likely European future in prospect that we should reconsider our current preoccupation with Italy, Greece, and Poland. Our attitudes tend to run from shocked disapproval to realistic indorsement according to our ideological partisanship. Our attitudes imply a physical and moral aloofness from which we may judge these power policies without being involved ourselves. Even liberal internationalists enjoy a sense of spiritual isolation from Europe's mess. We wish to state our position quite positively: The eradication of that covert isolationism is the most critical problem which American liberals face today. The full participation of the United States with England and Russia in a responsible concern for the future of Europe is not only the sole hope for the survival of Europe's forces of liberation and for the utter destruction of fascism; it is the sole hope for the survival of our own democracy. The President's statement seemed to suggest a more definite American concern in the affairs of Europe: "We cannot deny," said Mr. Roosevelt, "that power is a factor in world politics any more than we can deny its existence as a factor in national politics. But in a democratic world as in a democratic nation power must be linked with responsibility and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good."

Now if this statement is more than fine words it means that the United States will join its power as a great democracy in a responsible manner with the power of other members of

the United Nations. We shall "use our influence to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries block the eventual exercise of the people's right freely to choose the government and institutions under which, as free men, they are to live." And it is to be hoped that the power of the United States will be so exerted before and not after the fate of the people of Italy, Greece, and Poland is settled by the unilateral action of a single great power.

We cannot say that we are altogether confident that the newly picked State Department "team" is prepared to play this daring and powerful role. Nor can we feel too hopeful that the American people appreciate the actuality of global unity. If we are beyond the horse-and-buggy days we are not yet out of the era of steamships; oceans still mean distance. Today a sphere of isolated security is just as anachronistic as a sphere of influence; both ideas stem from thought modes of yesterday which this war has utterly shattered. Perhaps liberals had better even suspend their tears for the forces of liberation in Europe and begin to think a little more realistically of the future security of America. Then both European and American democracy may benefit. For our concern for America will take us to the very heart of Europe's problems. And our full participation in the common action of the United Nations is not only the sole guaranty of the rebirth of freedom in Italy, Greece, and Poland but the sole guaranty of the post-war freedom and security of all peoples throughout the world. We had better begin soon.

## *Break with Franco Now!*

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE mass meeting called by The Nation Associates last Tuesday to demand the end of diplomatic relations with Axis Spain was a tremendous success. Backed by a dozen labor and civic organizations, it drew some 16,000 people to Madison Square Garden in New York to hear a group of speakers give not only their opinion of the fascist regime in Spain but a penetrating analysis of the effect our continued recognition of Franco would have on world opinion and on the hope of a decent, democratic peace. But such a rally, however successful, is effective only in the degree to which it stimulates further action. We know that. And so, while we are gratified by the enthusiasm it generated, our real interest is in what flows from it.

For the time to act is now; just now. At an earlier period, appeals for a break with Franco would have been met by assertions that our military position would be endangered if his regime were not treated as a neutral—even as a friend. At a later period the Franco dictatorship, no longer even allegedly useful but an obvious menace to our future plans, particularly in the New World, may be supplanted by a Spanish version of Prince Humbert and Badoglio, or, perhaps, of King George and Papandreou. Spain has ringers for these characters ready to hand. If such a shift is made Spain will be in for a new bitter struggle, and its friends will be left to shout their grief and disapproval at an accomplished fact. Now is the time to act. Franco is left with nothing to lean on except the German agents that infest his land and the diplomatic support of Britain and the United

States. A change is in the wind; anyone with a sensitive nose can detect it. It is up to those of us who realize the importance of a democratic Spain to a democratic world to see to it that the change meets the wishes of the Spanish people.

This is what Dr. Juan Negrín said in the remarkable address which the British Foreign Office refused to allow him to broadcast to the Madison Square Garden meeting. The cabled text was read there and published in last week's *Nation*, but I want to recall a few lines of it here:

I am speaking to you, our American friends, to assure you that the Spanish people are ready and able to handle their own affairs, on condition that we are let alone, on condition that our hands are not tied, on condition that we are not subjected to pressures and maneuvers from without. We do not ask for it—please understand this—we do not ask for and we do not want intervention by other governments or armies. Two centuries of experience with foreign interventions have left a bitter memory in Spain, so costly have they been for us. For the last of these interventions, the one that by supreme irony was so hypocritically labeled Non-Intervention, we are still paying. Nor do we draw any comfort from certain recent examples of the same kind elsewhere.

We would welcome and we would be grateful for the sympathy, the help, the collaboration of friends. But the intervention of powers—no! Emphatically no! We only ask that no obstacles be placed in our way and that no aid be extended surreptitiously to the enemies of the Republic with arms so subtle that they cannot be matched by the meager means at our disposal. We only ask that the screws be not put on and that our future be not denied us.

This, of course, outlines our job: to insist upon a break with Franco; to insist that the Spanish people be given a chance to determine their fate, free from "pressures and maneuvers from without"; to provide sympathy, help, collaboration as the friends of democracy in Spain.

No single course of action or organization will be sufficient to bring this about. The thousands at last Tuesday's meeting promised with one voice to back Senator Coffee's resolution, which he has already reintroduced in the new session, demanding a break with Franco. It is certain, too, that the cooperating organizations will throw their weight behind this first, most necessary and tangible move. There cannot be too much pressure or pressure from too many sources. Not one committee, but thousands of citizens organized in many groups, will show our legislators the breadth and insistence of the demand that America redeem as far as possible its past mistakes in dealing with Hitler's Generalissimo in Spain. We hope readers of *The Nation* in many parts of the country, through the various organizations to which they belong, will hold rallies to make their demand for a break vocal and united.

In connection with the meeting last Tuesday the Nation Associates has launched an organization, The Friends of the Spanish Republic, which plans to initiate an active campaign of public education on a nation-wide scale. A bulletin will be issued and speakers made available to lead public discussions of the questions involved. *Nation* readers will be kept informed of the progress of the committee's plans. The Madison Square meeting sampled the strength of American democratic opinion that has not forgotten the infamy of the Spanish war. Its aftermath must be the decisive mobilization of that opinion against the last bastion of world fascism.

# The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE true outcome of the German counter-offensive into Belgium is not expected to be known until this article appears in print, or perhaps not until a week later. Official Washington, rudely awakened by the rude refusal of the enemy to lie doggo, has been taking a dim view of the western front since a not too Merry Christmas dispelled the dismal hope that the German blow might yet prove a bust. An un-Happy New Year of slowly progressing Allied counter-measures and German outbreaks on other sectors did little to restore the mists of bright wishing.

The Pentagon Building was never as sanguine about the German disaster of late summer and fall as was Allied Headquarters, but it was still pretty cheerful until the turn of the year or thereabouts. Then saner counsels within its walls prevailed—counsels which it is this department's unhappy duty to report were consistently declaring that the Germans were still potent for aggression, but which were cried down by more optimistic and less informed superiors.

As noted, it will probably not be known for some days what the outcome will eventually be: German recoupment and fresh thrust onward, retirement to the old line, or settlement at something like the present position—about half the original salient? Beyond that, the bearing on total western-front strategy and dispositions will not be known for some time longer. But already enough is known to show that the Allies have suffered a grievous reverse. The German claim of 50,000 American casualties may be taken at the usual discount; but the battles of Bastogne, St. Vith, and Stavelot were not fought without loss. More serious in the long run is the extent to which Allied plans for winter operations were upset. Armies from the two previously active sectors were diverted and thrown into the battle to channel the German blow straight to the west, where it could do the least damage. These operations were very well executed, especially in the case of the Third Army in the south: whatever staff officer arranged the switching of those divisions from an eastward to a northward advance, over poor and winter-bound roads, deserves special medals. Nevertheless, the transfer of so many divisions weakened the Saar and Aachen fronts, allowing a considerable German advance on the first and aggressive patrolling on the other.

Thus the Allies lost the initiative everywhere in the west and the Germans have been calling the turn. Our arrangements have been made temporary, at times rather desperate, as a result. Rundstedt, far from scrambling back out of the Ardennes salient when Allied counter-attacks bit in, continued funneling fresh troops in from Germany, and dug in hard: laying all the minefields and defensive fire points the First Army had never laid in the same region. The Luftwaffe, hoarded to good effect, brought up to pre-D-Day strength and above by thorough measures of production and pilot-training, had a princely New Year's Day raiding Allied airfields in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, catching

the air forces with their pants down nearly as far as the First Army's on December 16. Then the weather went foul again, grounding the Allied planes during the important days of counter-attack from north and south last week. As the week closed, the enemy had been able to concentrate troops and armor in several sectors, and threats were still alive to the French corner behind the Saar-Palatinate sector, to Liège, to Maastricht, and even to Antwerp. This is not to say that any of the threats will materialize; but they were there, and some of them may still be there. Thus far had the Allies been taken between wind and water in less than a month.

Some of the Germans' success must be attributed to their superior armor and their excellent employment of that important arm. The Tiger tank's 88-millimeter gun and the Panther tank's 75-mm. can penetrate the best current American tank, the Sherman, at 2,500 yards; the American M-10 tank destroyer, with a 3-inch (about 75-mm.) gun using special armor-piercing cap ammunition, had difficulty in Normandy destroying a Panther at 150 to 200 yards—in one case, three hits on the upper front hull ricocheted off, one on the lower front hull penetrated. Their tanks are comparatively more silent than ours, the noise-discipline of their crews superior. They are perhaps more skilled in the camouflage of tanks than any other modern army. A combat report from the United States XIX Corps, published in the *Military Review* of the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, adds this description of the German tank-infantry team:

Before the shock of the [tanks'] guns discharged at close range and the garden-hose spray of machine-gun bullets had even taken full effect, German infantrymen were over the hedgerow and into the field, dogtrotting through to the next with great determination and courage. They knew where they were going and went there fast. . . . [The tanks] used long bursts of their rapid-firing machine guns to discourage guests. If pressed at all, they shot flares which brought down their own artillery and mortars on their flanks. Their handling of their tanks was bold and sure.

The grim truth seems to be that today, after five and a half years of war, the Germans are still ahead of the western Allies (we don't know so much about the Russians) in many important branches of warfare. It is no great consolation to think that they are losing the war regardless. We still have not developed a dual-purpose (anti-aircraft and anti-tank) gun as good as the German 88; we still lag one step behind in the fire-power and armor of our tanks; our tactical doctrine, particularly in the bold employment of the tank-infantry team, leaves much to be desired (with the great exception of Patton's sweep out of Normandy); we tend to estimate future requirements of men and weapons on the basis of local factors in the most recent campaign, ignoring potential factors of the next campaign (e.g., the Army's cut-back in tank and heavy artillery production after the moun-

tain fighting in Tunisia; the Navy's cutback in pilot-training after last year's low Pacific rate of attrition).

This criticism in no way detracts from the very great performance of most of our commanders and fighting men, but it lends some weight to the German complaint that we defeat them by manufacturing large amounts of metal and then dropping the metal on their heads. This was a good way to

try to win the war—good because it saved life—but now we see there is no short cut to crushing a valiant and resourceful enemy. The price of victory is not only treasure but blood. In a real sense, the Germans have played into Eisenhower's hands by fighting west of the Rhine, where eventually they may be destroyed. But it will now take bloody fighting and a good deal more subtlety and flexibility to destroy them.

# The Resurrection of Dies

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, January 4*

IF THE N. C. P. A. C. and the C. I. O.-P. A. C. get up from their beds and walk, there is still a chance to do something about the sudden passage by the House of the Rankin resolution making the Dies committee permanent. No vote for continuing the work of this committee has ever been so narrow. A shift of eleven votes would have defeated the Rankin resolution. Twenty-three Democrats were absent when the vote was taken, and a majority of these are either hostile to the committee or amenable to party discipline. A motion to reconsider might lead to the defeat of the Rankin resolution. Such a motion has been offered by Hook of Michigan, a long-time foe of the Dies committee.

A second test of strength will come on the question of handing over the Dies committee records to this new standing committee. Cochran of Missouri pointed out that this would require passage of a resolution by the House. The parliamentary maneuver by which Rankin got his resolution before the House was bold and clever but vulnerable. He appended it to a routine resolution making the rules of the Seventy-eighth Congress those of the Seventy-ninth, and both the manner of the amendment and its content were so unprecedented as to provide a fulcrum for skilful counter-attack. It was, as McCormack of Massachusetts pointed out, the first time in the history of the Republic that a permanent investigating committee had been established by either house of Congress. That such a committee should be established without prior consideration by the Rules Committee, without hearings and full discussion on the floor, must impress many in the House as hasty and irresponsible. Not the least of the questions left undiscussed and unanswered concerns the legislative recommendations the Rankin resolution authorizes the new standing committee to make. Until now, as Cochran pointed out, legislation of this character has been passed upon by the Judiciary Committee. How is jurisdiction to be divided between them?

If the Rankin resolution cannot be recalled or a retreat forced on the question of the Dies records, an organized fight can produce results in the personnel picked to man this new permanent committee. The Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee are a standing committee on committees and will pick the majority members. Two of the fifteen Democratic members of the newly organized Ways and Means Committee, Doughton of North Carolina, the chairman, and Dingell of Michigan, did not vote

on the Rankin resolution. Of the thirteen who did, seven voted against the resolution, six for it. It would seem that Dingell, who is from Detroit, where the C. I. O. is powerful, could be depended on to take an anti-Dies position. Doughton, as a leading House Democrat, ought to be amenable to party discipline if the House leadership presses the matter. Even if Doughton, like many of the Southern Democrats, is pro-Dies, there should be a majority on this committee prepared to pick personnel that could be trusted to go after genuinely un-American activities instead of terrorizing progressives and New Dealers, and to handle hearings with fairness and propriety.

Local and regional P. A. C. units and other labor and progressive groups should go to work at once on the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee. The seven who voted against the Rankin resolution deserve praise and help. They are Gregory of Kentucky, Lynch of New York, Forand of Rhode Island, Wasielewski of Wisconsin, Eberharter of Pennsylvania, King of California, and Anderson of New Mexico. Interviews might well be arranged with and protests sent to the six who voted for the Rankin resolution. They are Robertson of Virginia, West of Texas, Mills of Arkansas, Camp of Georgia, Cooper of Tennessee, and Maloney of Louisiana. If there must be a permanent committee, the best bet for chairman would seem to be Eberharter, who has been a member of the Dies committee for a little over a year and has displayed intelligence and courage in fighting its abuses. He pleaded strongly against the Rankin resolution and declared that if the Dies committee carried on its work along past lines it would "lead to disunity" and continued dependence "on passion, prejudice, and unreliable matter."

Organized action by labor and liberal groups will prove effective if brought to bear when the new committee asks for funds. Three hurdles will have to be surmounted by the committee. The first is the Rules Committee under Sabath; the chairman and a number of his colleagues have long been critical of Dies methods. The second is the Accounts Committee under Cochran of Missouri, who led the fight on the floor against the Rankin resolution and told one newspaperman today, "They won't get a dime if I have anything to say about it." If pressure were successful in persuading these committees to hold hearings, those hearings would provide an excellent forum in which to place on the record the whole story of the Dies committee's abuse of fair play and decent

procedure. The third hurdle in obtaining funds would be the House itself, which must vote the appropriation.

In organizing to fight continuation of Dies tactics, an asset is the fact that four members of the committee, including the chairman, are among the missing in this new Congress, three of them having been defeated at the polls. The four men who took their places all voted against the Rankin resolution. The N. C. P. A. C. and the C. I. O.-P. A. C. ought to make it their business to analyze the vote on the Rankin resolution in the fullest detail, and to organize pressure in home districts wherever possible. The Democrats voted 150 to 70 against the Rankin resolution, and it may be useful privately to consult party leadership in the House on any steps to be taken against the 70. The Republicans voted 137 to 34 in favor of the Rankin resolution, and it would be excellent if steps were taken not merely to make some of the 137 uncomfortable but to support the 34 against reprisal by party leadership.

The word "on the hill" today was that at least two of these 34 Republicans, Herter of Massachusetts and Luce of Connecticut, were to be punished by Minority Leader Martin. Herter wanted to be on the Appropriations Committee, Luce on the Foreign Relations Committee. I doubt whether Luce would be productive of much good on that committee, but I also doubt whether she would be any worse than any other candidate likely to be picked by Martin. Luce at least deserves some credit for her vote, as do her fellow-Republicans, including (strangely enough) Dirksen of Illinois and Lemke of North Dakota, who also voted against the Rankin resolution. It was not at all strange, however, to find Joseph Clark Baldwin of New York, Bender of Ohio, La Follette of Indiana, Wolverton of New Jersey, Ham Fish's successor Bennett, and Mrs. Frances P. Bolton of Ohio among the Republicans who declined to vote blindly as a matter of Republican party discipline for a resolution put by a Mississippi poll-tax Democrat. Progressives may well raise the question in Republican districts whether the G. O. P. in the House is to be led by Rankin of Mississippi.

I suspect it was Jerry Voorhis of California to whom Cochran referred when he told the House that the Dies committee in recent years had become a one-man investigation committee. Cochran said the situation on the Dies committee had become so bad that "one member of the committee came to me and said he had asked for the names of the employees of the committee of which he was a member." Cochran said this bewildered Dies committee member wanted to know what salaries were being paid and what duties performed by the various employees of the committee. "He, a member of that committee," Cochran declared, "said he was denied that information." This sounds like Voorhis.

Two excellent book-length studies of the Dies committee are now available, one by William Gellerman, the other by Brother August Raymond Ogden. Labor and liberal organizations would do well to assign a special committee to familiarize themselves with both, and use the ammunition they provide in the legislative strategy here discussed. It would be tragic if progressives permitted Rankin's swift parliamentary coup to floor them. A permanent inquiry in the Dies manner would be the greatest single weapon American crypto-fascism could wield for disunity and reaction.

## 10 Years Again "The Nation"

JAPAN'S ACTION in abrogating the Washington naval treaty marks the end of the first serious attempt at the international restriction of armaments.—January 2, 1935.

FATHER COUGHLIN, in launching the National League for Social Justice, carefully avoided saying anything about a new political party. . . . That Father Coughlin should not be explicit about his intentions is in keeping with his mentality. He is not the explicit kind of person. . . . After reading and hearing many of his speeches I am struck by their technical similarity to those of Hitler. These, too, are vague and emotional. Carefully analyzed, they do not read as radical as they sound. . . . More nearly than any demagogue in America he has the formula for a fascist party, a semi-radical program which is "safe" on the labor question, which guarantees the profit system, and which appeals simultaneously to agriculture, the middle class, and the big employer.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, January 2, 1935.

BACKED BY a high-powered propaganda machine which is capitalizing the desperate hopes of elderly men and women, the Townsend plan proposing a pension of \$200 a month for all persons over sixty is sweeping the country. . . . It would be difficult not to treat the Townsend plan as a joke if it were not such a serious matter for so many.—M. B. SCHNAPPER, January 9, 1935.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA, December, 1934. The state legislature is in session for the fourth time this year. The summons went out Friday for a meeting Sunday night, December 16, which anywhere else would trumpet an emergency. Here it meant simply a new maneuver by Huey Long. . . . At five minutes before nine Huey arrives noisily with his bodyguard. . . . Thirty-five bills are acted on in seventy minutes, thirty-four approved, one shelved. This was the pace at the last session, and no doubt will be the pace so long as Huey's machine holds together. Two minutes for a law; this is dictatorship.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, January 9, 1935.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Vardis Fisher, "We Are Betrayed"; James Hilton, "Lost Horizon"; Joseph Wood Krutch, "Was Europe a Success?"; John Strachey, "Literature and Dialectical Materialism"; Norman Thomas, "Human Exploitation"; Rexford Guy Tugwell, "The Battle for Democracy"; Thornton Wilder, "Heaven's My Destination."

THE THEATER SEASON: "Accent on Youth," "Anything Goes," "Dark Victory," "Gold Eagle Guy," "Life Begins at 8:40," "Merrily We Roll Along," "Ode to Liberty," "Page Miss Glory," "Personal Appearance," "Petrified Forest," "Post Road," "Rain from Heaven," "Revenge with Music," "Sailors of Cattaro," "Small Miracle," "The Children's Hour," "The Distaff Side," "Valley Forge," "Within the Gates."

# Tomorrow the Movies

## II. PICTURES WITHOUT THEATERS

BY JOHN GRIERSON

SEVERAL years ago, when it was difficult to get theater bookings for documentary films, producers of documentaries in England noted that there was "more seating capacity outside the theaters than inside them." Accordingly they began to distribute their films to schools and colleges, churches, service clubs, and community centers, and to organize a new kind of film service for group audiences brought together by their professional, social, or academic interests. This use of the non-theatrical film in England, the United States, Canada, and elsewhere is the most important happening in the film world in the past fifteen years. It has come about without any considerable help from the theatrical film industry but has had strong support from governments. As a result there has occurred a rough demarcation of spheres of operation. The film industry, interested primarily, if not exclusively, in entertainment, has abandoned to others a field in which a vast contribution can be made to the advancement of agriculture and industry, health and welfare, national and international cooperation.

The industry should not, however, be blamed for this. "Theater" is its business, and to its credit it has progressively learned to combine good theater with material and themes of public account—in the newsreel, in certain types of documentary films, in feature films themselves. The deliberate use of the film for instruction and interpretation, with "theater" only incidental, is, properly, the concern of professional educators and public servants, of those, that is, who are under license or contract or examination in the matter of public responsibility.

The English documentary group did not invent the non-theatrical use of films, but they were the first to organize it according to plan. Even before the development of sixteen-millimeter, or substandard, projection, the agricultural departments of many countries were using films to promote technology on the farm, finance departments were showing pictures of natural resources to encourage the flow of capital, and tourist departments were presenting "scenics," with accompanying lectures, for prospective travelers. It was all pretty haphazard, but it showed that specialized groups of a thousand and one kinds, all the way from the learned societies to the stamp collectors, were a ready-made audience for films which served their interests, and that film makers devoted to the public service had potential allies in every government department, national association, state authority, trade union, and cooperative which had at heart the educational progress of its constituents. Thus the independent film maker did not need the financial support of Joinville, Neubabelsberg, Elstree, or Hollywood. He had only to forget the bright lights of the marquee, the attraction of the studio contract, and school himself in the normal humilities and anonymities which are expected in the pedagogue, the priest, and the public servant. If the English documentary people

got along faster, it was because they made up their minds sooner.

In the development of the non-theatrical film one point of great significance should be noted—namely, that this development has been determined not by educational, social, or other cultural needs *per se* but by the need of governments and public utilities to give an account of their stewardship or to secure the cooperation of the public in their plans. The information thus provided, if it does fulfill educational, social, and other cultural requirements, does so indirectly. The better operators in the documentary field have realized this from the beginning, and I have the best reason to know how single-minded and untiring they have been in directing the immediate or "political" need to larger educational and cultural ends. I am not forgetting the number of films provided for schools by Encyclopedia Britannica Films in America and Gaumont British Instructional in England and by units in France and other countries. Created to supplement the existing teaching curriculum and based on the idea that educational systems will one day pay for films as they now do for books, they have made considerable progress, in spite of the poverty and unimaginativeness of school budgets.

A government's use of educational films is not "propaganda" in the ordinary sense. Certainly we cannot impose on a government the duty of planning the national effort without giving it the means of informing the people what it is doing and of obtaining their support. This is generally admitted today in every country except the United States, where, or so it appears to the outsider, the fear of the partisan political use of information services looms very large in the public argument. It is true that government departments might use their information systems to defend incompetence or improperly to exaggerate achievements, but such practices have been progressively deplored as public information systems have discovered their proper relationship to public education and public persuasion. In this regard, the sense of responsibility of ministers and public servants alike has grown remarkably. Watchful congresses, parliaments, and presses have unquestionably made their special contribution to this result.

When I say that political necessity is a primary source of educational films, I mean a political necessity other than partisan. Let me illustrate from Canada, where the non-theatrical circulation of films has so grown in three years that the annual audience outside the theaters is now certainly larger than the population. Canada has perhaps gone even farther than England in the mobilization of specialized audiences and the considered production of films to meet their needs; and all this has been accomplished through the initiative of the government and with the support of all the political parties. But that support has not been given out of any special interest in education, or films, or art. If I asked

baldly for money to film "the work of Canadian artists" I doubt that, in time of war, I would easily get it. On the other hand, "national unity" is a matter of great concern to every party in Parliament. Not one of them but would bless an effort to show the land and the work and the people of one part of Canada to the people of every other part and especially to homesick Canadians in France and Italy. So we have made three color films on the painters of Canada. I had a message from France the other day which said that when a film on Tom Thompson and the northern landscape and bush he painted was shown to Canadian soldiers in France, "there was not a dry eye in the house."

This alliance with political necessity has a great deal to do with the vitality and the future of education and of art. The film on Tom Thompson's paintings is none the worse for having a job to do in creating national unity and giving homesick soldiers a glimpse of their native land. A film, like any other work, discovers new energies when it knows it is going places. I shall only say of the Canadian national production schedule that its contribution to education and art is derived almost entirely from the "political necessities" intrinsic in rehabilitation and reconstruction, health and welfare, agricultural instruction and rural sociology, labor-management relations and the reconversion of industry, regional planning and industrial research for full employment, and questions of that kind. To go deeply into any one of these considerable matters is to discover the basic interests of the citizen and therefore the basic materials for the proper exercise of his imagination. The problem of industrial morale, for example, was never to be solved by patriotic ballyhoo or even by pointing the finger of scorn at the absentee. It required a local and intimate consideration of the conditions governing wages and work, housing and transport, health and recreation. Workers had to be given a dramatic appreciation of the relationship of their immediate task to the national effort. In connection with women's labor, there had to be special consideration of day nurseries and of the opening hours of beauty parlors. So with each and every one of the political necessities I mentioned. They provide new patterns of associations and ideas and therefore, potentially, new patterns of dramatic statement.

Where this approach has been made, the documentary film has prospered. It is an approach that works, and it will work even better as education realizes its close creative relationship with political and social development and as the film makers realize that political necessity does not exclude, and may well encourage, the possibility of art. One can cite the repute of the British documentary group in both educational and aesthetic circles and the beginning of something of the same repute for the much younger Canadian group. Nor were "The River" and other important American documentary films the less remarkable for being created in the public service. A wave of documentary films is sweeping over many countries today. If, as I suggest, its motive force is not the incidental interests of education or art *per se* but political necessity, it is not likely to be stopped. And its importance in international relations must be recognized.

The picture I see in Canada is of audiences gathering all over the country, in schools, village halls, factories, trade-union halls, to study the various perspectives of their work

and citizenship. There are women who want to know about nutrition; there are groups interested in country libraries or larger school districts; there are people who want to see how distant communities are facing the common problems of health and housing, town planning, and the rest. I note, as a producer, that there is no end to the professional and civic matters they wish to know more about. I note that the service of traveling projectors moving from village to village, begun by the federal government, is now a cooperative service carried on by provincial authorities, national associations, trade unions, cooperatives, and service clubs, and that the federal government could not control this widespread interest in civic understanding even if it would.

This picture I see in Canada is already, I know, matched in Great Britain, and there are signs that it will be progressively matched in France, Holland, Belgium, South Africa, Australia, Norway, and Sweden. Certain of the South American republics have also been studying these developments and are likely to see the opportunities offered by them. The appointment of Jean Painlevé as Film Commissioner of France and of Joris Ivens as Film Commissioner of the Dutch East Indies, both "documentary" men in the sense I have described, is significant for the future of this type of film.

Its prospects in the United States are difficult to assess at present. There is a very large non-theatrical audience sprawling somewhat haphazardly across the country, much of it dedicated to the service of an old-time pedagogic curriculum which, one imagines, is often distant from the living requirements of citizenship. On the other hand, the country is rich in film libraries, which receive eagerly everything other nations have to show. The educational film work of the various departments in Washington has not been so inconsiderable as many assert. Though there has been no coordination of the government's whole interest in films, the Departments of Agriculture, the Interior, the Treasury, and Labor, the Mines Bureau, the OWI and the OSS, have made large contributions in the fields of technical and civic interest. And they have inspired still more. It is unthinkable that the United States should be behind in a field for which it is so brilliantly equipped.

I cannot imagine any more important development in international communications than the arrival of the various nations at similar educational techniques through the examination of social needs, for they are thereby creating common audiences for common considerations. By and large Canada's problems with respect to housing, safety in factories, public health, and regional planning are not different from those of the United States, and there is no reason why we should not plan our production schedules together and each have the advantage of a larger and more thorough program. It appears certain that we shall presently get down to such common schedules in many fields, and I have no doubt that Britain will want to come in, and France, and others too.

It is only simple sense that a country should make records of its achievements from which other countries may learn. England, for example, has much to teach other countries about the operation of labor-management committees. The United States has much to teach about regional planning and the use of building materials, about household economy, about plumbing. Smaller countries may have something to offer in

the field of medical or industrial research, prenatal care, or physical fitness. Even the Eskimos may contribute from their superior knowledge of how to survive in the Arctic.

Some of us who have devoted our working lives to this aspect of international exchange have long thought that national propaganda, as such, was of secondary importance. We have thought, for example, that England was only partially appreciating its international responsibility when it kept inflicting on the world its pretty pictures of the Horse Guards parade and the leisure of the English countryside. Fortunately this parochial and insufficient policy is passing. In the United States, too, if one may judge from the medical series sent out by the State Department, the national approach to international communication may presently be abandoned.

The UNRRA, the ILO—or whatever international labor organization succeeds the ILO—the contemplated inter-

national education initiated by the Conference of Education Ministers of the United Nations, provide machinery for the international exchange of the living materials of social progress. And the peoples of the world are already inundating the foreign offices of the United Nations with requests for such information. It would seem, in fact, that the old complacent concept of exchanging "culture" is being succeeded by something else. All over the world people are demonstrating that they are interested in the same essentials of food and housing and health. It is inevitable, therefore, that the information and educational services and the films which speak for them should get down to the same simple but lively realities.

[This is the second of a series of four articles. The third, *Hollywood Goes to War*, by Dorothy Jones, will appear next week.]

## Production First

BY STUART CHASE

**W**HAT can be done to curb the pressure groups and end the recurring deadlocks which are growing so disastrous for us all?

Various partial remedies have been proposed. None of them is a cure-all, but Americans should be grown-up enough by this time to stop looking for cure-alls. The first remedy that leaps to mind is legislation. "There ought to be a law." There is now no federal legislation regulating lobbies. Sixteen states have adopted laws requiring lobbies to register and furnish financial statements, but lobby laws generally contain no satisfactory definition of what constitutes legitimate lobbying.

Publicity could be a powerful safeguard. There are always some Washington newspapermen who take their responsibility seriously and expose Me First campaigns whenever they can. These reporters need the vigilance of a detective, the adroitness of a lawyer, and the courage of a crusader. They may lose their social popularity or even their jobs; they run a constant risk of libel suits. Some of them meet the test, but there is room for far more publicity.

Organizations of consumers and white-collar workers can accomplish a good deal. Kenneth Crawford calls them "the most hopeful developments of the last few years." Here is a point where the individual citizen can lend a hand, joining consumer groups and cooperatives. Two recent developments have given the consumer movement a great impetus—first and chiefly, the OPA, with its ceiling prices and encouragement to customers, housewives, and plain citizens; second, those labor organizations which have acted as gadfly to the OPA. The cost-of-living figures of the C. I. O. were severely criticized on technical grounds, but the effect of their publication was to express a strong political demand for price control.

The OPA is an example of government representation for an economic group, even though that group comprises the entire population. In practice it is people in the lower

brackets that receive most protection, as they should. Whenever the government is able to give an economic group legitimate representation—as the Farm Security Administration represented marginal farmers—it forestalls the organization of a lobby.

### Controlling Monopoly

Turning to the urgent problem of controlling monopoly, what methods do we find have been proposed for that? We have seen many examples of how uncontrolled monopolies, whether of business men, workers, or farmers, can seriously hurt modern communities. If some folks refuse to produce, other folks are going to suffer. Even if the goods can be spared, the purchasing power cannot. If restriction of output is widespread, the whole economy begins to lose its balance.

Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, inflexible prices and other monopolistic practices might well make it impossible to get full employment through compensatory fiscal devices. As fast as the government closed the dollar circuit, the monopolies could open gaps in it again. This might result in an uncontrolled inflation, as the Treasury threw its dollars into a bottomless pit.

William L. Batt, head of S. K. F. Industries, president of the National Planning Association, and a high official of the WPB, delivered a solemn warning to fellow businessmen:

Business will largely determine the size of the [post-war] demand, depending on whether it goes on a high-priced line or a low-priced line. I have already indicated, in advancing the program of more goods for more people at lower prices, that the National Planning Association believes the tendency of business must be toward lower and lower price levels.

Mr. Batt in effect comes out for the dollar-watch formula—one excellent remedy for the worst evil of monopoly. Wherever monopolies jack up price levels, choke off de-

mand, block the machines from running, they should be blasted out of the way. Where they aid the machines to run better, they should be encouraged. In the case of a power grid, a monopoly helps the machines; a tangle of competing transmission lines makes no sense. But if the power grid is so controlled as to restrict its service and charge high rates, a little competition may have to be introduced, such as the "yardstick" of the TVA.

A given monopoly should not be condemned because it is a monopoly, but rather *on the basis of its actual effect upon the economy*. Regular monthly publication of the percentage of output to capacity in a monopolistic enterprise would furnish an eloquent *prima facie* index of whether or not it was slowing down the machines.

#### *Useful and Harmful Monopolies*

A careful study should be made of monopolies that have no excuse for being except greed and of those that are technologically justified. The first can perhaps be broken up by Thurman Arnold's type of sausage grinder, under the Sherman Act, and forced back into the field of free competition. I say perhaps, because some may be too big to be broken up without excessive social damage. The second type—which have some real justification—can legally be regulated, like other activities affected with a public interest. How? Here are some suggested methods:

1. Make them register their agreements with public authority and generally conduct their operations in a goldfish bowl.

2. Have public authority fix their prices or profits, as in the case of public utilities.

3. Operate yardsticks, like the TVA, to hold their prices in line. Here is where some of the war plants—say, the aluminum factories—might come in handy.

4. Encourage cooperative associations to compete with them. This has been very effective in Sweden, where the electric-light-bulb trust was broken.

5. Encourage little business to compete by making capital cheap, or by giving little business priorities in operating war plants, or both.

6. Revise the patent law so that great corporations cannot tie up an industry in perpetuity, entangling all newcomers in the hopeless barbed wire of infringement suits.

7. Enforce output quotas by public authority in cases where a monopoly shows signs of going quietly to sleep at 50 per cent of capacity.

8. Require the federal incorporation of companies.

Finally, and as a last resort, if a monopoly cannot be brought to serve the public interest by any of these regulatory methods, the government should take over full control.

There seems to be no escape from this logic. We might put it in the form of a syllogism: Monopolies restrict output. Irresponsible restriction of output is intolerable in modern societies. Therefore monopolies must be controlled. The only legitimate power to do this is the state. The alternative would seem to be an increasing rigidity, until the economy cracked apart. At which point, in not a few modern countries, a dictator has taken over, and the state has intervened in far more unpleasant forms. People who insist that we must have fewer monopolies and at the same time less government interference seem to be arguing in circles.

#### *Same Medicine for Unions*

Labor unions are in effect monopolies in the labor market. They prevent wages from falling according to the unfettered play of supply and demand. If the unions manipulate the wage structure in the interest of restriction of output, preventing the performance of work which needs to be done or crowding two men on a job which one can readily do, public opinion may come down on them harder than on big business monopolies. Unions as well as business men need to apply the dollar-watch formula. By keeping wage rates reasonable they can often earn more annual take-home pay.

If organized labor will identify its own interest with that of the public, it has an unlimited future. This does not mean singing patriotic songs and letting collective bargaining slide. It means getting behind a program to hold the national income around \$150,000,000,000, and employment around 57,000,000 jobs. It means working with the Committee for Economic Development, if that committee has a similar objective, or with the National Association of Manufacturers, or the veterans' organizations, or with anyone traveling that road. It means getting behind measures for social security, medical care, broader education facilities, and decent housing, for all Americans. It means lining up for pure food and drug laws, grade labeling, better standards for consumers. It means carrying forward some of the exciting new techniques for adjusting workers and their work.

#### *Labor-Management Committees*

The labor movement usually moves through three stages. The first stage is to form a union where there was none before. Leaders are fighters. Management fights back.

The second stage is collective bargaining. The union has been accepted as bargaining agent for the workers. Leaders are negotiators; most of the tough babies have gone. The tussle around the bargaining table is about which side gets the biggest slice of a fixed pie. Labor tries to get more wages; management tries to get more profits.

The third stage is joint action by workers and managers to increase output, improve quality, reduce waste, and so make a *bigger pie to divide*. The consumer gets into this division.

The war has suddenly plunged thousands of plants, employing millions of workers, into stage three. Managers are sitting down with union representatives in an attempt to increase production and quality, and hasten the destruction of the Axis. There are now labor-management committees in more than 5,000 plants. They should be continued after the war.

#### *Why Workers Work*

The unions also have an opportunity to join with the industrial psychologists in solving the cardinal problem of factory work. As it stands, it is an unnatural way of life. "The sharp regular daily division between work and play is a condition that must have been virtually unknown throughout the long ages of pre-factory history," says Barbara Wootton in "Lament for Economics."

The studies of the Western Electric Company at their Hawthorne plant, made over a fifteen-year period, throw a flood of light on what makes workers work. It is not pri-

marily money; it is not nicely spaced rest periods, or the intensity of the lighting, or short hours, or a dandy gymnasium and ball field. *It is the sense that the worker is important to the plant, that he belongs, that society has a place for him.* Give him that and his output curve goes through the roof!

The unions are the logical people to initiate, support, and push forward these new techniques. They are the logical people to work out a practical plan for an annual wage, whereby the employee may accept a lower hourly rate in return for a secure annual income. The C. I. O. steelworkers are proposing such a plan as I write. A number of concerns have already adopted it in a limited way. I think it is probably as inevitable as collective bargaining. The principle is simple: Would you rather get \$20 a day for 100 days in the year, or \$10 a day for a full 300 days?

#### *Family-sized Farms*

Most individual farmers do not believe that their interests should surpass those of any other group, or that they should be able to hold up Congress for special dispensations at will. They believe that they have had a tough break in the past—true; and will have another after the war unless someone gives them a hand—again true. But if they are going to depend for that help on the farm bloc in Congress and the Farm Bureau Federation, they had better exert some rank-and-file control over them.

A long-range reform would correct the situation in Congress which allows a minority of citizens to control a majority of Senators. A more immediate measure would be to divorce the Farm Bureau Federation from the County Agents' offices. As the only authorities which could do this are Congress again and the Department of Agriculture, the outlook is not any too radiant.

The best referent for the "American way" is not the little business man, a comparative newcomer, but the family farm, which started just back of Plymouth Rock in 1620. The skids are under it now, with the Farm Bureau and the Associated Farmers lined up for the big commercial outfits. If the family-sized farm is to be saved, together with the way of life it stands for, some pretty strong medicine is needed.

The Farm Security Administration, or something like it, must continue to encourage self-reliance by helping the small farmer to help himself. Furthermore, the small farmer will need cooperatives on both sides of him—cooperative buying of fertilizers, feeds, farm machinery; cooperative marketing to protect him from the organized middlemen. He must also have access to conservation programs where he can join with his fellow-farmers up and down the creek to hold and enrich his soil. *He cannot go it alone.* For agriculture as a whole, as I said before, the biggest single reform would be the war demand carried over into the peace by full employment. When workers have jobs, farmers have prosperity.

#### *The Constructive Note*

I have touched on only a few of the remedies proposed for a better ordering of pressure groups after the war. What is needed even more than remedial plans at this stage is competent analysis, an authoritative survey to show who is

responsible for what in this humming, complicated power age. But most of all we need a realization that our personal interest is bound up with the national interest.

In April, 1944, a group of fifteen business men, fifteen labor leaders, and twenty farm leaders signed a joint statement for the National Planning Association at Washington. They agreed that if soldiers return to sell apples, "we will have lost the war." No economic group, they said, is self-sufficient; all depend upon each other. The terms "Business," "Labor," "Agriculture" lose their capital letters and become "We, the people," when we realize that "all the millions of us are consumers." Each of the three groups then made a separate statement, and I would like to quote from them.

We of the Business Committee recognize that management is dependent upon labor to man the machines and provide new capital from its savings. We recognize the principle of collective bargaining as a sound and fair American principle. We also know that what most men and women want for the future is a sense of security against unemployment, sickness, and destitute old age, together with a feeling of participation. . . .

We of the Labor Committee recognize that labor is dependent upon management to furnish the over-all "know how," to organize technical and commercial research . . . and to attract from private savers the new capital necessary to a sound and growing economy.

We of the Agricultural Committee in turn recognize that agriculture is dependent upon business and labor; that there cannot be profitable markets for our products except as the rest of the nation prospers, and has the means to buy.

Among the business men were David C. Prince of General Electric, Beardsley Ruml, Guy Emerson. Among the labor men were Clinton Golden, Walter Reuther, Robert Watt. Among the agricultural men were Thad Snow of Missouri, Donald Murphy of *Wallaces' Farmer*, Allen B. Kline of the Iowa Farm Bureau. I cannot remember anything like this ever happening before. There seems to be no ulterior motive. The gentlemen have apparently come to the sensible conclusion that it is best to hang together, as the problems of the post-war world climb up the sky like thunderheads.

European nations—or better, the continent as a whole—will have to be planned to survive at all after the devastations, migrations, shortages, property entanglements, of this war. It is even proposed that the United Nations should delegate a commission to direct the German economy for an indefinite period. Britain, owing to its bombed cities and its staggering loss of foreign investments, must manage its economy for many years. Russia of course will be planned to the last thumbtack. Only in America will conditions be favorable for maintaining a wide area of free enterprise, with planning confined to a few key points. We have the time, and the margin of national resources, to continue our institutions with a minimum of change—provided the American people unite in a program to level out the business cycle, underwrite a high level of employment, and bring monopolies under control; which means, at bottom, provided the American people learn to discipline themselves.

[*This is the last of a series of three articles taken from Mr. Chase's forthcoming book, "Democracy Under Pressure," a report to the Twentieth Century Fund.*]

# Will America Back Out?

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

**A**ERICAN liberal and progressive opinion is not playing a very creative role in the rapidly deteriorating international situation. The liberal and labor circles of Britain have been critical primarily of the policy of their own government. That is the true function of the critical minority in any nation, though the natural tendency everywhere is to be unduly critical of other peoples and to be self-righteous in estimating the policy of one's own nation. Liberal opinion in America has not fulfilled the true function of a minority in recent months. Either its criticism has been directed primarily against Russia and Britain upon the tacit or explicit assumption that American policies stand on a higher ground, or it has followed the old line of fellow-travelers and assumed the basic virtue of Russia. Both of these positions betray a lack of critical vigor and failure to comprehend the complexities of the international situation.

The crisis in Greece points to an understanding at Teheran—assigning Greece to the British sphere of influence—which the Russian government seems to be scrupulously honoring but which the Communist Party in Greece is not bound by. Greece thus points to two difficulties in the European situation. One is that no better solution than the division of Europe into spheres of influence seems to have been arrived at. The other is that the ideological instruments in Russia's possession enable it to extend its sphere of influence beyond the boundary assigned to it in any international agreement. This raises the specter of a Russia-dominated Europe, a specter responsible for the note of hysteria in Churchill's policies.

Pro-Russian liberalism in America does not estimate this problem realistically, feeling that the Russian policy of supporting the radical resistance movements is ideologically more correct than the general tendency of the Western world to support conservative governments in Europe. It is perfectly correct to condemn the Western policy not only because of its lack of democratic justice but also because of its futility. The more the West plays that game the more pawns it throws into Russian hands. The Russians would have to possess a superhuman disinterestedness not to avail themselves of the advantages which our policy gives them. But it is wrong to assume that Russia can unify the Continent or give it economic health. There are two reasons why it cannot do so. The revolutionary forces on the Continent which Russia can and does use as instruments of its policy are actually weakened by the general knowledge that they are such instruments. Conservatism has sufficient moral and political resources in Western Europe to prevent the Russian domination of the whole of Europe. If present tendencies continue, many a liberated nation may actually sink into anarchy or civil war because of the impossibility of uniting the nation on a radical policy oriented, in fact or supposedly, toward Russia. The second reason why Russia alone cannot bring peace to the Continent is that Britain and, covertly, America will not submit to such a solution. In other words, a sphere-of-

influence solution of the European problem will lead to another war, no matter whether the West or Russia dominates Europe. Neither side has sufficient strength to prevent the other side from seeking to challenge its domination. Even if a sphere-of-influence solution were rigorously maintained in the sense that each side scrupulously refrained from poaching on the territory of the other, Europe could find no final peace upon that basis. Naturally if the present tendency to undermine agreements which have assigned various spheres to Britain and Russia prevails, the coming peace will be even more short-lived. It will, in fact, not outlast the war fatigue. There is thus no hope in a Russia-dominated peace and no justification for a liberalism which gives Russia uncritical support either because the critic is spiritually bound to Russia, as the real fellow-travelers are, or because the critic is outraged by the conservatism of Western policy.

On the other hand, that liberalism is equally inadequate which assumes that America has a vantage-point of international virtue from which it can survey, and be offended by, the power politics of Russia and Britain upon the Continent. Such a liberalism merely proves that it is unable to discern the hidden realities of international politics while it fastens its eye upon the obvious facts of Russia's policy toward Poland and Britain's policy toward Greece. The fact is that America's threat to international accord is more subtly expressed and more difficult to apprehend than the policies of Russia and Britain. This is not the fault of any American statesman but inherent in the total situation. In the first place, our power is primarily economic rather than political; and economic power is always less obvious. We are outraged by what we call the power politics of the European nations, but the European nations recall that the aviation conference broke down because we refused to allow any international checks to be placed upon our air power. At every turn, while we assume an air of injured innocence, the world is wondering just how we will use the tremendous preponderance of economic power which we undoubtedly have. It must be observed furthermore that we are, naturally enough, more inclined to throw our weight around in the economic sphere because we lack the political points of contact to do so in the political sphere. The very sense of frustration of a nation which has preponderant military power in the hour of crisis and preponderant economic power after the crisis but none of the political pawns used by other nations is a hazard to America's continuing responsibility in the community of nations. For it produces that nice mixture of nationalistic and idealistic isolationism which the other nations fear.

This brings us to the second hidden source of America's threat to world peace—our potential isolationism. We may pride ourselves upon our explicit defeat of isolationism in the last election, but Europe can still not be sure that we will remain in the peace. The hazards are still very great. There is the geographic fact that we are not a European

nation as the other two great powers are, and even the liveliest imagination does not completely overcome geographic limitations. There is the historical fact that we do not need a system of mutual security as obviously or as immediately as other nations do, and that we have not been shaken to the foundations of our national life as they have been. There is the constitutional hazard that one-third of the Senate can still frustrate the will of the majority of the American people. All these hazards and several others which might be mentioned make it uncertain that America will remain in the peace—and therefore tempt the other nations to take such precautions as seem expedient. Consideration of such hazards gives at least partial justification for the Russian desire for unilateral security and also for the British desire to establish some vantage-points upon the Continent which will prevent Russia from dominating it exclusively.

Some of our international idealists are outraged by the fact that the Russian and British policies upon the Continent have increased the difficulty of getting even such a minimal accord as the Dumbarton Oaks agreement passed in the Senate. They forget that the Russian and British policies are partly the outgrowth of apprehensions about the possibility of such an accord becoming the fixed policy of America in the first place. Furthermore, the very high-sounding and moralistic inferential criticisms of the Russian policy toward Poland and of the British policy toward Greece expressed by Secretary Stettinius, and hailed by some liberals as proving the virtue of our position, have increased European apprehensions. We applaud the virtuous sentiment that every nation should be allowed to choose its government freely and that boundaries should be changed only by mutual consent. But Europe detects in these sentiments a new isolationism, coming out of the very heart of an Administration which had presumably defeated isolationism. I think Europe is right; for we washed our hands of all detailed decisions in Europe through the statements of the Secretary of State. We did this after probably having agreed to them in principle at Teheran; but we found it unwise from the standpoint of domestic politics to abide by the Teheran agreement. We are telling Europe that we do not like what they are doing, but the very vagueness of our criticism is a symbol of our withdrawal from Europe. These statements have driven the otherwise prudent and circumspect British weekly, the *Economist*, to a furious attack upon our policies.

The vicious circle is complete. Our policy, or the lack of certainty about our future policy, prompts Europe to action which increases the danger of the American errors of omission. The fear of our isolationism and of the unilateral expression of American economic power drives European powers into unilateral policies of security, which in turn make our isolationism more probable.

We could not get out of this vicious circle by deciding to become both more responsible and more imperialistic and carving a section out of Europe as our sphere of influence. There are no historical presuppositions for such a policy; and in any event it would not solve the problem of Europe and the world. Nor can we get out of the circle merely by pious criticisms of Europe and implied threats of withdrawal. We could get out of the circle only if we had a program for Europe and the world which would offer economic health

and political stability, which would ally rather than alienate the harassed and disquieted masses of Europe, and which would prevent the domination of Europe by either Russia or the West. This does not mean that a new Wilsonian program would save us. It would have to be more realistic, and certainly more economic, than that. America lacks sufficient stakes in Europe on the present level of economic and political policies. It could find them only on a much higher level. It is not likely that the higher level will be achieved. This will not be the mistake of this or that statesman, though a very great statesman can occasionally create a higher level of policy than the available political resources seem to warrant. The difficulty lies in our whole historical situation. The wealthiest democracy and wealthiest nation on earth has too many immediate aims for the maintenance of its economic power and too many illusions about the possibility of maintaining "free enterprise" in a pauperized world to give the leadership needed for a sane solution of the world's problems.

The American failure is, of course, no greater, but also certainly no less, than the failure of the other nations. The fact is that the resources for a creative approach to the global problem are lacking in every nation. Britain clings desperately to its imperial and political resources because of its very consciousness of weakness in the economic realm. America exploits its economic power the more obviously because it lacks both political experience and instruments of world political power. Russia is still suffering from the fear of the capitalistic world, a fear which is partly justified by past events and partly the product of Communist dogma. Its Communist universalism has disintegrated, moreover, into a Russian nationalistic fervor and will to power.

We are living in a tragic age in which the available moral and political resources are not sufficient for the task in hand. We can now only hope for an approximation of the needed solution. Even that will elude us if Americans fail to understand their own contribution to the failures and errors of our time. For in that event disappointed American idealists will again play into the hands of American cynics. Already liberal criticisms of Britain and Russia have an ominously similar accent to those which the *Chicago Tribune* peddles daily in its columns.

#### Britain's Role in Europe

*A British policy that was openly and blatantly hostile to the forces of the left would put this country in the position of Metternich rather than that of Palmerston and without any Holy Alliance to support us.*

*This is the last role that Britain should hope to play. If we are to take sides, our side is with the liberals. Britain is a democracy. It is a stronghold of freedom. . . . What interest has such a community with kings and princes? What interest has it in bringing back the old discredited forces which nowhere resisted the advance of Hitlerism and have done nothing since to turn the invader out?*

*A Britain radical in mood and liberal in foreign policy has a great role to play in Europe. Britain, friend of royalists and reactionaries, has none.*

*(The London Economist on "The Greek Disaster.")*

# How to Lose Friends in France

BY JULES MOCH

Paris, December 21, 1944

THE average Frenchman, the man on the street, fails to realize to what extent the American people, under the deft, tenacious, and vigorous leadership of President Roosevelt have won a triple victory over themselves; first, by freeing themselves of the concept of neutrality; secondly, by changing the concept of "cash and carry" to that of "lend-lease"; and, thirdly, by sending their sons to fight and die on a continent so distant and, in a sense, so secondary for them.

There has been a tendency here to magnify certain minor incidents growing out of the exuberance of American soldiers, so different from the reserve of the British. The ready cash which Americans displayed in North Africa created an uneasiness among Frenchmen, who were too much inclined to hold the visitors responsible for the black market and the spread of vice. Again, I think the French were wrong to impute to the Americans imperialistic designs on Indo-China, the French West Indies, and Dakar, and seek some confirmation of their suspicion in the slightest gesture and the most insignificant word. But if I voice the *mea culpa* of my compatriots in these matters, I ask *Nation* readers to search the collective conscience of their countrymen.

American misunderstanding of French psychology has proved costly during this war. Many expensive mistakes have been made which cannot be repaired, but it is not too late to correct certain errors still being committed. The State Department placed its money on Darlan and Giraud, and lost; it bet against De Gaulle and lost again. It believed that there would be a split between France and the committees of national liberation set up in London and Algiers; it was wrong. It rectified its position finally by giving up the idea of establishing an AMG in France, which would have been catastrophic for Franco-American friendship, and recognizing General De Gaulle's Provisional Government.

Recently the American government has dealt another blow to Franco-American friendship by its handling of German prisoners and its disposition of the prizes of war. German prisoners taken by the Americans receive the same food and clothing as American soldiers—that is, they are fed and clothed much better than French civilians. I know that this is in accordance with recognized international conventions, but to the long-suffering people of France it seems unjust.

Americans can still afford to fight this war as good sportsmen, but the French are fighting it in hate. American civilians have never been in the front line. They have not even known the terrors of a blitz or the senseless destruction of V-1 and V-2. And neither America nor England has known enemy occupation with its massacres and its deportations. Can Americans understand the full meaning to Frenchmen of the fact that one Frenchman out of every fourteen has been deported? In many circles there is not a single family that does not mourn some member who has been killed or

has disappeared, that does not tremble for the fate of relatives herded into cattle cars and shipped to camps where death is dealt out wholesale in gas chambers and electric pools. Can Americans measure the hate which Frenchmen of all classes and opinions feel today for the Germans?

"For two years I haven't had a morsel of chocolate for my children," a father said to me. "The Americans give it to their Boche prisoners." The reasoning may be too simple, but it expresses an almost universal feeling. Moreover, the French feel that the Allies now have almost enough prisoners to be in a position to threaten the Nazis with reprisals and to force them to stop killing those foreign hostages who have miraculously survived the lugubrious convoys of deportees. Surely the French and Russian martyrs will not be saved by giving German prisoners warm clothes, chocolate, and cigarettes.

Prizes of war, according to the American high command, include orders for goods placed by Germany with French industry but not delivered at the time of the liberation. Though the need in France for these very goods may be desperate, the French government cannot obtain possession of them or distribute them. For example, at a time when clothing tickets were no longer honored and no shirts were available for Frenchmen except on the black market, where they cost fifty times their pre-war price, a large stock of shirts originally destined for the Wehrmacht remained impounded as a prize of war.

On one occasion the poorly armed soldiers of the French Forces of the Interior, struggling to drive the Germans from the pockets of Lorient, St. Nazaire, and La Rochelle, were prevented from appropriating a stock of abandoned enemy arms because these arms were considered prizes of war. In the hands of F. F. I. members they would have saved American as well as French lives. But the Americans refused to release them.

Equally galling to the French was the case of the overcoats made by a collaborationist manufacturer for the German army. As winter approached, men of the F. F. I. were fighting on the western front in ragged uniforms, without sweaters, wearing sandals or sabots on their feet. They would have liked to cover their rags with the seized overcoats; and they would have liked to wreak that much revenge on the collaborationist. Impossible; the coats were prizes of war. The American authorities ordered the manufacturer to complete the consignment and then distributed the coats among German prisoners. The average Frenchman was outraged, not only because the *poilus* had to go without coats while German prisoners were warmly clad, but because the affair made it seem that collaboration was its own reward.

Such incidents may be of minor importance, but they touch Frenchmen in the quick. And piled one upon the other, they are undermining the traditional Franco-American friendship.

# Letter from Rome

[The following letter was recently received from Italy by a person well known to The Nation.]

DEAR M—: It is not without emotion that I sit down to write you after such a long silence. And it is with a lightening of the spirit that I get ready to type without the need for paraphrasing, allusions, coded postscripts, and all that inconvenient and dangerous baggage that the fascist malefactors obliged us decent folk to carry—though this was one of the smallest of the many crosses which bowed us down. The hurricane has passed, or rather we have touched the bottom of the abyss into which we were thrown, and the astonishing thing is that we are still alive.

Now for the facts. All my efforts to leave this unfortunate country were interrupted by the outbreak of war, which found me with one foot out and one foot still in. I thought then that to get out with one foot, cutting off the other, would have made me helpless. So I remained. Was I wrong? Even today I can't say. Anyway I stayed here, and feeling that I couldn't keep my hands in my pockets but that it was my duty to fight the malefactors who were ruining not only us but the whole world, I began a double life—not an easy one, I assure you. We anti-Fascists have "lived dangerously," as the Duce used to preach. A double life—the irreproachable functionary on one side, and the saboteur, the conspirator, the fighting anti-Fascist on the other. It was necessary because the sad truth was this: to free Italy and the world from Nazi-Fascism we Italians had to lose the war, and therefore each one of our acts had to lead to that goal. With this concept quite clear in my mind I gave myself over entirely to the work. Privation, poverty, hunger, danger, all had to be met day after day, hour after hour, if thereby I could hasten by a single hour the collapse of Nazi-Fascism; it was the certain duty of every civilized man to do so. I had to rent my house, sell my organ, live in the house of my in-laws, and give up mountain climbing and everything else so that I could save money for the resistance movement. Then began the harsh task.

Production, railroads, the handling of strategic materials—all gave an opportunity for obstructionism and sabotage. It was a dangerous game, requiring a good deal of shrewdness and ability. The incitements of the Anglo-American radio did not fall on deaf ears. I could tell you of hundreds of tons of glycerine diverted for the manufacture of explosives. The same for steel and iron. And there was much disorganization of repair work. Orders sent by mail—to relieve the over-burdened telegraph, of course—were written perhaps not too clearly so that it often took six months to get something done that should have been done in one. Many ruses were necessary to avoid suspicion and to prevent the ruin in one day of the labor of months.

The liberal movement which had its origins in the old Justice and Liberty groups fitted my ideas like a glove and I entered it. I made good use of my official railway pass to do propaganda work in all parts of Italy, to distribute clandestine leaflets, to collect funds and food for the party men, for the persecuted, for the imprisoned, and for the patriot

bands. There were the Jews to help. There were documents to be falsified, refugees to be sheltered, food to be provided without ration cards, and hidden persons to be protected. How many fake documents were issued in my name as a functionary of unquestioned integrity! It was in this field that we made our first slip. A man was arrested who carried one of these false identification cards. Before the police confronted us with each other, what acrobatics we had to perform to get together on our stories! The affair ended miraculously with my release as a dupe of unpardonable irresponsibility who had allowed himself to be fooled by a Jew into attesting an unproved identity. And to think that if the police had only gone to the trouble of examining the general registry they would have found dozens of such identifications under my name!

In order to let the Allies know how and with what the Germans were supplying the front, we furnished daily reports on German railway movements—the type, quantity, and destination of shipments—and indicated the vital points in the north that should be bombed to stop them. This had the further aim of reducing to a minimum the deaths of civilians and damage to cities and monuments. Every day certain secret radios would broadcast. Can you realize how hard it was to organize all this and keep it going under the eyes of the S. S. and the Fascist police?

The Allies were a little slow in catching on at first; then they saw the effects and believed in us. Every once in a while someone slipped, and we heard no more from him. Arrested, tortured, shot? There followed anxiety without end and fearful difficulties to overcome in reestablishing the interrupted contacts. Sleepless nights, with ears tensed for the motor of a car stopping in our street, for the sound of a footstep heavier than usual on the stairs. Police? S. S.? Leaving one's house, roaming from hole to hole to cover one's tracks, cold, hungry, miserable, one's wife sought by the police, one's in-laws arrested as Jews. My wife hid first in a convent, then worked as a maid in various houses in Rome, with false papers showing her to be an *évacuée* from a town occupied by the Allies. Her last service was in the house of old P. B., who had been released after eight months in the Regina Coeli jail for anti-Fascists.

On the night of September 9, 1943, a bomb destroyed my house completely. You remember my house motto, "Open to the sun and friends"? It was an Italian bomb, dropped by Fascist plane the night after the armistice.

When on June 4 we got our first view of American tanks, it was barely in time. We were exhausted and could not have held out any longer. Another ten days and we should have been gone—deported or dead.

Instead, we are still here, but not all of us. Too many of the best of us are missing at roll call. We who now remain must now rebuild. Shall we succeed? In the beginning we must, above all, fight against the Fascists. Let all who have lived outside this hell remember: the Fascists are the number one enemy; the Nazis are number two. The Germans would not have been able to carry out their infamies against Italy had not the Fascists, fortunately a small minority of Italians, helped them. The Fascists, paid by the Germans, spied upon us real Italians, denouncing, imprisoning, torturing, shooting. And these same Fascists today, with amazing cynicism,

seek to disguise themselves, to mingle with the Allies, to save their disgustingly acquired positions. To clean house, we need an honest government composed of honest men who will not deviate by a millimeter from the right path, which is to root out fascism—a process only in small part political, in great part educational.

First of all our people must again be made honest, diligent, and decent. You know the old saying, "Italy is made; now we must make the Italians"? Today it would be more correct to say, "We must first make the new Italians; later we can think of making Italy." This task will take decades. I shall certainly not live to see it finished.

There is much need for understanding between us and the Allies. For more than a month I have been working here on the railroads with R. A. F. officials, and you should see how they gape when I tell them about what we have suffered and how we Italians fought on their side. They are particularly amazed at the atrocities. "We thought it was only propaganda," they say. The other day I invited them to a little party—very little, since I am now so poor—where they spoke with men, women, and girls who in all modesty and sincerity told them of the tortures inflicted by the S. S., of the massacres carried out by these human beasts. The R. A. F. people could not believe their ears. When we speak of our plans for reconstruction and for sincere collaboration with them, they are at first uncertain but little by little are persuaded. We have to make them realize that in Italy there is still many a sane and serious man who wants to learn from them but from whom they may also have something to learn. In this way, through better understanding, we shall be able to accomplish a more rapid reconstruction and to create a new life based upon the principles of honesty, work, and freedom.

In overcoming all obstacles and the ruin of the war, we shall be reborn. Meanwhile the Germans are gone, I call myself again G— S—, and I am married to a Jewish girl. You can't realize what it means to be able to write freely so simple a sentence!

G. S.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

BEFORE dawn on December 16, just as Marshal Rundstedt opened his offensive with a terrific artillery barrage at the spot where Germany, Luxembourg, and Belgium meet, another notable event took place where Germany touches Switzerland—"a sensational illegal crossing of the frontier." That was the expression used by the local Swiss paper, the *Sankt Galler Tagblatt*, when it reported the affair two days later.

A border station near the small Swiss town of Borgen was aroused at four in the morning by the approach of nine persons—two men, two women, and five children—who explained that they had fled from Germany and hoped to find asylum in Switzerland. The conventional questioning brought out that both men were directors of the well-known Messerschmidt company, which manufactures fighter planes for the Luftwaffe in plants scattered all over the country. Their names were kept secret by the Swiss officials—"it could not be

ascertained," the report said, "whether Professor Messerschmidt himself was one of them"—but the rest of the story was less carefully guarded. The St. Gall paper was therefore able to inform its readers that the two families had motored from the city of Eisenach, had abandoned their car in the neighborhood of the border, and had crossed the border at night on foot. The reason for their flight—and also the basis for their claim to the right of asylum in Switzerland, was a future danger to their lives. They admitted that up to the moment of their flight they had been in perfectly good standing with the German authorities and had had nothing to fear. But by virtue of their comprehensive view of the German situation, they could see the defeat of the Reich inexorably drawing nearer. At the moment of defeat, they said, they would certainly be threatened in life and limb. And because of this approaching danger, they appealed to Switzerland for the right of asylum.

The affair turned out badly for the directors and their wives. In compliance with a recent decree designed to prevent war criminals from finding a haven in Switzerland, the border station consulted the federal government in Berne. Within forty-eight hours the government decided that the children could remain—children always have the right of asylum—but ruled against the parents. In the first place, it said, a possible future danger to life is not the same as an effective present danger; and, in the second place, this precise type of refugee is politically unwelcome. The Berne government therefore ordered the two directors, with their wives, to be sent back across the border as undesirable foreigners. One day later the *Sankt Galler Tagblatt* rounded out its earlier account with the laconic statement: "The two directors of the Messerschmidt airplane factories who tried to cross the Swiss frontier and were refused admission as undesirable aliens were arrested by German customs officers and transported under heavy guard from the Blumberg customs station to Waldshut, Baden, where the Gestapo took them over."

Whether this was a satisfactory outcome is a not uninteresting question. It is possible, for example, that if the two directors had been allowed to remain in Switzerland they might have become a source of much valuable information for the Allies. But that need not now be considered. At the moment the incident on the Swiss border is noteworthy for the light it throws on the general situation behind the Rundstedt offensive. We do not know whether the two Messerschmidt directors had an idea that the offensive was impending, although it is probable that they did. In any case they were in a position to get a good over-all view of the situation, and they demonstrated most dramatically that to them it looked hopeless.

There is no reason for us to see it any differently. Painful as was the recent setback at the front, it has not altered the fundamental fact that the Reich is consuming itself—swiftly, progressively, and without gaining any compensating advantage. A wastrel can draw down his bank account from \$100,000 to \$10,000 and then to \$1,000, and still show no difference in his manner of living. He can keep up his old style until his last dollar is spent. And as long as the Germans still have some capital in the form of man-power they can mount offensives in their old style. It remains true, nevertheless, that their capital is being hopelessly diminished.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## An International Episode

LETTERS OF THOMAS J. WISE TO JOHN HENRY WRENN: A FURTHER INQUIRY INTO THE GUILT OF CERTAIN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FORGERS. Edited by Fannie E. Ratchford. Alfred A. Knopf. \$7.50.

LIFE pulls itself together every now and then to demonstrate with the precision of a practiced pedagogue that art is more literally accurate than we usually believe. Thus, ten years ago, when interest in the detective novel was reaching new heights, two young Englishmen, Carter and Pollard, brought out their "Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets." The immediate purpose of the "Enquiry" was to demonstrate by the standard devices of detection that some fifty rare Victorian first editions were rank forgeries and to show that the forger was none other than Thomas J. Wise. But since the perpetrator of the wonderful swindle was the prince of British bibliophiles, the creator of the incomparable Ashley Library, and since the science of Victorian bibliography had been undermined by the dean of Victorian bibliographers, it is clear that the ultimate intention of the "Enquiry" was to establish the correctness of the detective-story imagination—that is, to make it more possible than ever before to suppose that the Great Seal had been stolen by the Lord Chancellor himself and that it was the saintly Master of Snubnose who had pickled the Senior Wrangler's corpse in the college buttery.

And now in the midst of the heightened interest in Henry James, life again takes its pedagogic chalk in hand and gives us Fannie E. Ratchford's "Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn." Although the bulk of the book is devoted to the business communications which Wise sent to a notable client and victim, the chief interest of the volume lies in Miss Ratchford's long introduction, which undertakes to extend the Carter and Pollard accusation to include personages no less eminent than H. Buxton-Forman and Sir Edmund Gosse. These friends of Wise, Miss Ratchford undertakes to prove, not only accepted and advertised the bogus "editions" but actually assisted Wise in their manufacture. The case against Buxton-Forman is substantial, the case against Gosse less so, but I am not so much concerned to weigh the evidence as to suggest that Miss Ratchford's book constitutes a corroboration of Henry James's imagination. It is, in effect, a Henry James novel in the raw.

Speaking of Wise, Miss Ratchford quietly refers to his "superb holdings of Shelley, Byron, Browning, and other favorites," and that word "holdings," so casually naturalized from the language of the bank and the stock exchange, gives us our clue. We are in the world of "The Spoils of Poynton," in which things of virtue become objects of *virtu* and have their price in hard cold cash. In this world "association value" can be measured to the shilling. Here the early obscurity of a famous poet is a great creator of value because of the smallness of his first editions. But association and

scarcity are not enough to create the value of the auction room: beyond these there is the actual literary value of the work, the value as it is created by readers, critics, and scholars. For the investment to be sound there must be a true spiritual value in the object that is bought. And this the collector can estimate very accurately. He does so by means of a faculty we call taste. The notable thing about taste is that the possessor of it can judge spiritual values without being in the least affected by them. We expect that beauty and truth must always have their good effect; but James, like E. M. Forster after him, was inclined to associate taste with crude possessiveness, as in the character of Mrs. Gereth, the owner of Poynton, or even with repressive cruelty, as in Gilbert Osmond of "The Portrait of a Lady." It is worth noting that Wise's letters express scarcely an idea or real emotion about his literary commodities other than ideas and emotions of ownership and price; and he presumably supposed that Mr. Wrenn of Chicago did not expect them of him. This, then, is the world, which James knew so well, of the muses safe in the museum, of the acquisitive emotions at play among the spoils of creation.

Not the least Jamesian element in Miss Ratchford's story is her manner of telling it. An earlier book of hers on the Brontës brought its whiff of the fierce feminist emotions of "The Bostonians," what with its relative indifference to the gentle Emily, its vindictive, even cruel, scorn of brother Branwell, its passionate defense of Charlotte in her least attractive moments, and its wonderful explanation of Charlotte's death: "she died of pregnancy complicated by a cold." But now one must think of Miss Ratchford as a kind of more vehement Henrietta Stackpole, the dour little American nationalist of "The Portrait of a Lady." For Miss Ratchford works the "international theme" to its limit. If American book dealers bought the forgeries and passed them on to American customers, it follows for her that "the forgeries seem to have been fabricated for the particular benefit of Americans." She finds it not without sinister significance that Sir Edmund Gosse was Librarian of the House of Lords. The fraudulence of Wise as a single individual she can see as merely personal, but confronted with a conspiracy of three, she remarks that the affair changes from "an individual crime to a national scandal." The exposition of a scandalous and shocking matter would seem to call for objectivity and tact, but Miss Ratchford produces her evidence with a shrill moral vehemence whose journalistic point and patriotic propriety Miss Stackpole would have understood.

And a conspiracy of guilty Englishmen naturally requires the Jamesian "innocent" American. Miss Ratchford gives him to us in Mr. Wrenn, whose admirable collection—for Wise sold him many fine items in addition to a complete set of the forgeries—is now in Miss Ratchford's charge at the University of Texas. Mr. Matthiessen, in his book on James, questions the veracity of Adam Verver, the millionaire collector of "The Golden Bowl," for Mr. Matthiessen feels that American millionaires of the early century are not adequately

represented by Maggie Verver's gentle and aesthetic father. I think that Verver is sufficiently substantiated by figures like George Peabody and Spencer Trask, whatever we may think of the full significance of their chivalric idealism, but John Henry Wrenn will also serve to justify James's accuracy of observation. A banker and broker is not generally a likely model of innocence, but with a conspiracy of clever Englishmen besetting him, with one of them his trusted and false friend, for Wrenn said that his connection with Wise was "one of the richest and most satisfying experiences of his life," can a man be granted anything less than what Bertrand Russell called "the superior virtue of the oppressed"? Poor man, he sought the unction of life in literature, and Wise, who was not only a bibliophile but also a dealer in essential oils, sold it to him, throwing in a few forgeries but also one of the richest and most satisfying experiences his customer ever had.

James, who loved to meditate on the relation of money to spirit, would perhaps have judged that Mr. Wrenn bought well, and James would surely have found pleasure in noting Miss Ratchford's wry pride as she hints the distinction of the Wrenn collection in owning the *only complete* set of the great Wise forgeries.

LIONEL TRILLING

## NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

GETTING INTO A THEATER these days requires as much forethought and planning as a minor D-day. But by dint of luck and persistence I have managed, within the last two weeks, to see three shows. I was a paying guest—the term is well chosen—at "Harvey" and "The Seven Lively Arts." "On the Town" I saw as Mr. Krutch's delegate, and ■ report is in order. The seed of "On the Town" was contained in Jerome Robbins's excellent ballet "Fancy Free," which has been such a hit at the Ballet Russe. It has grown, thanks to the eager and tender care of a number of talented people, into a full-blown musical which has charm and freshness and the gaiety generated when a group of amateur professionals put their heads together. It has to do with three sailors on twenty-four hours' leave in New York who set out to find the Miss Turnstiles of the month (Miss Subways to you). They find her of course and a great deal else, including two other girls, the Museum of Natural History, a round of night clubs, the subway itself, and Coney Island. Nedick's in Times Square is their rendezvous. In the course of their tour they turn up more than enough local color, amusing conceits, songs, gay sets, and ingenious ballets to fill an evening.

The three sailors, to begin with, are wonderfully cast. They simply look like any assortment of three sailors you might sight on Broadway, and they speak directly to the feeling one has these days about boys in sailor suits far from home, out on ■ lark, and only by some unlikely chance mixed up in anything so major as ■ world war—for better or worse the innocent cut of ■ sailor's togs belies his reputation both in love and war.

The book is satisfactory, not least because it is free of the senseless complications in which most musical-comedy books get entangled—to be disentangled only at the cost of bore-

dom and embarrassment. This one can be picked up or laid aside as the singing and dancing require, and it is brightly written. It has, strictly speaking, no plot, only a series of incidents and scenes which serve to bring the boys and girls together.

Leonard Bernstein's music is adequate and apropos, but not extraordinary. The specialty numbers are better than the straight songs, with the mild exception of "Lucky to Be Me." Though no one of the dance numbers is as good as the original ballet, the dancing in general has the same qualities that made "Fancy Free" so delightful. It is light but firm, and clean in line. It is the expression of a lively intelligence, and its humor is integral and authentic. Here is modern dancing, and, I might add, indigenous American ballet, which makes use of old skills as well as fresh attitudes and is quite free of the awful pretentiousness which makes most expositions of "the modern dance" excruciating.

Sono Osato's exotic appearance adds an ironic fillip to the broadly amusing conception of Miss Turnstiles; and her easy skill, based on years of ballet discipline, is just what Mr. Robbins's free and fanciful choreography calls for. The two other girls, Nancy Walker and Betty Comden, have their own quite different charms. Miss Comden, by the way, is the co-author of the book—with Adolph Green, who takes the part of one of the sailors.

I HAVE BEEN TRYING vainly to get some information about Jean Bruller, who was revealed some time ago to be the author of "Silence of the Sea," one of the books issued by the French underground publishers, Les Editions de Minuit. Even people who had lived steadily in France for years before the war had never heard of him. "Silence of the Sea" was a strange little book. To many people it smelled of collaboration. It was highly praised in some quarters as a piece of writing, though it struck me as rather strainedly restrained. A few weeks ago *Life* printed a "Plea for France" by M. Bruller, which was merely strained. It had in a word the feverish simplicity of people who write for dear *Life*. In a foreword the author was described as a young illustrator, which left me just where I was before.

I can't say even now that I've found out who Jean Bruller is. But I was given a rather anti-climactic turn the other day when I happened to look at the book I had been using for weeks as a writing board. I had chosen one of those large thin books designed for children, and it happened to be the American edition, published in 1940, of André Maurois's "Fatapoufs and Thinifers," translated by Rosemary Benét and illustrated by—Jean Bruller. It's an amusing book and the illustrations are clever. The story ends to be sure with collaboration between the Fatapoufs and Thinifers, who have been wrangling for years over an island; and Maurois is considered to have followed an extremely equivocal line politically. But M. Bruller's drawings are quite harmless, and I'm convinced, pending further evidence, that he is simply a young illustrator who turned to writing for the French underground press, wrote a book which had a great success abroad, and is now, perhaps to his own surprise, an author. When I read "Silence of the Sea" I assumed for some reason that it had been written by an old hand. Perhaps that is why its opaque prose seemed to suggest sinister meanings. What

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disturbed me may have been merely the opaque prose—and thinking—of a young, over self-conscious writer.

A HEADLINE in the New York *Times* for December 18 read as follows: "U. S. Role in Greece Limited to Succor." One way or another the *Times* can usually be depended upon to tell all.

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Of Shakespeare's Comedy

THE LATE GEORGE GORDON, professor of poetry at Oxford, was a scholar and a gentleman after the English fashion—which means that the scholarship was persistently played down. The Oxford University Press has just issued a small volume called "Shakespearian Comedy and Other Studies" (\$2.50), composed of little discourses sometimes no more than three or four pages long, and the writing is always charming in that carefully casual style which has become part of the manner expected of top-ranking members of the British academic world. Poking gentle ridicule at the Meredithian and Bergsonian theories of comedy, which are too solemn to find simple fun other than embarrassing and too moralistic to know what to make of our affection for comic rascals, he chats entertainingly about the Shakespearian clowns and Shakespearean exquisites, who inhabit a comic world of their own. "A theory of comedy, or of comedy *par excellence*, which relegates, and is bound to relegate, most of Shakespeare's comic world to an appendix stands clearly," he says, "on too narrow a basis, at any rate for English use." If Professor Gordon had not been so definitely committed to that apologetic and fragmentary tentativeness which is part of his manner he might have proceeded to formulate a theory of his own. He might, for instance have asked us to consider the possibility that there is a comic catharsis as well as a tragic one, and even that, as some believe, Aristotle himself discussed it in a portion of the "Poetics" now lost. As it is he rests content with perceptive hints and shrewd obiter dicta. Speaking of "Love's Labor's Lost" as the first of a group of plays in which young gentlemen or ladies attempt to live in a kind of Utopia for exquisites, he says: "Every College in this University was

originally such an attempt . . . Sooner or later . . . the God of Marriage erects his straggling monuments—and we tumble into a world of taxes, and villas, and perambulators. To every Academe its North Oxford." Part of the joke is that Shakespeare always sees what is coming though his creatures do not.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

### Whys and Wherefores

EVEN MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE, whose perceptive talent manifests itself better in her photographs than in her text, is concerned about the fact that the G. I. soldier does not know what he is fighting for. In "They Called It Purple Heart Valley" (Simon and Schuster, \$3) she tells about her battlefield roving in Italy and notes that American troops were unable to discuss, and uninterested in discussing, the whys of the war. Politically she found them illiterate as compared with Russians, British, Chinese. This vaguely disturbed her, and was not subject to the sharp pictorial analysis at which she excels. She did realize that men who were doing challenging jobs, such as the fliers in Cub planes acting as artillery spotters, needed no whys and wherefores because they were enthusiasts at their jobs. Not so the man in the forward foxholes; he was an automaton, condemned to risk death for no deep reason that he knew.

Oddly enough, a young man named Arthur Miller sees the problem with more penetrating eyes in "Situation Normal" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2). I say oddly, because you ordinarily wouldn't expect much of a war book from a youth employed by Hollywood to visit training camps in the United States and absorb atmosphere for a movie. Yet Mr. Miller's is a provocative piece of work. He too noticed that the men did not know what they were fighting for. They did not correlate their battle with that of any of our allies. Just before lunch, in one camp, a lieutenant gave the men their daily five minutes of orientation, droning off news bulletins until he bogged down in the Russian situation. Then he said, "You don't want to hear any more of this, do you?" and finished with a discussion of what a millimeter is.

Mr. Miller thinks there is one thing which his movie must do: "It has got to make sense." He means that it must do what the army fails to do—give some point to the sacrifice of men's lives. And he realizes this is not only for the benefit of the men fighting in the front lines but also for the men who will come home after the war and find themselves suddenly and devastatingly without orders, without a goal.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

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### Chaim Weizmann

THE SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY of the outstanding Zionist leader of this generation has prompted a symposium on his life and work under the title of "Chaim Weizmann, Statesman and Scientist" (Dial, \$3.50). The volume is edited by Meyer Weisgal; the various essays are written by a very distinguished list of authors, including Dorothy Thompson, Thomas Mann, Freda Kirchwey, Ludwig Lewisohn, Maurice Samuel, Norman Angell, Sholem Asch, S. N. Behrman, Stephen Wise, and many others. Justice Felix Frankfurter writes the introduction.

Merely as a "success story" the career of Weizmann is unique. A Russian Jew educated in Germany, he first came to prominence in Britain as a scientist whose discoveries in microbiology led to scientific advances which helped Britain win the First World War. Dr. Weizmann's scientific eminence contributed directly to his career as a statesman, for it gave him the prestige and, some say, the bargaining power which made it possible for him to commit Britain through the Balfour Declaration to the policy of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

But Weizmann's career is more than a success story. It is the embodiment of one of the great political ideas of our time, of an idea which has been dwarfed by the magnitude of the world crisis but which is yet relevant to it. The Zionist idea and hope seemed fantastic to many Jews and Gentiles. The logic of history, the sacrifices of thousands of Jews, and the statesmanship of men like Weizmann have gradually brought the idea to the point of historical realization. These essays in honor of a man illumine all facets of the idea and the movement of which he is the most distinguished spokesman.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## Trail Blazer

IT MAY BE SAID SOME DAY that a signal achievement of plain, ordinary scholarship was to have discovered an American tradition of middle-class art. An instance is provided by "William Sidney Mount," a book composed of a catalogue, an essay, and notes, by Bartlett Cowdrey and Hermann Warner Williams, Jr. (Columbia University Press, \$5). Mount founded the American school of genre painting, borne on the wave of Jacksonian populism; and he drove one of the nails into the coffin of the historical school and the grand manner. Dutch models inhibited as well as encouraged his naturalism; yet his example and style, whether known directly or through influences, must have nourished Eakins and Homer in their beginnings.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

## War Criminals

AFTER WORLD WAR I the German war criminals were tried, at the suggestion of the Reich, before the German Supreme Court at Leipzig. Out of several hundred six were convicted, and most of them mysteriously "escaped." The lesson taught by these strange trials must not be allowed to go unheeded after this war. In his brilliant and timely book, "War Criminals: Their Prosecution and Punishment" (Knopf, \$3), Sheldon Glueck of Harvard University expresses the view that the débâcle of justice at Leipzig contributed a large share to the Nazi policy of brazen lawlessness in the conduct of the present war. He advocates an International Court for important war crimes. Such a tribunal would strongly express the common interests and the growing unity of the family of nations. Highly noteworthy is his list of war criminals, which includes political chieftains also. Glueck convincingly argues that in the German and Japanese conception of "total war" there is little difference "between the intimidating plottings and schemings of the von Rippentrops, the von Papens, the Franks, or the cruelties

and criminal responsibilities of the notorious S. S., or the leaders of the 'Japanese Black Dragon,' and those of the traditional military officers." Thus Clodius, the German negotiator and promoter in the scheme of economic conquest, who was captured in Rumania, could be held responsible. It is to be hoped that Glueck's list of war criminals will be adopted by all the United Nations.

The book is a great scientific achievement and deserves wide reading not only by the jurist but by the layman. Glueck presents his case vigorously, but he never allows passion to interfere with his considered judgment. With a mind broad and unbiased enough to grasp the great human issue involved he pleads for justice. "The homes and factories of Europe and Asia laid waste by Axis aggression and greed are the least of the human possessions to be restored; the most precious thing to be salvaged from the ruins is man's hard-won heritage of justice through law."

ALBERT C. WYLER

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# Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD-  
KRUTCH

ONE of the gentlemen prominently connected with "Oklahoma!" recently remarked in my presence that his show got its best notices the morning after a certain other period musical piece had opened on Broadway. Inevitably—and in this case unfairly—something of the sort happened when "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" had its première at the International Theater—invariably because it also is a musical entertainment celebrating the American past, unfairly because it is in no sense an imitation of "Oklahoma!" and because it is a delightful thing in its own right.

No doubt the success of the Rodgers-Hammerstein opera did suggest that there might be a public for something which could manage to exploit the folk and popular music of our past, but the boldly simple idea that songs, some familiar and some not very well known, might individually be given theatrical treatment without any attempt being made to weave them into an opera, turned out surprisingly well. To call "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" a pageant is unfortunately and most incorrectly to suggest something slow and stodgy. It does, on the slenderest of threads, string a score of songs, from a Puritan hymn through "Oh, Susannah" and "Frankie and Johnnie" on down to "Yes, Sir, She's My Baby." But these songs are not merely sung; they are also acted, and danced, and pantomimed in so spirited and resourceful a fashion that they furnish a very lively as well as rich evening of a sort which I think Broadway is going to find a great deal more to its liking than I should have been willing in advance to suppose it would find anything that remains as faithful as "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" remains to its original intention.

On the program the show is described as "by Walter Kerr." There follows, however, a list even longer than usual of credits for staging, musical arrangement, choreography, and so on, and the result is to leave the conscientious critic supposing that this is one of those cases where credit should go, not to any one individual, but to the happy cooperation of a dozen—including the members of a large cast of extraordinarily talented performers. What little story there is revolves about the figure of a minstrel who seems to have taken on some of the attributes of Johnny Appleseed, and

who wanders through time and space from the days of Puritan dominance on down to the present, crossing the Oregon Trail, riding down the Mississippi River, and reaching even a night club of the roaring twenties. As a story it is not much, and on the few occasions when it is compelled for a few minutes to carry the show the show comes its nearest to breaking down. But fortunately these moments are few as well as brief. For the most part song and dance succeed song and dance with breathless vigor. And what songs many of them are! Nearly all the earlier ones, I could not help noting, are astonishingly gay, and they remain so until the wailing of the spirituals and the blues, the hysteria of ragtime and jazz, make their rather late entrance. "Oh, Susanna," I must confess even at the risk of seeming naive, seems to me a far better tune than any that Kern or Gershwin or even Berlin ever wrote.

Alfred Drake, formerly the male star of "Oklahoma!" plays the role of the wandering singer and carries with easy, informal grace the heaviest burden of singing. There are also a very promising young lady named Alma Kaye and an admirable comedienne known as Bibi Osterwald. But it is Burl Ives, the singer of folk songs, who very nearly steals the show. He gives to his audience that rare delight one always feels when one watches any man do the thing he seems to have been born to do. When he sings "Blue-Tailed Fly" or "Foggy, Foggy Dew" he does it as a bird takes to the air or a duck takes to the water. Aristotle, who rather floundered about in search of illustrations for his contention that happiness for any creature consists in having an opportunity to fulfil its predestined function, ought to have heard Mr. Ives bring a song to life without seeming even to try.

"Trio" (Belasco Theater) got a good deal of preliminary and inappropriate notoriety because of the fact that owners of New York theaters feared possible legal action against a play whose central character has made a Lesbian victim of a young protégée. Actually it is grimly moral in tone, completely inoffensive in manner, and the occasion for a quite remarkable performance by the French actress Lydia St. Clair. That the play remains consistently interesting while at the same time failing to achieve the impact one feels it might have is due, I think, to the fact that the author lacks the courage to make it the tragedy it is trying to be. The central figure is undoubtedly the older—and very sinister—woman. She is by far the most real

as well as the most striking figure, and at the end we know both that she is going to hang herself and that that is what she inevitably would do. But the author, as though afraid to risk so unpleasant an ending, tries to shift our interest to the healthy boy and girl who, we are assured, will live happily ever after. The result, since these young people are not really very interesting in themselves, is merely to spare us the full force of a tragedy which we no longer want to be spared.

# Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

THERE are two sorts of provincialism in art. The exponent of one is the artist, academic or otherwise, who works in an outmoded style or in a vein disregarded by the metropolitan center—Paris, Rome, or Athens. The other sort of provincialism is that of the artist—generally from an outlying country—who in all earnestness and admiration devotes himself to the style being currently developed in the metropolitan center, yet fails in one way or another really to understand what it is about.

The late Marsden Hartley, about whom I wrote several weeks ago, was a provincial of this latter sort. And so was the Russian, Vassily Kandinsky, who died two weeks ago in Paris at the age of seventy-eight. They were quite different as painters but both were alike in being provincial. Hartley failed to understand the School of Paris because he really lacked culture. Kandinsky was learned and at ease in his learning, and was one of the first, if not the first, to get an intellectual purchase on post-cubist painting, yet he failed in the end to understand it in practice. (Kandinsky and Hartley were further alike in that they both came to post-impressionist painting through German expressionism, which seemed to make post-impressionism more accessible to non-Latin outsiders.)

Kandinsky began as a disciple of the *Jugendstil*, then joined the *Blaue Reiter*, and finally developed a species of impressionism-cum-fauvism which under the indirect influence of cubism and the experiments of Malevitch dissolved into outright abstract art. It was during these movements of transition and search that Kandinsky's painting reached its heights, to decline almost steadily thereafter. His best work remains those paintings in fluid contour and gauzy

color that he executed between 1909 or so and the early twenties (the heroic period of the flowering of cubism which also saw such non-cubists as Matisse and Chagall at their best).

The abstract or—as Kandinsky himself called them—"concrete" paintings he turned out from the middle twenties represent a misconception, not only of cubism and its antecedents, but of the very art of putting paint on canvas to make a picture. Like many a newcomer to a situation, seeing it from the outside and thus more completely, Kandinsky was very quick to perceive one of the most basic implications of the revolution cubism had effected in Western painting. Pictorial art was at last able to free itself completely from the object—the edictic image—and take for its sole positive matter the sensuous facts of its own medium, reducing itself to a question—purely on canvas, not in the observer's consciousness—of non-figurative shapes and colors. Painting could become like music, an art contained in its own form and thus capable of infinitely more variety than before—at least in theory. But Kandinsky erred in assuming that this newly won freedom exhausted the meaning of the cubist revolution and that it permitted the artist to make a clean break with the past and start all over again from scratch—something which no art can do without losing all sense of style.

In point of practice Kandinsky merely exchanged one past for another: that of Renaissance-Paris painting for the woefully meager one of the *art nouveau* of his youth and peasant decoration (already once joined in the *Jugendstil*). He rejected what to my mind is a prior and perhaps even more essential achievement of avant-garde art than its deliverance of painting from representation: its recapture of the literal realization of the physical limitations and conditions of the medium and of the positive advantages to be gained from the exploitation of these very limitations. Kandinsky, in principle, seems to have paid ample homage to the new awareness that easel-painting takes place on a flat, continuous, finitely bounded surface, but he lacked an intuitive grasp of the consequences of these facts in actual practice. As if in reaction against his earlier "liquescent" style, he came to conceive of the picture *überhaupt* as an aggregate of discrete shapes; the color, size, and spacing of these he related so insensitively to the space surrounding them—that which Hans Hofmann calls "negative space"—that this remained in-

active and meaningless; the sense of a continuous surface was lost, and the picture plane became pocked with "holes." At the same time, having begun by accepting the absolute flatness of the picture surface, Kandinsky would go on to allude to illusionistic depth by a use of color, line, and perspective that were plastically irrelevant. Last but not least, the consistency of his paint surface and the geometrical exactness of his line seem more appropriate to stone or metal than to the porous fabric of canvas—this stricture also applies to Mondrian. But it is not so much that Kandinsky's methods led him to paint bad pictures as the fact that academic reminiscences crept into them at almost every point other than that of what they "represented." And only a sense of style acquired from closer contact with the School of Paris would have insured him against such reminiscences, or at least against their discordant quality.

As a result of his failure to acquire a modern sense of style, Kandinsky remained an insecure painter. A somewhat similar insecurity operated in Hartley's case, which drove him, too, to eclecticism. The stylistic and thematic ingredients of Kandinsky's later work are as diverse as the colors of Joseph's coat: peasant, ancient, and Oriental art, much Klee, some Picasso, surrealist protoplasm, maps, blueprints, musical notation, etc., etc. If Kandinsky's later painting has a certain uniformity, that is owed mostly to its faults; where they are absent we are likely to take a Kandinsky for a Klee. A real high style would have imposed harmony upon materials even more diverse, but Kandinsky could have developed such a style, as I have said, only by going to the School of Paris for inspiration. It remains the necessary source of the only high styles of painting our age is capable of, even as Italy remained the only such source during the sixteenth century.

The exhibition at Nierendorf's (through January 15) illustrating Kandinsky's life work, even though incompletely, makes this quite clear. For a relatively short time Kandinsky was a great painter; he was and will remain a large and revolutionary phenomenon—he must be taken into account always; yet he stays apart from the main stream and in the last analysis remains a provincial. The example of his work is dangerous to younger painters. Let them be warned by the decorations that make vacuous the halls of the Art of Tomorrow museum.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

THE work Tovey used as his example in his exposition of the Mozart concerto form was the Piano Concerto K.503. It is performed more rarely than some of the other great examples in the series; and its greatness is less easily perceived: I was disappointed by my first hearing of it a couple of years ago; and audiences and critics were unimpressed when Schnabel and the New York Philharmonic under Szell gave it its first New York performances recently. But listening to it as it was rehearsed and performed on this occasion I became excitedly aware of the things that had escaped my ears and mind the first time.

With this experience of the work I was able to appreciate the acuteness of some observations about it in a letter I received a year ago from a reader who owned a copy of the English Decca recording of it (wul American Decca please issue it here?); and they provided an explanation of why its greatness is not easily perceived. It is, said my correspondent, who I think had the first movement in mind at that point, "one of those works in which, as Tovey remarks, Mozart's primary interest is architectural, and whose cumulative effect is one of grandeur, sweep, and power." It also has intensity and passion, he said, which are extremely moving at certain points—for example in the recapitulation, where the piano's running figurations in the joint restatement and elaboration of thematic material are among "those subtle and exciting variations and transformations which make Mozart's concerto recapitulations so wonderful and moving." A little later he said something about the Concerto K.459 which was equally true of K.503: that the opening theme hasn't the immediate sensuous appeal of some of the themes of the other concertos, but that "this very simplicity of thematic material . . . permits a richness and variety of elaboration." But, still later, "as Tovey so shrewdly points out, it is the fact of an accepted and established idiom which makes the wit of Mozart and Haydn so pointed and gives their sallies, their developments and variations their subtlety and poignancy." In short, K.503 has one or two but not the profusion of lovely themes with which some other Mozart concertos make an immediate appeal to listeners of today;

and these listeners do not have the ears and minds attuned to that "accepted and established idiom," for which Mozart contrived the work's rich and subtle elaborations, variations, and transformations of the simple thematic material in the achievement of architectural grandeur.

I also reread Tovey's essay (and now that I knew the work it was intensely moving to read this illumination of the processes of one great mind by those of another; though the contact with great critical insight and integrity also filled me with disgust and anger at the vast outpouring of critical shoddiness and viciousness by the people with space to fill and a living to earn); and it provided more detailed documentation of my correspondent's statements. "Mozart begins with a majestic assertion of his key, C major, by the whole orchestra, with mysterious soft shadows, that give a solemn depth to the tone. . . . It shows at once a boldness and richness of style which is only to be found in [his] most advanced work." But those mysterious soft shadows created after the initial radiance by delicate woodwind textures, and the second time by their wonderful shift to C minor, are subtleties which I think escape listeners of today. And from Tovey's reference to the risks of this opening I suspect he would have agreed that for these listeners there is greater immediate impressiveness in the "something more like an articulated regular theme" with which he says a symphony in the same style—e.g., the "Jupiter"—would begin.

He then describes another example of

the concerto's boldness and richness of style. The first orchestral tutti carries a reiterated rhythmic figure into the dominant and to the point where it is trumpeted forth on the note G—but with the effect of being only *on* the dominant, still in the key of C, and with a theme in C minor following it. When this dominant of C minor is reached again in the solo portion Mozart contrives the surprise of the piano's modulation to E flat major. And when the second orchestral tutti arrives he has it duplicate the treatment of the reiterated rhythmic figure in the first tutti, even to the trumpeting of it forth on the note G—to emphasize the effect he contrives this time of its being *in* the dominant, its having departed from the key of C; and the orchestra's G's are in fact answered breathtakingly by the piano's reiteration of the rhythmic figure on the note B, in a further departure to the key of E minor that is the first of the series of bold modulations in the development section. And concerning the difference between the two *tutti*s Tovey observes:

There is no describing the peculiar and subtle pleasure this device gives. It depends on a delicate sense of key, but has nothing to do with the technical knowledge which enables us to name it; indeed it is certain to be keenly enjoyed by any attentive listener whose knowledge of music is the result of relish for classical works, stimulated by frequent opportunities for hearing them under good conditions. On the other hand, it is quite possible that many persons . . . having at least a concert-goer's retrospective view of musical history simply do not hear these effects at all.

The fine integration of solo and orchestral parts in the recent performances was not without occasional lack of pre-

cision in gearing (chiefly in the slow movement). And though Schnabel's playing was sheer perfection in clarity and subtlety of articulation, it lacked, for Carnegie Hall, the projective force that might have carried over to the audience the grandeur of the first movement and the delicious little jokes in the piano figuration throughout, but especially in the finale.

For the Sunday afternoon broadcast the popular Concerto K.466 was substituted; and bad balance, limited frequency range, and other faults of transmission damaged the performance I had heard at the rehearsal in Carnegie Hall.

James Agee's column on Films is unavoidably omitted from this issue. It will appear next week, when Mr. Agee will discuss the films of 1944.

## CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN GRIERSON is head of the Canadian Film Board and a recognized authority on documentary films.

STUART CHASE, one of America's leading economists, is the author of "The Tragedy of Waste," "Rich Land, Poor Land," "The Economy of Abundance," and "The Road We Are Traveling."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary, is the author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man" and "Christianity and Power Politics."

JULES MOCH was a Socialist deputy and minister in pre-war France. After the capitulation he was active in the underground movement until forced to flee the country. He then became a commander in the Fighting French navy, and is now a member of the Consultative Assembly.

LIONEL TRILLING is associate professor of English at Columbia University. He is the author of "Matthew Arnold."

MARCUS DUFFIELD writes the weekly review of events, "History in the Making," for the Sunday edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

ALBERT C. WYLER, a well-known Swiss liberal, is a member of the American Society of International Law.

## Midwinter Book Number

When *The Nation* issues its Midwinter Book Number, on Feb. 24, the early 1945 literary season will be in full swing.

Publishers wishing to place advertising in this feature issue are urged to reserve space early. Size will be restricted to 40 pages, and latecomers may not be able to obtain space on this date.

Deadlines: Feb. 9 for space reservations; Feb. 12 for copy to set; Feb. 15 for final OK's on set copy and for delivery of complete plates. For further information, telephone BA 7-1066 or write

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# Letters to the Editors

## Miss Cannell and Her Critics

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of September 23 you published under the heading Canard by Cannell a letter signed by five persons which purported to be a refutation of my article, France Without Law, in the August number of the *Reader's Digest* but was nothing but a personal attack on me. It has just been brought to my attention.

Since the publication of my article France has been largely liberated. Thousand of Americans walk the streets of Paris and "the roads of France," and my voice is no longer needed to tell what goes on there. News dispatches daily confirm the truth of everything I have written and said since I landed here on the Gripsholm last March. Everyone now knows that the Avenue Foch was not out of bounds to ordinary French civilians and that Lucien Lelong, with whom I had the honor of working, was not a collaborator but a patriot who has been maintained as head of the French *couture*—the dress-creation industry—by General de Gaulle's government. What they may not know is that inasmuch as the Paris *couture* with its attendant industries occupied before this war a place in French economy equivalent to that of the automobile industries here, helping it meant keeping thousands of French workers alive to be liberated.

If further evidence of my accuracy were required I might mention that my article The Little Gray Mice (*Christian Science Monitor*, May 12, 1944) is being used by our army in one of the orientation courses for the United States Army Air Corps and that the OWI is reprinting my article Paris Spring 1944 (June number of *Harper's Bazaar*) for Europe, Asia, and Africa.

It is obviously futile to waste precious space in refuting insinuations which events have rendered obsolete. One, however, I cannot allow to pass—that is my alleged broadcasts for the Vichy Radio. I make no secret of any of my activities. In the summer of 1941 I was asked to do some special uncensored broadcasts in English, on Women of France—under the auspices of Lucien Lelong and his *couture* group—in these words: "We don't want any propaganda. We would just like to say to America, 'We're still here. We're still French.'" I was advised by my

friend and lawyer, a United States ex-Senator, to take advantage of this unique opportunity to help France. I worked entirely with and for French patriots. None of them has had to change his shirt; they all have their heads and their hair. I wrote my own script, especially stressing the *couture* effort, but I also spoke of the activities of French Red Cross workers, prisoners' wives, women running farms, fire-women, who with the help of little boys replaced the almost non-existent fire brigades. I wish everyone could have heard them. They gave a faithful week-to-week picture of life in occupied Paris. Thanks to a light style, I was able to put across much information that could, I believed, be seized by Americans less thick-headed than Germans.

In the same manner I saved the New York Times's Paris bureau from being occupied by the Nazis. When their correspondent was arbitrarily ordered back to Berlin by the German authorities, he left me in charge, asking me to keep the office open at all costs. For weeks I did so with the help of one girl secretary, sending fashion or other cables every day so that we should be counted as a functioning press bureau, which was essential to avoid occupation.

Lucien Lelong was not only my boss after I left the *Times*; he was my guarantor to the Germans. With other French fashion personalities, who spontaneously offered to guarantee—with their skins—that I would neither run away nor engage in political activity, he kept me out of an internment camp.

Two days before I left Paris to be repatriated last February, a codirector of a big Paris dress house, who was also a captain in active service both in the last war and in this one, wrote me: "You at least have never failed us. . . . We will forgive your leaving us only on condition that the first thing you do on landing is to secure passage on the first boat back after the war."

Though they claim to have been "in constant communication with the children of France," the signers of your letter have manifestly been misinformed on more than one point. I was there. They undoubtedly love France as much as I do. Therefore it is a pity that they have allowed their incomplete data to prevent them from employing their unquestionable literary talents in promot-

ing that better understanding between the peoples of France and America which can only be established on truth.

KATHLEEN CANNELL

New York, October 25

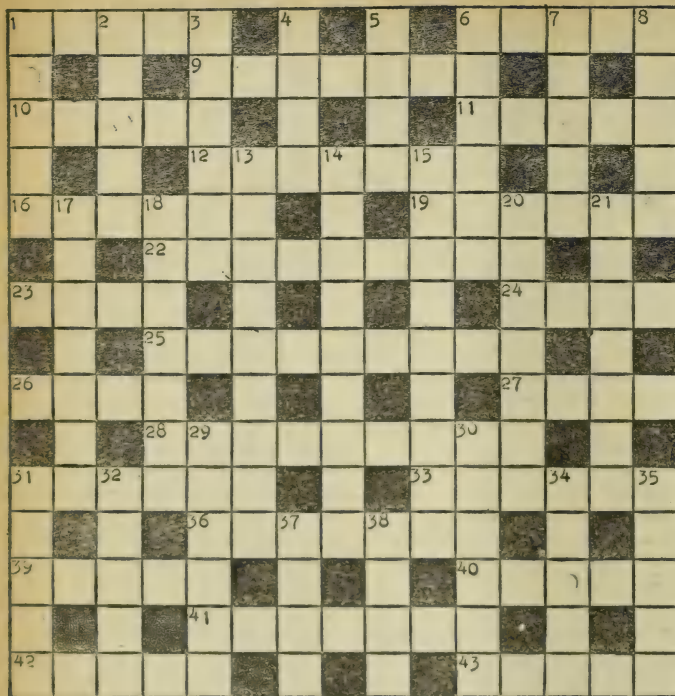
## The "Light Style"

Dear Sirs: It is unfortunate that anyone professing a love for France should have permitted herself to betray that love so cruelly as did Miss Cannell in the article under discussion. It is perhaps partly explained by the fact that her long association with the *haute couture* has given her the "light style" for which she is so duly grateful. That "light style" tends to leave much untouched and unexpressed. Surely it was in the article itself and not in her letter of self-defense written some two months later that Miss Cannell should have indicated that she was aware that there were in Paris, as throughout all France, well-organized, well-disciplined groups of "French Red Cross workers, prisoners' wives, women running farms, fire-women," etc. The F. F. I. and other resistance groups worked at all times under the most rigid discipline, and one of the many facts which can now give the lie to Miss Cannell's fancies is the magnificent action at the time of the liberation of another closely organized group—the gendarmes of Paris.

Whatever Miss Cannell's sentiments may have been or may be now concerning France, she is guilty of a great wrong. At a time when every word of what was going on behind France's closed frontiers was of the highest and gravest importance, she chose to make no mention of the fact that, despite the lack of food, the lack of fuel, the lack of clothing, deprived of all communication with the outside world, orderly bodies of French citizens were working systematically and unflaggingly to maintain their nation's inviolable equilibrium. She chose instead to give to the American public a picture of France in hopeless chaos, overrun by "foreign anarchists and killers," a France rendered unsafe, not by the Germans, but by gangs of young French terrorists. So distorted and untrue a presentation did she make that Frenchmen who were likewise there in 1943 and 1944—and to whom Miss Cannell's name is not familiar and therefore not an object

# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 98

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 How to do addition sums
- 6 Period between wars, if any
- 9 The Cotton state
- 10 Epithet for the fleet
- 11 A worker in the brewery
- 12 American commandos
- 16 Caliph of the Ottoman Empire, slain by the Giaour
- 19 Too many eggs about at this time of year
- 22 It makes ants dance
- 23 A robot loses heart, having to keep the plant supplied
- 24 Feminine name, other than Rita
- 25 Beverage first produced by the Aztecs
- 26 An English spa
- 27 Not useless if it's a cigar
- 28 Rub out, modern style
- 31 Little vessel, not a little sailor
- 33 Do I eat? (anag.)
- 36 Galumphing
- 39 Usually precedes an explosion
- 40 I live on it; so do you
- 41 Put some life into
- 42 Suggestive of kernels and colonels
- 43 Spotted

## DOWN

- 1 The movie attendant's beaming welcome
- 2 Classifications
- 3 Indian city from which we get dramas
- 4 Is this what a tale is woven from?

- 5 It's changeable, and sounds conceited, too
- 6 An old French peasant
- 7 Aside
- 8 Stage direction
- 13 A hermit
- 14 A taste for drink, combined with gout, doubled him up forever
- 15 A book you like will probably be this (two words, 4 and 5)
- 17 The alligator-pear
- 18 Chalets (anag.)
- 20 Littered
- 21 Beseech
- 29 Keep out of this chamber
- 30 Dressed, after a fashion
- 31 People make free with them
- 32 It checks your car's speed
- 34 Where Tom Bowling's gone
- 35 "----- door and window was adorned" (Macaulay)
- 37 The world would naturally turn on it!
- 38 The Terrible One

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 97

ACROSS:—1 SHIP OF STATE; 9 MENU; 10 ALONE; 11 OPUS; 12 FIREDOG; 13 CONSULT; 15 BADINAGE; 16 DESERT; 18 FEWEST; 21 UNTRACED; 24 CLEAVER; 26 CORSETS; 28 GAIT; 29 ORIEL; 30 EYES; 31 PHILOSOPHER.

DOWN:—2 HOUSEWIFE; 3 PIANOLA; 4 FROG; 5 TOEHOLD; 6 TOOLS; 7 RETINA; 8 BUTLER; 14 VENUS; 17 SHAKSPERE; 19 EOLIAN; 20 TREFOIL; 22 TROLLOP; 25 ESTEEM; 26 AITCH; 27 MISS.

for "personal attack"—have spoken of this article both in private and in public with something close to murder in their hearts.

KAY BOYLE

ELSA MAXWELL

JANET FLANNER

SOLITA SOLANO

MARY REYNOLDS

New York, November 6

## Not the Only One

Dear Sirs: Florida's anti-closed-shop amendment was carried by a close vote; until the ballots in remote rural areas were counted, it appeared to have lost. Hence the implication in William H. Joubert's letter in *The Nation* of December 16 that the urban daily press was responsible is less than fair. And I particularly object to his characterization of the St. Petersburg *Times* as the only liberal newspaper in Florida.

I cannot guess Mr. Joubert's definition of liberal, but I can conceive of no reasonable definition that would include the *Times* and exclude the Miami *Daily News*, the St. Petersburg *Evening Independent*, and the Ocala *Star-Banner*.

The *Independent*, for which I wrote the editorials for eight years ending last June, has been consistently anti-Franco, anti-Munich, anti-white supremacy, anti-Ku Klux Klan, and active in warning against native fascists—including Gerald B. Winrod, a frequent visitor to St. Petersburg, against whom the *Independent* crusaded for three and one-half years before the *Times* so much as mentioned him editorially. The *Independent* took the lead in publicizing the Tampa Shoemaker flogging editorially in Florida, and has supported most liberal proposals. Naturally, it opposed the anti-closed-shop amendment.

The *Independent*, finally, was cited on *The Nation's* Honor Roll in January, 1939, for its editorial attacks on the Klan and on anti-Semitism during 1938. If it has occasionally taken a position to which some liberals would object—what newspaper hasn't?

Mr. Joubert's equal condemnation of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. for not fighting the anti-closed-shop amendment more vigorously also strikes me as unfair. The C. I. O., with only 5,000 members, is without influence in Florida. The state A. F. of L. is thoroughly illiberal and racketeer-ridden, and is more energetic in fighting democracy within its own organization than in any fight for principle.

LEE MORRIS

Philadelphia, Pa., December 16

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE LONG-AWAITED RED ARMY OFFENSIVE ON the central front is the best news from Europe in many weeks. The Germans were obviously prepared for the blow and had done their best to meet it last summer by counter-attacks which forced the Russians out of good positions in the Sandomierz bridgehead over the Vistula south of Warsaw. However, the tremendous build-up of Russian striking power from East Prussia to Czechoslovakia was too great to hold. The Red Army is stronger than it has ever been and is fighting on traditionally good winter ground. It may go a considerable distance before being checked, though the Germans are concentrated along a shorter line, are closer to home supply bases, and have been strengthened by new divisions obtained through the recent drastic mobilization. The Russians may be heading for Berlin along a short road, but the road will be hard. Certainly it will be as hard as the road from the west, where American and British troops are battling to stave in Rundstedt's Ardennes salient. Evidently no appreciable number of enemy troops is going to be cut off by the Allied counter-attack, and it now appears that the German offensive was successful in the primary objective of relieving pressure on the Saar and Ruhr fronts, thereby gaining time during which the Allies might divide politically. The great hope is now that military cooperation will overrule political differences and that concurrent Allied blows from east and west will eliminate the last German chance.

✱

THE MEETING OF THE SPANISH DEPUTIES IN Mexico failed to secure the necessary quorum of one hundred and is therefore incapable of making any important decisions. The actual number attending is seventy-eight. Twenty-seven other deputies, including Alvarez del Vayo and some members of the Negrín Cabinet, are at present in Mexico but have abstained from taking part because of "the non-presence of the government." The most dominant figure is therefore, paradoxically, the absent Premier, Juan Negrín. In spite of being branded as illegal and harmful to the prestige of parliamentary institutions, the Cortes meeting has stressed the widespread desire for unity among Spanish Republicans. Addresses honoring the deputies killed since the beginning of the Spanish war, although made by some speakers who had not distinguished themselves by their previous conciliatory efforts, were in effect appeals for unity, and the presence of two thousand emigrés in the big assembly hall of the Club France emphasized the common desire. Even if Indalecio Prieto has not given up hope of enlarging his Junta de Liberación, his field of maneuver has become narrower each

day. Significantly, Juan Antonio Aguirre, head of the Basque autonomous government and a prominent Catholic leader, who is at present in New York, refused to give his name to any junta or government from which Negrín is excluded. The possibility of the creation of a solid Spanish Republican front appears to depend to a large extent on Negrín, and Negrín's presence in Mexico depends on the British government's ending its long delay in granting him proper facilities for leaving London.

✱

KING PETER OF YUGOSLAVIA, WHO LIVES IN A world of his own, has apparently got the quixotic notion that the divine right of kings still obtains in the modern world. It is the misfortune of Balkan monarchies that they have resisted coming to terms with today's legitimacy, that of the people. Instead they have clung to royal illusions of power which, in Northern Europe, sputtered out early in the nineteenth century. The present war, by its very nature, was bound to bring such monarchies to grief. In the words of President Roosevelt, "Ours is an association not of governments but of peoples." The plight of the royal houses of Albania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria proves that it is the people's will that counts. Zog is a dead letter. The people of Greece, by their heroic resistance, have succeeded in shelving the preposterous George, although the British government persists in ignoring their verdict. Now Peter, not to be so piteously undone, seems determined to tilt the windmills alone. His communiqué of January 11 is an attempt to override the engagements entered into by Dr. Subasich, his Premier. Strange way to insist on his rights as a "constitutional monarch"! One cannot help thinking how Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister in another constitutional monarchy, would react to a comparable interference from the throne. Meanwhile, word comes from Bulgaria that Prince Cyril, brother of the late King Boris and former head of the regency council, has been haled into the Sofia People's Court on charges of atrocities against Partisans and collaboration with the Germans. The hour is striking for monarchs and their defenders.

✱

ON DECEMBER 5 LAST WINSTON CHURCHILL declared in the House of Commons: "Whether the Greek people form themselves into a monarchy or a republic is for their decision. Whether they form a government of the right or left is for their decision. These are entirely matters for them." How, we wonder, will the British Prime Minister square this declaration of disinterest with the fact that on January 14 General Scobie, commander of British forces in Greece, gave his patronage to a rightist demonstration in Athens by addressing it from a balcony? To a crowd shouting for the return of the King, the general expressed the hope that the gathering "will not be without its effect on world opinion." Unless this grossly improper action is promptly reprimanded by his government, world opinion will pay little further heed to British protestations of neutrality in Greek politics.

✱

SIR CECIL HURST, BRITISH CHAIRMAN OF THE United Nations War Crimes Commission, has resigned because the British Foreign Office has either ignored or rejected the Commission's proposals for dealing with war

criminals. The commission, which represents, it should be remembered, fourteen nations, recommended, unanimously, that international courts be set up for the trial of war criminals, that the heads of states—that is, Hitler, Mussolini, *et al.*—be tried in these courts on the same terms as their minions rather than punished, as Napoleon was, by political decision, and that the Nazis and fascists be punished not only for their crimes against other nations but for the crimes they have committed against their own nationals on the ground of race or religion. The problem is a complicated one, as everybody knows, and there is room for honorable disagreement as to procedure. The disturbing thing is that there seems to be a gentleman in the woodpile; for it appears that the person in the Foreign Office who is handling the question of war crimes—Anthony Eden being too busy—is none other than the arch appeaser, Lord Simon! Members of the War Crimes Commission may be forgiven for suspecting that Lord Simon's past must affect his present attitude. Since Lord Simon is not the only one of his kind in the higher reaches of the British government, people in general may be forgiven for the gloomy suspicion that the farcical war-guilt trials of World War I will be repeated. For our part, we find ourselves thinking of a cartoon in the current *New Yorker*. One gunman is introducing another to the head gangster. "Gus," he says, "I want you to meet a very old accomplice of mine."

✱

PROSPECTS FOR CORDIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN the Senate and the President have been much improved by an infusion of new blood into the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Ignoring seniority rules, the majority steering committee named Senators Lucas, Lister Hill, and Hatch to fill the vacancies caused by the forced retirement of Senators Bennet Champ Clark, Gillette, and Reynolds. Pat McCarran of Nevada, a fairly consistent isolationist who was senior to all three, received only one vote. Senator Wheeler withdrew his name when it became clear that he had no chance. Now with the whole majority representation back of the Administration's foreign policy, there is little likelihood that there will be a repetition of the conflict between President Wilson and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of his day. The Republicans, however, have done their little bit to conserve their isolationist record in choosing Senators Bridges and Wiley to replace Gerald P. Nye and James J. Davies. Bridges, given to somewhat chauvinistic outbursts, has in general gone down the line with the President on foreign policy, but Wiley, who it will be recalled got Governor Dewey's personal indorsement during the campaign, is as case-hardened an isolationist as they come.

✱

THE NEW CEILING PRICE ON LIVE CATTLE OF \$18 a hundredweight represents a substantial victory for the cattle men at the expense of the general public. It is not only well above the current market price but is nearly double the pre-war price. Part of the additional price will be met by increased subsidies; the remainder, apparently, will be provided for by a slight increase in the retail beef ceilings. But although the public will pay more for its meat in 1945 than in 1944, it will share somewhat in the OPA's satisfaction in finally achieving an effective ceiling on live cattle. For under

the previous arrangement the only way in which the OPA could penalize packers who paid exorbitant prices for beef was through a withdrawal of subsidies. Since the bonus paid by the black market was often greater than the subsidies, a large proportion of the total meat supplies was lost through illegal channels. It is generally agreed that the new regulations, if rigorously enforced, should help curb the black market. Whether the supply of meat available in the urban markets will be appreciably increased is a matter of debate within the meat industry. But the prospects seem favorable. Cattle raisers will get a better price; the packers and retailers will be protected against a "squeeze" between uncontrolled farm prices and fixed retail prices; and black-market operations will more readily be brought under control. It should be recognized, however, that these gains have been won by granting the cattlemen a margin of profit which is completely out of line with the return permitted labor or other business groups under the stabilization policy.

✱

IT IS A PLEASURE TO REPORT THAT THE North Carolina Supreme Court has averted a scandal. Last July 14 William DeBerry, an organizer for the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America, C. I. O., was sentenced to sixty days on the road gang by the state Superior Court, on a charge of having assaulted Louise Johnston, a company-union stooge for the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. The prosecution didn't bother to present any evidence to back the charge. It based its argument on the self-evident facts that William DeBerry was a Negro, that Louise Johnston was white, and that the members of the C. I. O. union called each other "brother" and "sister." That was sufficient for the Superior Court. It did not satisfy the Supreme Court, which on January 4 dismissed the charge. But justice for the Negro in the South is still the exceptional thing. On September 3 six white hoodlums kidnapped and raped Mrs. Recy Taylor, a Negress, at Abbeville, Alabama. One of them, Hugo Wilson, confessed and named the others, but the Henry County grand jury refused to indict. On December 8 Governor Sparks promised to investigate, but he has not done anything thus far. A Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor has been organized, with members in nineteen states, a few white Southerners among them. It is too bad the Negro can't get justice without the aid of "agitators," Northern and otherwise. It gives the South a bad name.

✱

THE HOLLYWOOD POST OF THE AMERICAN Legion receives our congratulations on being the first in the nation to welcome a Japanese-American veteran of this war, Harley M. Oka, into its active membership. Its action does something to erase the shame of the Hood River Post's decision to remove from its honor roll of local citizens serving in the armed forces the names of sixteen Japanese Americans. The Pacific Coast on the whole, as Carey McWilliams predicted some weeks ago in these columns, is responding well to the army's order lifting the ban against Japanese Americans returning to the West Coast military area. Recently eighteen Unitarian and Universalist ministers from Washington, Oregon, and California signed a state-

ment expressing the belief that "this order will help win the peace by renewing the confidence of people, here and abroad, white and colored, in American democracy." The statement, making reference to the loyalty of the great majority of Japanese Americans, asserts that "a grave and largely irredeemable injustice has been done to these loyal American citizens and that America owes it to herself, as well as to them, to make such reparations as are possible. The removal of the exclusion order is the first big step in that direction."

✱

THE NATION WELCOMES CAREY McWILLIAMS as a new contributing editor. He will bring to its columns a fresh and discerning appreciation of the battle for a fuller freedom that is being waged by the American people. A courageous fighter against oppression and discrimination in all forms, Carey McWilliams has become the active spokesman of groups in our community who are too often pushed around—migrant workers who follow the crops, Mexicans, Japanese Americans in and out of relocation centers, Negroes in industry and in the army. *The Nation* is honored in having associated with it an intelligent observer and an effective writer whose struggles for justice are stated very much in the present tense.

## The Vandenberg Plan

SENATOR VANDENBERG'S proposals for reestablishing Allied unity by American action to free Europe from its fears of a future renewal of German aggression have been favorably received by most of his "internationalist" colleagues and have been accorded a warm welcome in the general press. The fact that they have been bitterly condemned by the *Daily News*, which sees them as a surrender to Roosevelt foreshadowing the final break-up of the G. O. P., is itself something of a commendation. Nevertheless, the Senator's record being what it is, he must not be surprised if the mouth of his gift horse is examined with somewhat suspicious care. The fervent devotion to the Atlantic Charter recently displayed by men who reviled and ridiculed it at the time of its promulgation justifies a search for ulterior motives in their utterances.

After a careful study of the Senator's address, however, we are not inclined to condemn it offhand as, to quote the *Daily Worker*, "a clever maneuver to divide the President's supporters." There are some obvious gaps in his reasoning, some unfortunate obscurities in his language, some evidence of the "American governess" mentality; but his central proposal merits, we believe, serious consideration.

Mr. Vandenberg is concerned over the "unilateral actions" of Moscow and London but realizes that American official silence "has multiplied confusion at home and abroad." If unity is to be restored, he suggests, American faith in the Atlantic Charter must be reaffirmed, but at the same time steps must be taken to remove the sense of insecurity which promotes such unilateral measures to achieve safety from future assault as Russia's effort to surround itself with "unwillingly controlled or partitioned states." The primary problem to be dealt with is "the fear of reborn German ag-

gression"—a menace which the United States is as interested in scotching as are its Allies.

In order to meet this situation, the Senator proposes the immediate conclusion of a treaty between the major Allies to act together to keep Germany and Japan disarmed. With such a pact in force, the President, as commander-in-chief, could, he points out, move instantly to employ whatever force was necessary in joint action to prevent either of these powers preparing for new aggressions. "Regardless of what our later decision may be in respect to the power that shall be delegated to the President to join our military force with others in a new Peace League, . . . I am sure we can all agree that there should be no limitations when it comes to keeping the Axis out of piracy for keeps." So far, so good. But we are bound to observe that the Senator's proposal requires a good deal of elucidation.

How, for instance, is disarmament to be defined? Some people think that in the case of Germany it should mean permanent loss of control over the heavy industries of the Ruhr. Would Mr. Vandenberg be prepared to have the United States underwrite such a provision? It will be hard to draft a treaty of the kind he proposes until there is basic agreement about the terms to be imposed on the Axis nations. Again, there is the question of what body will decide what constitutes a threat of rearmament and what preventive measures should be applied. Is this authority to be lodged in representatives of the great powers, or is it ultimately to be included among the duties of a permanent international organization?

We think the Big Three at their forthcoming meeting might well put Senator Vandenberg's idea on their agenda, but let no one think such a treaty is a simple matter that can be drawn up in short order. Nor will negotiations be eased by the Senator's suggestion that once this question is settled and unity restored we shall "have the duty and the right to demand that whatever unilateral decisions have to be made in consequence of military need, they shall all be subject to revision in the light of the post-war world. . . ." This sounds like the voice of the governess. If we are to make such demands, we might start by expressing our own willingness to regard any unilateral decisions we may make, in the Pacific for instance, as equally temporary.

Again, the Senator said: "If Dumbarton Oaks should specifically authorize the ultimate international organization to review protested injustices in the peace itself, it would at least partially nullify the argument that we are to be asked to put a blank-check warrant behind a future status quo which is unknown to us." We agree that an international organization should have this authority; more than that, it should have power to pass on questions of injustice arising *after* the peace. But to exercise such authority effectively, the decisions of the organization cannot be subject to the veto of any great power, and all members must be willing to subordinate their national sovereignties. Are the Senator and his party now ready to accept this inescapable condition of a real international order?

#### IN NEXT WEEK'S NATION

*Dorothy Jones of Hollywood resumes the series Tomorrow the Movies with Hollywood Goes to War.*

## Monopoly in a Glass Bottle

THE Hartford Empire Glass monopoly case was argued before the United States Supreme Court in November of 1943 and reargued in January of 1944. Now, a year later, the court has finally handed down its decision. Three justices—Murphy, Jackson, and Douglas—took no part in deciding the case, because the first two had been with the Department of Justice during its inception and Douglas was on the Temporary National Economic Committee when it investigated Hartford Empire. Two justices, Black and Rutledge, wrote separate opinions, differing sharply with the majority of four. This majority decision is a triumph of narrow legalism over good sense, an extraordinary piece of judicial stultification. It was written by Justice Roberts and joined in by Chief Justice Stone and Justices Frankfurter and Reed. It is a blow to effective anti-trust enforcement and a disgrace to the supposedly liberal justices who participated in it.

That such a decision should come from Justice Roberts is not surprising; he is a corporation lawyer by training, and his outlook is in accordance with his past. But Reed was a New Deal appointee. Stone wrote the decision in the Morton Salt case, which seemed to promise a new and realistic judicial attitude toward the monopolistic abuse of the patent privilege. Frankfurter has gone out of his way not to interfere with the findings of administrative bodies in regulatory and tax matters. Here, in a highly complicated anti-trust case analogous to an administrative procedure, we find him substituting his own judgment for that of the trial court. The four did, indeed, uphold the decision that the Hartford Empire Company and its associates had engaged in a monopolistic conspiracy which violated the Sherman and Clayton acts. They could hardly have done otherwise. The glass industry has long been recognized as a classic example of a patent monopoly. The evidence of the conspiracy was not circumstantial but direct and ample. "It is hard to imagine a case," Judge Frank L. Kloebe of Ohio said in his courageous District Court decision, "in which a court would have more first-hand information of what the parties did and intended than in the case at bar." The Supreme Court majority of four upheld Judge Kloebe's findings and then proceeded to emasculate the decree by which he sought to end the conspiracy. The participants are condemned for conspiracy by the Supreme Court but reinstated in the possession of its fruits.

The majority's dry and chaste recital of the bare legal facts provides an inadequate conception of the conspiracy's robust flavor. An incident recited in the District Court decision may give readers some idea of the kind of men and companies who were before the court. They had a competitor in the manufacture of one type of glass-making equipment. In 1928 they suggested that the competitor get together with them, raise his price from \$9,500 to \$13,500 per machine—and pay the \$4,000 difference to Hartford Empire. "Now, boys," the competing firm was told, "we have made you a good proposition. . . . We will give you a month to think it over. . . . If you do not go in with us, you are going to be sued, and continue to be sued until you are out of business." When the competing firm declined to go along, a suit for patent infringement was brought under circumstances which pre-

vented any adequate defense from being made. The suit was won and the competing firm eliminated. On one occasion, according to the complaint in the case, "the defendants Hartford and Owens at night cut a hole in the roof of the building" of a competing firm and entered the premises in order to inspect its machinery. It is not strange that the trial judge wondered why the Department of Justice limited itself in this case to a civil action, and said, "This court has not been apprised of the reason for no criminal prosecution. This unanswered question rests on the doorstep of the Department of Justice."

The heart of the glass monopoly was Hartford Empire, a patent-holding company. The government asked its dissolution; the lower court ordered a receivership instead. The Supreme Court orders the business returned to Hartford Empire. The heart of the monopoly was the leasing of glass-making machinery under restrictive provisions. The District Court ordered that in the future all such machinery be sold outright instead of leased. This was overruled by the Supreme Court. The District Court ordered the patents in this conspiracy to be made freely available without royalty payments. The Supreme Court not only modified the decree to permit collection of "reasonable royalties" but limited the machinery items on which licenses had to be granted even at reasonable royalties. These are but a few of the changes made by the Supreme Court to weaken the decree. Justice Black protested that the decree as modified left the conspirators "free, in a large measure, to continue to follow the competition-destroying methods by which they achieved control of the industry." Justice Rutledge said, "To permit these patents to remain in the guilty hands . . . not only does not deprive their owners of the fruits of their misconduct. Rather it secures to them its continued benefits."

## *The Budget Message*

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S fourth war-time budget contained few surprises in its estimates of financial requirements for the 1945-46 fiscal year. Since our fighting services are now fully equipped and only slight expansion is foreseen in the number of men in service, the estimated outlay for war purposes is somewhat less than it was in the current year. But while the figure for probable war expenditures has been cut from \$89 billion to \$70 billion, "non-war" expenditures—including pensions, interest on the public debt, and tax refunds—will increase by more than \$2 billion as a direct result of the war. Thus total expenditures will probably be around \$83 billion, as against \$99 billion during the present year.

The really significant part of the President's message, however, was the closing section, in which he set forth the Administration's views regarding post-war fiscal policy. Here, even more clearly than in his campaign addresses, Mr. Roosevelt developed the principles of a program for full employment after the war. "Full employment," he declared, "is not only a matter of immediate self-interest but also part of our stake in world stability and prosperity." To this end he indicated that the government should be prepared to spend

enough in the post-war period to maintain consumer buying power at a level that will assure 60,000,000 jobs. And as a means of supporting the buying power of the public and at the same time maintaining "a policy of orderly but steady debt reduction" he suggested "the use of progressive taxes for the redemption of bonds held by millions of individual savers." As a corollary, he opposed the retention of "high taxes on the masses of consumers for general reduction of debt held by financial institutions" on the ground that such a policy would destroy purchasing power and create unemployment.

By thus coming out unequivocally for a program of maintaining full employment by the support of purchasing power, Mr. Roosevelt has focused attention sharply on the main issue in post-war policy. The conservative press has not been slow to indicate its disapproval of this section of the President's message. The essential issue, of course, is post-war tax policy. While the President wants a reduction in the taxes on the masses and would maintain fairly steep progressive taxes on corporations and the well-to-do, many Republicans, backed by large business interests and a substantial section of the press, have been urging the elimination of the corporation tax and a sharp reduction in the income tax as a means of encouraging enterprise to provide jobs. Since these same groups also want to see a rapid reduction in the national debt, they are inclined to oppose any reduction in the taxes on the low-income brackets and to support proposals for a sales tax or any levy which will take the burden off the well-to-do.

Obviously, these two conflicting theories for supporting post-war employment cannot be equally sound. And the question is far too important to be left to political pressures and party politics. Mr. Roosevelt's program is squarely based on the best economic authority available. It is entirely consistent with the economic doctrines of the distinguished British economist Lord Keynes and is designed to meet the flaws in American economic policy as set forth in the studies of wealth and income by the Brookings Institution. But the most compelling argument supporting Mr. Roosevelt's program as against that of his opponents is to be found in the history of the 1920's. The post-war policies of the Harding and Coolidge Administrations were almost identical with those now being urged by the Republicans and big business. The government debt was reduced rapidly, taxes on the well-to-do were cut sharply, business was stimulated, and the country had a period of unparalleled business confidence. But the final result, owing to the extreme dislocation of purchasing power, was the unprecedented economic collapse of the 1930's. As Mr. Hutchison points out elsewhere in this issue, British reluctance to join the United States in a coordinated program to stimulate world trade and a sound international economic policy grows out of the fear that we shall follow the same path as in the 1920's, thus bringing disaster not only to ourselves but to any country that is closely associated with us. The President's message is reassuring on this point, and should help mend the rift which has recently developed in Anglo-American relations. But the President will need the support of every forward-looking American citizen if he is to bring his program to fruition against the powerful opposition which is already forming.

# The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE landing on Luzon came as great good news to all Americans. There is no use deceiving ourselves about so fundamental a phenomenon as this: no matter what we thought about MacArthur—and many of us thought plenty—it was a thrill to hear that he was back. Psychologically, the Leyte landings never seemed quite like the real Philippines thing, although doubtless it would be hard to impress this on the minds of the American troops who fought there—one of them who was wounded wrote me without false gaiety that he was "about to start walking on a pair of G. I. legs."

Luzon, as the island of Manila, of Bataan, and of Corregidor, has a very special place in the story of the war, that story which is as much human as it is strategic or tactical. The road back has been incredibly long and difficult, from Tarawa in the Central Pacific fourteen months ago and from Guadalcanal in the Southwest Pacific twenty-nine months ago. The landings on Luzon are in a very real sense the culmination of what has gone before: the Owen Stanley Mountains, Salamaua, Lae, the Admiralties, Aitape, Hollandia, the Schouten Islands, Sansapor, Morotai for MacArthur's men; New Georgia, Bougainville, Santa Isabel, the Green Islands for Halsey's old South Pacific Command; Kwajalein, Eniwetok, Saipan, Tinian, Guam, Palau for Nimitz's Central Command and especially for the Marine Corps. The two great lines of force, MacArthur's and Nimitz's, converged in Leyte Gulf three months ago. There finally the American commanders in the Pacific were able to use on a large scale the fundamental strategic principle of concentration, and applied superior force on a relatively narrow front.

The lesson of Leyte has obviously been taken to heart, and there is no disposition to consider the Luzon campaign finished with the landing. We know now that these amphibious battles only begin when the troops are ashore. The Japanese have devised, through trial and error, what is probably the most effective defense against amphibious operations, in spite of their relatively limited resources in man-power and material. One cannot guard every inch of every island of a far-flung empire. So the Japanese high command tries to guess where the Americans will land and to guard those threatened shores; but it keeps a mobile force to meet us wherever we do land, because it has at least learned that American commanders, like good baseball players, hit 'em where they ain't.

Consequently recent Pacific operations have developed into a series of races: the Japanese racing to knock us back into the water before we are firmly established ashore, we racing to get established before the Japanese catch us with one foot on shore and one in the water. (The Japanese fleet would have caught us in just that position on Leyte had it not been for the brilliant intervention by the United States Seventh and Third fleets.) The same kind of race is now

developing on Luzon. Again it is most likely that the Japanese will lose; but Luzon will see some bitter, bloody battles before they have finally lost.

It is likely that the Japanese will lose, not because Americans always lick Japanese or have better blood, but because in this case as in others they have superior power, superior dispositions of that power, and superior plans for its employment. The entire remaining strength of the Japanese fleet is probably not a match for the United States Seventh Fleet, which is in immediate support of the landing forces, and is certainly not a match for the Third Fleet, cruising somewhere to the northwest between Luzon and the Formosa-Ryukyu area. If the Japanese fleet offers battle, it will probably meet another defeat on a scale with that of the Second Battle of the Philippines in October, and this may well mean the end of the Japanese fleet as an effective naval force. Japanese air power has already suffered badly in the preparatory phases of the landings—a new twist to the artillery barrage of the last war, with the artillery in this case mounted on wings which take off from easily movable floating airfields. It will assuredly suffer even more as the Luzon campaign continues: reinforcement squadrons staging down from the home islands will run the gauntlet of the Third Fleet's carrier-based planes, now ranging out beyond the big airfields of Formosa to the China coast; planes remaining on Luzon when we landed, probably not more than 200, will be attacked at their bases by fighters from Mindoro, bombers from Leyte and the Palaus. Japanese ground forces on Luzon, stationed mostly in the south to guard against landings from Mindoro, will be strafed and bombed from the air as they move up to Lingayen; if they move up too rapidly, MacArthur may land in the south, or around in the west above the neck of the Bataan peninsula. Finally, the enemy will certainly make a large-scale attempt to bring in troop reinforcements, which will either be destroyed at sea by small-boat and air attack or will be killed or starved on Luzon after they have landed.

The pattern of Leyte may thus repeat itself, with variations—and this even though the enemy well knows how heavy his losses were on Leyte. Yet he can do no other. Strategic and psychological considerations too strongly demand the retention of the Philippines for him to pull out or even to attempt to cut his losses. The establishment of American air and sea forces on Luzon means very nearly the end of Japanese traffic to the East Indies and southeastern Asia, which means the end of rich war imports as well as of supplies and reinforcements for the island garrisons. It means that Formosa, keystone of the whole island empire, is directly threatened with the inevitable next amphibious step; beyond Formosa lies the Chinese coast. This in turn will necessitate renewed Japanese efforts to get traffic moving on the overland route from Manchuria to Indo-China in order to bring home

the resources of Malaya and the Indies and to supply the dwindling Burmese force now blocking the Allies' India-China routes.

As for the psychological-political considerations, their weight has already been made apparent on the other side of the world, where the Germans have suffered from trying to maintain impossible military positions. For the Japanese such considerations are peculiarly potent owing to their need to save face and maintain the myth that theirs is a war of

the dark skins against the white skins—a myth made extremely difficult to sustain by the large contribution of Filipino resistance forces to their country's liberation.

So, in spite of all drawbacks, the Japanese must fight hard for Luzon; and consequently, in spite of all advantages, the Allies must also fight hard. The result is inevitable, though uncertain as to date. Then, Luzon and the Philippines won, the Allies can get down to the serious business of the Pacific war—attacking Japan's true inner fortresses of strength.

## Behind the Labor Shortage

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, January 15*

THE war-production program has been a succession of critical shortages. We no sooner solve one than others make an appearance. The earliest were shortages in basic materials. The current ones are due to new and increased needs developed in battle. The most authoritative survey of these shortages was supplied last December 7 in a report on Critical Programs by Hiland G. Batcheller, chief of operations at the War Production Board. The facts presented in this report may serve to counteract some of the hysteria generated and the distortions spread by the current debate over national service. Mr. Batcheller reported that 40 per cent of the war-production program was behind schedule and that 40 per cent of the total of current critical shortages was due to a sudden increase in requirements for certain weapons and materials, 26 per cent to changes in the design or model of military weapons, 22 per cent to labor shortages, and 12 per cent to the need for new productive facilities.

There have been shortages of ammunition and supplies at the front, but these have not been due to lags in output at home. The authority for this statement is the report made to Congress by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes on December 30. Supply difficulties on the western front, according to the statement made on December 16 by Senator Mead, cannot be blamed on labor. "To date," Mead said, "the problem has been one of transporting supplies from shipboard and from the Normandy beaches." This does not mean that labor can afford to be complacent. New draft and production requirements will strain our industrial system to its utmost in coming months, and adequate steps must be taken to meet increased demands on machine and man-power.

The debate on national service has oversimplified the problem. To put the question as a choice between drafting or not drafting labor is to create the impression that somehow labor is at fault in these critical shortages. Actually they derive from two sources. The first is military misjudgment. Some programs have had to be sharply accelerated because military leadership was too optimistic. In some cases there was lack of experience; artillery and shell programs went up sharply after troops began to land and really fight abroad. In the case of the tank program, steadily whittled down and now suddenly increased, there was an unwillingness to learn

from Russian experience and a silly disparagement of the tank. Similarly there was a tardy recognition of the value of such new devices as the rocket and the jet-propulsion engine. And over all has hung the misguided feeling, yet to be completely dissipated, that victory could be won by air power. These factors of military misjudgment are reflected not only in such critical programs as rockets, heavy artillery, and tanks, but even in so "civilian" an item as cotton duck. Cotton-duck requirements were cut sharply by the military after the winter of 1942-43; low-wage textile labor shifted to better-paying war industries; now requirements have been boosted again. The shortage of rockets, tanks, and cotton duck obviously involves more than a mere labor shortage; new facilities, design, and engineering, as well as labor recruiting, are necessary. These items cannot be obtained merely by turning the faucet of a controlled labor supply.

The second source of critical shortages also lies in a situation more complex than a simple scarcity of labor. We are operating our economy at pretty close to full capacity, and tight situations cannot be corrected by general formulas. "The immediate task," Mr. Batcheller reported, "is to tackle each of the critical programs on a 'spot' basis. Wherever we know of lagging plants we must send in practical production specialists, not general practitioners, to determine the facts, the causes, and the probable cures of production troubles." Every local situation is different. Here a shortage of labor may be due to a lack of day nurseries for working mothers; there the need may be for more buses to serve commuting workers. One tight spot may be eased by wider subcontracting; another, by shutting down some non-essential plant; a third, by transferring some contracts to another area. A cost-plus contract may have encouraged the hoarding of labor. The problems are problems of wise planning, of careful attention to detail, not simply of "labor shortages." This is what Baruch meant when he said in his report on the West Coast man-power situation in 1943, "Man-power problems cannot be solved by thinking solely in terms of labor controls. Control over production is equally important. The fundamental objective of any sound man-power program must be to bring production demands and labor supply into balance."

It is the failure to achieve this balance which accounts for many of our man-power difficulties, and this balance will not

automatically be attained by passing a national-service statute. "There should be better coordination," Mr. Batcheller hinted tactfully, "between the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, and the services on contract run-outs or cutbacks and new contract placements. A much better job needs to be done in diverting released facilities and labor into critical plants." What he means is that army-navy procurement is still placing and canceling too many contracts without regard to the availability of facilities and man-power. The first essential is coordination of procurement services with the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission to see that, wherever possible, cancellations are made in tight labor areas and new contracts put into loose labor areas. The military are still too uncooperative.

Liberals and labor leaders will prove badly mistaken however, if they assume that the coordination of war-production and man-power agencies will be sufficient to meet the problems which lie ahead of us. Greater control of labor will prove necessary. But it is not generally understood that greater control of labor is intimately bound up with greater control of management. The War Manpower Commission today operates a system of employment ceilings, labor priorities, and referrals to make labor available where it is most needed. But while the WMC has sufficient power today to deprive a worker of his livelihood in a critical labor area if he declines to work where he is assigned, it has no power to enforce employment ceilings against employers who choose to ignore them. The War Manpower Commission also has no power to send its labor-utilization inspectors into plants without permission of the management. These inspectors are our principal weapon against the hoarding and waste of labor. Whether we have national service or not, the War Manpower Commission or some other agency will have to be given power by Congress to enforce its labor priorities and labor-inspection system by adequate penalties against both the recalcitrant worker and the recalcitrant management.

An incident from the last annual report of the Truman committee illustrates how widely the efficient mobilization of man-power differs from the mere issuance of orders compelling a requisite number of workers to report for duty—or else. Dallas, Texas, had been declared a critical labor area in 1943 solely because of new labor requirements at the North American Aviation plant there. A subcommittee investigated and held hearings in Dallas. "The testimony established," the Truman committee reported, "that North American was not efficiently utilizing the 36,000 workers which it then had and that it could not usefully employ the additional 13,000 workers that it was requesting." A transcript was sent to the War Production Board. Charles E. Wilson, then vice-chairman, after conferences with Army Air Forces, decided that North American's peak requirements could safely be reduced by 10,000, and that no new employees would have to be hired until the next year. The result was to take Dallas out of the critical-labor-area classification and free labor in it for other war work.

Labor leaders are a good deal more aware of these facts than the War and Navy departments seem to be. Labor would be wise to avoid a hysterical debate over national service and suggest instead legislation to give the War Manpower Commission compulsory power to enforce and expand its system

of labor priorities and inspection. The WMC is already a going concern; its local labor-management committees are far better informed on industrial problems than Selective Service boards. Selective Service did a poor job on occupational deferments; it would do a worse one on administering labor controls. The WMC could go into action at once. Better coordination of war agencies in Washington plus strengthened WMC committees in the field would go a long way toward easing current shortages. And the combination would provide the only framework in which an over-all national-service act could operate efficiently and fairly.

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE NEW PRESIDENT'S [Grant's] anxiety to keep the peace was notorious, and has weighed heavily in his course of administration. He has already yielded much—too much—to the legislature, and he seems likely to go on until there is nothing left for him to yield.—January 6, 1870.

CONGRESS REASSEMBLED on Monday, and the principal business of both houses was the readmission of Virginia. . . . On Tuesday the debates were continued, without result.—January 13, 1870.

A MUSEUM OF THE FINE ARTS for New York. Whether the right moment has arrived to establish one will depend upon the amount of real desire for it that may be found in the community. . . . On the 23d of last November, a meeting was held in the theatre of the Union League Club to consider the question. . . . At this meeting, after speeches and resolutions, a committee of fifty gentlemen were elected to provide for carrying into effect the object of the meeting. . . . These facts appear from a pamphlet which has reached us entitled "A Metropolitan Art Museum." . . . It seems . . . that some members of the committee hope for the aid of the state or of the city. . . . But if this action of the state cannot be brought about . . . it is then to be considered whether the community includes such persons who, being both interested in the cause and able to advance it, may have aggregate power enough to establish a museum of art.—January 13, 1870.

THE VIRGINIA CASE is causing no small bitterness and excitement in Congress.—January 20, 1870.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT gets on. Rhode Island, Minnesota, and Mississippi have ratified it during the week, along with Kansas; and Ohio has made a beginning with its Senate. The need of it is nowhere more strikingly shown than in the Democratic proposition before the Illinois Constitutional Convention, to insert "white" in the new instrument.—January 20, 1870.

MISSISSIPPI, A STATE where hitherto, from the days when its bottom lands were first settled, down to the days of General Gillem, the Negro has been of as little importance as anywhere else in the world outside of a slaver, has just sent to Washington the first colored United States Senator. He is a Mr. Revels, a mulatto, who is said to be a man of good character and fair ability.—January 27, 1870.

# Lion Bites Eagle

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WHEN the American eagle twists the British lion's tail, it's not news, but when lion bites eagle, the cables burn and the headlines crackle. Over here, the anti-British diatribes of a minority of publishers, radio commentators, and politicians have long been accepted as one of the more unpleasant facts of life; their daily damnable variations on the theme of perfidious Albion merely bore us. And as the British seldom retorted in kind, we have been apt to conclude that they were equally indifferent. This, however, is not so. A fair percentage of the dirty cracks of McCormick *et al.* are reported in the British press; still more become known to influential circles through the Ministry of Information's daily summary of the American press. If the soreness thus inevitably created has not hitherto found much public expression, it is partly because of official discouragement of criticisms of the United States.

To my mind, that policy has been a mistake; plain speaking at an earlier stage could have been accomplished with better temper. Now it is loaded with a weight of accumulated resentment which makes for an exaggeration of grievances. And the American public, totally unprepared for such an outburst, in turn feels both bewildered and hurt by a bite which makes no very careful distinction between the internationalist and the isolationist wings of the eagle.

No observer who had recently been in England could, however, have been very much surprised at the outburst touched off by the *Economist*. When I was in London last fall it was clear that irritation at American attacks on Britain was combining with fears about future American economic and political policies to produce an explosive mixture that was bound to detonate sooner or later. In my diary for November 10 I find this record of a conversation with a liberal editor:

X thinks that the British government has been over-anxious to appease American opinion and has been too ready to assume that British opinion will remain well-disciplined and docile. But too many concessions to America were liable to cause a sudden explosion here. The British public refused to accept the view that this country had to show a humble gratitude to the United States on account of Lend-Lease. They accepted the clause in the Lend-Lease Act which said that it was designed for the defense of the United States quite literally. That was exactly what Lend-Lease had accomplished, and, on balance, taking into account the part Britain had played in the war, it was felt that America was at least as much debtor as creditor. Talk of this kind is common enough here though it finds little expression in print. Of course, it is stimulated by the *Chicago Tribune's* nationalistic boasting and everlasting gibes at Britain. I am afraid that a lot of resentment is being stored up which will surprise and shock America if it ever bursts forth.

It must be acknowledged that the malevolence of the isolationist press is not the only cause of irritation. Most well-informed Englishmen have learned to discount this to some

extent and find it easier to bear than what is felt to be the common tendency of Americans to preach a higher form of international morality than they are prepared to practice. No doubt this is a case of the pot calling the kettle black; in the eyes of the rest of the world, hypocrisy is a characteristic of both English-speaking peoples. Similarly, another American trait which annoys the British—the tendency to regard as altruistic, actions which in fact are prompted by the instinct of self-preservation—is common enough among the British themselves. It might be much better if both nations acknowledged that their primary purpose in fighting the war was to achieve survival, and harped less on their noble motives.

The real difference between the two countries is that while both are confident of victory they are not equally confident of survival. Beneath Britain's surface irritability is a deep-rooted fear about its post-war future, about its ability to maintain itself as a first-class nation. One important ingredient in this fear is uncertainty about future American political and economic policies. Will attempts to organize a world system of collective security be wrecked once again in the United States Senate? Is America determined to yield no jot or tittle of its sovereignty? Is America willing to play a full and responsible part in the reorganization of Europe? These are questions I was asked constantly during my recent visit to England.

The fact that no one can, at present, give unequivocal answers forces Mr. Churchill's domestic critics to fight him with one arm tied. If there is to be no reliable system of international security, it is difficult to attack attempts to provide for national security on traditional lines. The British feel they came within a hair's breadth of losing the war in the Mediterranean, and until the danger of another war is eliminated, the principle of strengthening British influence in the region of the Suez Canal is not easy to assail, though it is possible to castigate Mr. Churchill's peculiar methods of making friends.

But, as the *London Times* has pointed out, such unilateral measures to achieve security set up a vicious circle. "American censure untempered by American proposals for constructive action encourages belief on this side of the Atlantic in an ingrained American unwillingness to accept political responsibilities in Europe. European nations, feeling more and more convinced that they will be thrown back on European resources for the upholding of their future security, take steps which still further alienate American opinion."

A similar reaction is to be observed in the economic field as the result of fears that America's enormous productive capacity may be used in such a way as to hinder rather than help the economic reconstruction of Europe. Having liquidated a large part of the assets on which it depended to compensate for its adverse balance of trade, Britain is faced with the necessity of greatly expanding its exports in order to pay

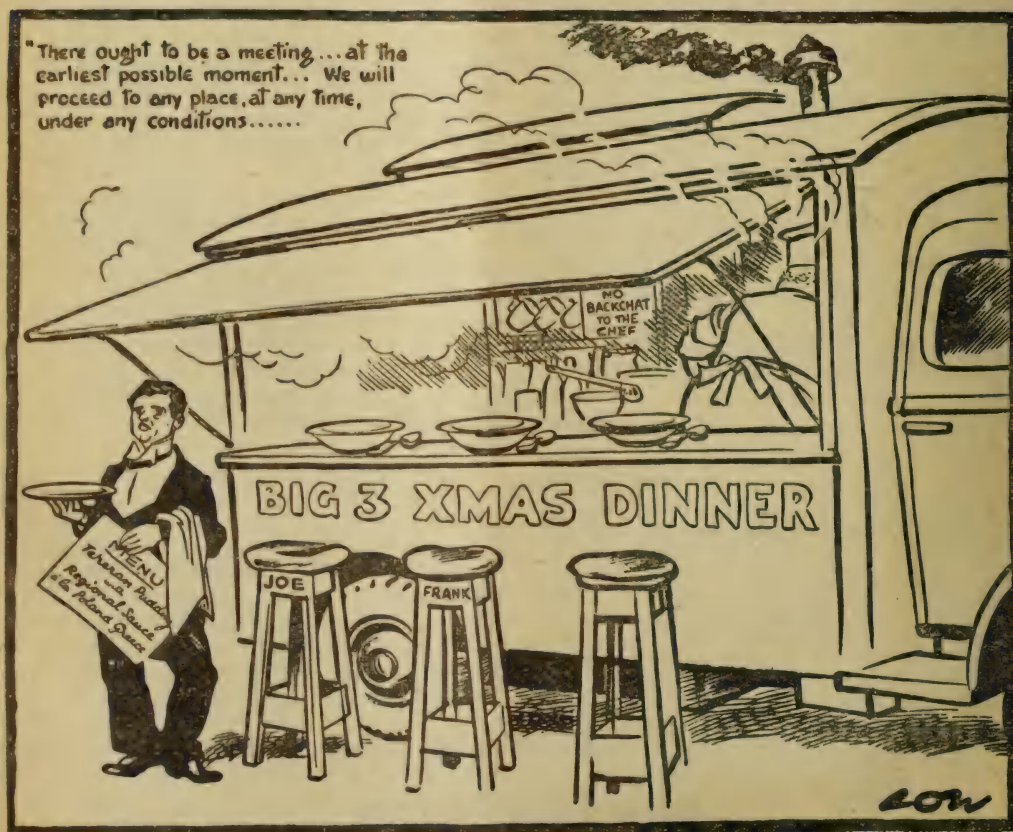
for the minimum of imports without which its standard of living must decline. Consequently, Britons are alarmed when they hear much of American plans to multiply foreign sales and little or nothing about measures to achieve a corresponding increase in American purchases from abroad. They are still further alarmed by indications of American determination to dominate the world's airways and to maintain a much larger merchant marine than before the war. In the British view all this spells an attempt to export America's unemployment problem, and while in the long run they don't believe it will be successful, in the short run they see it as ruinous to their own trade.

Fears of this kind have been heightened by war-time experience. While British exports, excluding government shipments of war supplies to other United Nations, have dropped to 50 per cent by value and 30 per cent by volume of their pre-war level, it is noted that United States exports, apart from Lend-Lease, have been fully maintained. The result is complaints that American traders are horning in on British markets. The clause in the original Lend-Lease agreement, recently modified, which prevented Britain from exporting goods embodying Lend-Lease materials, or similar materials derived from domestic sources, has in these circumstances been felt to be an unfair handicap, particularly as it did not

apply to materials supplied to the United States under reverse Lend-Lease.

The British government is committed to the post-war international economic policy indicated in the Atlantic Charter—a policy of razing barriers of all kinds which hinder international trade; and in this it has the official backing of the three political parties of which it is composed. But there is rather widespread support for a very different program which would involve the creation of a closed sterling area and the negotiation of bilateral trade agreements with those countries which depend on the British market. Usually such proposals are advocated as a *pis aller*—an alternative to a genuine American contribution to the freeing of world trade. But they have an appeal on their own merits to business men who dislike competition in general and fear American competition in particular. They have also found favor among a school of left-wingers who believe that any attempt to reestablish and enlarge multilateral trade will be on American terms. This, they argue, will mean that Britain's economy will be tied to that of America and that plans for British full employment will be at the mercy of the erratic swings of American private-enterprise economy.

These are some of the fears that haunt Britain's visions of the future. We may think them exaggerated; we may think



MOBILE CANTEN

they ascribe to the United States a responsibility which at the very least should be distributed equally among the Big Three. But let us not dismiss these fears as baseless. Britain, as a world power, will end the war relatively weakened, while America, actually, and Russia, potentially, will have greatly increased their strength. And, in particular, Britain's eco-

nomie position will have been seriously undermined. It is important that these facts should be brought into the open and their implications understood. If the recent outburst of plain speaking helps to bring about this end, it will have a value outlasting any ill effects arising from its bad-tempered tone.

## China Sets the Clock Back\*

CHINESE education since the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1905, when the old examination system was abolished and modern schools were established, has in general followed the world trend. In accordance with the people's desires, the tendency has been to discard feudalism and to strive for democracy. This development was hastened after the "May 4" or "New Culture" movement of 1919, but it has not proceeded without fluctuations. Even after the establishment of the Republic in 1911 and after the May 4 movement was inaugurated, the "Back-to-Ancient-Days" movement appeared in several provinces—in Shantung, for instance, under War Lord Chang Chung-chang, in Kwangtung under War Lord Lung Tsi-kwan, and in Hunan under War Lord Ho Chien. Only during the last six or seven years, however, has this movement been promoted in a well-planned fascist manner and on a national scale. It has three main aspects:

1. *Respect for Confucianism.* The movement is not an objective study of the philosophy of Confucius but an effort to present him as "the great teacher throughout the ages," and thereby "strengthen the self-confidence of China." It utilizes the Confucian emphasis on the monarchical system, the rule of the aristocracy, absolutism, subservience, and contempt for the laborer in order to maintain the corrupt feudalism of China—to help the privileged class to dominate the people, to help the ruler to train obedient people, and to prevent creative thinking and the application of scientific theories and methods. No one dares openly to oppose science and scientific education in this twentieth century, but "smart" people can arrange that only the technique of science shall be appropriated.

Feudal thinking, reinforced by a highly developed scientific technique, becomes fascism of the German, Italian, and Japanese type. The equivalent in China is the theory of "Chinese culture as the foundation, Western culture as the method." This was a popular slogan of the imperial house during the last decades of the Manchu dynasty, and it is again being emphasized by Chinese educational authorities. In his "Principle of National Independence" Dr. Sun Yat-sen speaks of "strengthening China's national self-confidence," and this part-thought from Dr. Sun's democratic doctrine is misinterpreted as belonging to feudalistic Confucian philosophy.

Chinese culture has splendid aspects not found in other cultures. The philosophy of Confucius has a special pro-

fundity which is not shared by other philosophies. This only means, however, that we Chinese have a history and a culture well worth studying. We should extract the finest things from it and combine them with the finest achievements of other cultures, thus creating a richer and higher culture in which social evolution will be facilitated; merely to revive our old traditions and the old Confucianism is very dangerous. In order to prolong the days of their rule the Manchus tried the latter method. Today some people are again advocating it. Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not urge the people to "respect Confucianism" or designate Confucius the "teacher throughout the ages." His "principle of national independence" is progressive and democratic. Unfortunately, the Nanking puppet regime is not the only group that wants to misinterpret it. For more than two thousand years emperors in China used Confucianism to keep the people in subjection, and today, thirty-three years after China became a republic, there are still some people who want to make use of Confucius for their own ends.

2. *Control of Thought.* The same people say that liberalism and socialism are the two poisons in modern thought. China's thoughts, they say, must be unified, and only "one principle" is to be allowed—that embodied in Dr. Sun's "three people's principles," or, as they interpret it, Confucianism, especially its political and ethical doctrines. All other thoughts must be purged. (Even Dr. Sun's own progressive interpretation is not allowed.) They attempt to unify China's thoughts in the following ways:

All publications and cultural activities are strictly censored, according to the governmental unified standard mentioned above.

Students of all grades are given a "thought-unifying" examination before entering schools or colleges.

For schools and colleges of all grades the Ministry of Education has introduced a "unified" curriculum and has issued or specified textbooks; even reference books are specified and limited by the Ministry of Education.

"Indoctrination" has been adopted as the standard method of teaching. Class hours have been increased to thirty or forty a week so that students will have no time for problems outside their textbooks.

Confucian ethical doctrine, as written by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, has been adopted as the "unified" instruction in all schools and colleges throughout the nation.

The former educational purpose of "training people to be the leaders of the nation" has been replaced by the rules of conduct of the Kuomintang Party, one of which is, "Obedi-

\* This article was written in China by a Chinese scholar and brought to this country by a friend of his.

ence is the basic spirit of responsibility . . . the people must obey absolutely the orders of the government and the commands of the Leader."

All teachers are examined according to the "unified standard." The deans in charge of the conduct and thoughts of students, military-training instructors, and Scout leaders are appointed by the Ministry of Education and constantly under its supervision.

The present national examination system is as "thought-unifying" and "thought-limiting" as the Manchu system, under which, to pass the examination, it was necessary to write an essay in a traditionalized mechanical form that confined all expression of thought.

3. *Gestapo-ruled Schools.* All student self-government organizations have been abolished and have been replaced by the activities of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, under the direction of the Kuomintang. Agents of the so-called "Special Service" are planted among the students and teachers, whose activities and thoughts are thus kept under close watch. If these agents report that a student or a teacher possesses "impure thoughts," his position and even his life are immediately endangered. (In Hunan University alone more than fifty students and teachers have been arrested because of "thought problems," and their whereabouts are still unknown today.) During the war most of the students and faculty members have lost contact with their homes, and their livelihood depends entirely on government subsidies. If they lose their scholarships or positions, they face immediate starvation.

Members of the "Special Service" are recruited either from the Kuomintang Party or the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. Some are induced to enter it by a special subsidy or offer of a high position; some are forced into the "Service." To all appearances, they are teachers, students, or members of the administrative staff. They usually cluster around the dean and the military-training instructors, who have received special training in the Kuomintang and San Min Chu I Youth Corps. They use all kinds of methods to gain their ends. The range and direction of their activities are based on a program secretly adopted by the Kuomintang, entitled "A Program for the Restriction and Surveillance of the Activities of Parties Other than the Kuomintang."

In the schools, therefore, no one dares discuss national or international affairs with anyone else. Students and teachers suspect each other, hate each other, and deceive each other; all live in fear. In every weekly convocation the dean or the military-training instructor speaks on *Li I Lien Chi* (rules of behavior, righteousness, honesty, and modesty) and on the virtues of the Generalissimo. But everyone knows that they are only putting on an act. The words they speak are not from the heart, and courtesy, righteousness, honesty, and modesty have long ago been swept overboard. This sort of "public deception" has become characteristic of all schools. On the surface, therefore, everything is very quiet. (If there are conflicts, they are caused by personal disputes between the dean and the military instructor, who use the students for their own purposes.)

These three aspects of the Back-to-Ancient-Days movement—"Respect Confucianism," thought control, and Gestapo-ruled schools—are inseparable. They represent a strongly

reactionary policy in Chinese education. In its nature it is the same slave-education policy that the Japanese militarists are pursuing in occupied China. This educational policy is in effect wherever the authority of the Ministry of Education prevails. It is most thoroughly in effect, therefore, in Chungking and Sian, less so in Kunming and Kweilin. That is why teachers and students of the southern provinces prefer to work or study in Kunming. To extend its jurisdiction the Ministry of Education has changed many private colleges into national colleges and is creating many large national high schools.

This type of education has been promoted in China for several years now. Has it reached its goal of training youth to be slaves? On the surface it might appear to have succeeded, but it has encountered some basic difficulties. The reasons why it cannot accomplish its purpose are as follows: (1) The historical development and social conditions of China pointed the way to democracy. (2) Dr. Sun Yat-sen established the Republic of China on the basis of democracy. (3) Chinese education was baptized in scientific and democratic thinking by the "May 4" movement. (4) Many Chinese educators received a liberal education in America and in England; many have been influenced by liberal educators like John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, and William H. Kilpatrick. (5) Having resisted the Japanese for years, the Chinese people want a democratic China. (6) The world trend is toward democracy. (7) The authority of the Ministry of Education cannot reach the whole country, and those youths who are under its influence, though they dare not speak up, know what is what. Of course, innocent children are the ones who are most seriously affected.

Future historians will call this period the Dark Age of Chinese education. The present system is dragging China toward darkness and backwardness. The most heart-breaking thing is that education is not fulfilling its true function of promoting resistance and reconstruction, but is slowing down our war against the invader and the process of democratizing China.

## Fashion

(In appreciation of Kay Boyle's *Battle of the Sequins* in The Nation of December 23)

Dirt and blood  
Make a peculiar mud.

Mix warm blood  
With foreign dirt,  
Mold it into a sequined shirt;  
Use a small batch  
For a hat to match.

There's plenty of dirt;  
We're giving the blood.  
You needn't worry about supplies.  
When the blood is gone,  
And each of us dies,  
Place a sequin on each of our eyes.

CORPORAL

# The Dilemma of T. S. Eliot

BY SIDNEY HOOK

IN AN interesting essay in the *New English Review* entitled *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture*, T. S. Eliot raises some basic questions about culture, society, and religion which have provoked wide discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. The position Mr. Eliot takes on these questions challenges attention not only on its own account but as an indication that influential intellectual circles, despairing of the present and fearing the future, have turned from secular to religious solutions of the crisis of our time.

To understand and evaluate Mr. Eliot's proposals, we must begin by distinguishing the three different meanings of the word "culture" that appear in his analysis. He himself is explicit only about the first two. The first is the practice of arts and letters. The second is the anthropological concept of culture, familiar since Tylor, as a complex of institutions, techniques, and ideals—sometimes used interchangeably with the term "civilization." The third is the normative sense of culture expressed in the adjectives Mr. Eliot prefixes to it, like "superior" or "true" in contrast with "deteriorated" or "retrograde."

The mark of culture in this third sense is its *organic* character revealed in the functional interrelation between human activities. The complete absence of organic character may spell the end of culture. But there are various kinds of organic societies which Mr. Eliot evaluates quite differently. A head-hunting community in which the crafts of design are interwoven with its economy and a heresy-hunting community in which religion is synthesized with politics are both organic. This necessitates a purer kind of value judgment to enable Mr. Eliot to choose between them. That organic society has the best culture in which great arts and letters flourish, and in which they are integrally related by certain distinctive religious beliefs to the whole complex of social institutions. Such a culture is designated by Mr. Eliot as a "total culture."

Mr. Eliot's argument is that the development of this total culture is dependent upon a common religious faith whose values and meanings unify both the workaday and the intellectual-artistic life. The dominant social influence must be wielded by a hereditary élite, based on "transmitted aptitudes and domestic environment" and open to new recruits who meet "the sole qualification of *achievement*." A common faith is necessary to counteract the shattering effects upon institutions and personalities of withdrawing large areas of human life from traditional religious sanctions. For past history has shown that once a binding religious faith is loosened, "the spirit of inquiry, skepticism, and innovation" corrodes the fabric of social life. Even religion, now isolated from the rest of the cultural pattern, is disintegrated by the acids of the inquiring spirit. In time the pattern itself is threatened with dissolution, which "with the advance of liberty of thought and behavior imposes a strain upon human beings greater than the majority can bear."

Totalitarianism is one pattern of unification, but Mr. Eliot rejects it as "artificial" without explaining the term further. He recognizes it, however, as a natural reaction to the disorder produced by separating religion from the rest of culture. For Mr. Eliot a total, religious culture is the only alternative to the blight of totalitarianism.

The fundamental difficulty in Mr. Eliot's position, as I see it, is that his common religious faith, which is frankly supernatural, provides no principle of direction for the intelligent control of social change. Although he insists that we must make "fresh judgments and decisions in constantly changing situations," these judgments are in the nature of the case empirical. They cannot be derived either by logic or intuition from absolute supernatural truths, which in the Christian tradition are compatible with different empirical judgments. Despite the fact that Christianity has exercised a great influence, both for good and evil, on all societies in Western Europe since the days of Rome, the principles of not a single social system can be attributed to its dogmas. It has, however, shown itself capable of adaptation to every social system, including fascism. The source of our fresh judgments and decisions in constantly changing situations must therefore be sought elsewhere. Mr. Eliot's "common religious faith" runs the risk of having no more influence on the actual sources of these judgments and decisions than the Chaplain's prayer in Congress has on the subsequent proceedings.

Where a common supernatural faith does seem to bear on what appears to non-believers to be empirical questions like divorce, birth control, separation of church and state, the point is that such questions are decided by believers without reference to "constantly changing situations." In short, they are not treated as empirical questions at all.

This basic difficulty is almost admitted by Mr. Eliot in his further remark that a common supernatural faith must become the faith of peoples of different cultures and, "while uniting these peoples in a common brotherhood, can be contemplated in its transcendence of culture, *as well as lived in the condition of each particular culture*" (my italics). What specific directives can be supplied by a supernatural religious faith which must be thinned down to the vaguest phrases in order to be acceptable to Mohammedan, Confucian, and Hindoo cultures, whose members constitute the majority of the human race? Or is Mr. Eliot thinking only of a Christian world order, and an Anglo-Catholic one at that?

I pass over Mr. Eliot's notion of a hereditary élite because of its ambiguity. It is noteworthy, however, that he conceives of accessions to his élite not in terms of blood or wealth but of excellence and achievement. But if the avenues of achievement are to be kept open, it is of the utmost importance to preserve "the spirit of inquiry, skepticism, and innovation," and if fresh judgments and decisions are required for constantly changing situations, it is even more important to extend "the advance of liberty of thought and behavior." Yet

all this makes for what Mr. Eliot and the neo-Thomists call "disorder." It must be controlled by a common religious faith, or else, despite certain gains, it will have the same disintegrating effects as it allegedly had on the medieval synthesis. Such control to be truly effective demands an iron grip on the intellectual life of the community. This in turn entails the existence of an organization, more centralized and powerful than the church in the Middle Ages, to determine what threatens the unity of culture and what not. No field of thought or action can be permitted to develop autonomously, for although the power of such an organization may nominally be restricted to matters of faith and morals, *it alone is the judge of what concerns faith and morals*. It is a foregone conclusion that the judgments of relevance will flow not so much from supernatural dogmas—which are unanalyzable abstractions that can be filled with variable historical content—as from the special interests of an ecclesiastical élite. The upshot is a variety of the very totalitarianism whose general pattern Mr. Eliot is anxious to avoid.

This, then, is Mr. Eliot's dilemma. He is unwilling to embrace current forms of totalitarianism, but his diagnosis of the causes of their rise leads him to proposals which, if enforced, would result in some kind of ecclesiastical fascism. His own account of the new total culture sounds gentle and conciliatory enough. But it is practically certain that people like him, or M. Maritain, will not administer it.

There is another alternative to Mr. Eliot's pattern of unification. This is a worldwide common faith, of a secular not supernatural character, based upon regional and international planning in economy, democracy in political and social life, and scientific method as the highest source of authority for those "fresh judgments and decisions in constantly changing situations" whose necessity Mr. Eliot admits. Its pattern of unification differs in notable ways from that proposed by Mr. Eliot. First of all, it is far less monistic. It aims at removing the disproportions between social, economic, and legal institutions but seeks no control over the free market of ideas or over manifestations of ideal culture—art, philosophy, theoretical science, and religion. It recognizes the desirability of producing integrated persons, but aside from equitably supplying the materials and the opportunity, it leaves the achievement of integration to the individual.

In general there is too much loose talk of integration and unification, and I fear that to some degree Mr. Eliot's analysis suffers from it. Unless we carefully distinguish the levels on which we should seek unification from those on which we must avoid it, we are likely to slur over the virtues, aesthetic and moral, of a rich plurality of cultural expressions. The common faith we require is limited only to beliefs that justify the social practices which insure democratic, cooperative living, peace, a decent standard of living, and an open career to intellectual and artistic talents—in other words, to what makes it possible for *different* human beings to live together without the plagues of poverty, war, and cultural terror. Integration on this level can be organized by intelligent social planning. But it neither presupposes nor implies integration on the plane of ideal cultural life, although the latter will naturally reflect in divers ways the new social experience. We have the right to believe, if democracy is preserved, that art,

literature, philosophy, even religion, will be less constrained in a planned social-economic order than in the unplanned order of capitalism, whose "fetishism of commodities" exerts powerful, even when indirect, compulsions on the artist and thinker.

*The underlying premises, whether theological, metaphysical, or naturalistic, from which different groups justify their common democratic beliefs and practices must not be subject to integration. It is enough, so to speak, that human beings live in accordance with democratic laws: it is foolish intolerance to make only one justification of the laws legal.*

Integration on the level of personality is something else again. Mental and moral hygiene since the time of Plato teaches the wisdom of achieving a balanced wholeness. Yet it is also true that the torn and sick soul, like the "morbid secretions" of the oyster, to take an example from the opposite pole of creation, has often given the world pearls of great luster. We know that some geniuses have been borderline cases of insanity. We would not hesitate to lose the benefit of future geniuses of this type if we could free mankind altogether from the curse of insanity. But neuroses are too varied, and we know too little about their causation, once we strip current theories of their mythological elements, to justify any stringent, wholesale measures to prevent their emergence. Health has too often been confused with normality. According to some notions about neurosis, firemen would have to be declared neurotic about fire: they can't see a large blaze without wanting to put it out. According to some other notions, the creative life, save in the case of a few Olympian characters, demands an inner torment and compulsive drive that may appear queer or unnecessary to the happily adjusted. Freud himself regards neurosis as inexpugnable from life because it grows out of the Oedipus complex, which is transmitted through the racial unconscious; while his more sober followers interpret it as a conflict between the spontaneous expansion of the ego and the constricting patterns of social authority, and therefore an integral element of all social life.

My point is that however we gauge the value of wholeness of personality, the desire to achieve it and the choice of any particular pattern must be left to the individual as sacred ground on which society cannot trespass, although through education it can surround the individual with multiple options. Wholeness of personality is practically impossible of achievement, except by a few, in a culture whose social relations are discordant. Yet the presence of harmonious social relations is far from sufficient to guarantee it.

An integrated character is made, not born. It is the individual himself, *when society provides tolerably decent permissive conditions*, who plays the greatest part in the making of it. The most significant problems in the struggle for the maturity and the inward peace and freedom that define the integrated character are personal, particularly when the threat of poverty and insecurity is removed. But such problems cannot always be resolved. Who does not know individuals, some of great powers and some of small, of whom we can say with ground that in our Western society, planned or not, they will remain beset by insatiable hungers, driven by errant impulses, and lacerated by conflicting allegiances or frustrated ambitions? Nor are they all denizens of Bohemia! There is evidence that even in Mr. Eliot's total organic culture the sensi-

tive artist and the devout Christian will continue at war with each other in his soul. For his religious faith does not well up wholeheartedly from his poetic insights, nor is it a compulsion of a mystical experience: it is the object of a deliberate will-to-believe enjoying an uneasy triumph over the scruples of intelligence.

There is no valid reason to fear that a secular, democratic, socialist order would be hostile to the development of a superior culture. Let us not forget for a moment that the racial mythology of Hitlerism and the authoritarian dialectic materialism of Stalinism are vicious *Ersatz* theologies; that their political systems are more theocratic than democratic; that their socialism is non-equalitarian without the adornments of an aristocracy of virtue or talents.

Mr. Eliot asks those of us who disagree with him to reflect that "a high degree of culture in an equalitarian society can only be attained if the great majority of men can be raised to a level, and kept at a level, which has never been remotely approached in the past." After reflection I am much puzzled by this. What can Mr. Eliot have in mind by an "equalitarian society"? Surely, not a society of biological equals! An equalitarian society is a democracy in which opportunities are accessible to all and in which levels of income, as an index of standards of living, are approximately the same for those who do productive labor. Is Mr. Eliot saying that before a superior culture can be achieved, not only must some people enjoy a decent standard of living, but others must be deprived of it? Why? After all, we can count on the same normal range of biological variation as a seed bed of cultural talent in an equalitarian society as in a stratified one. Specifically, what phase of culture is threatened by an equalitarian society? Why must "the majority of men" be raised to a historically unparalleled level for great science to develop, or great literature? How has it been in other societies which have enjoyed great cultures but in which the vast majority have been little more than beasts of burden? Why should the emancipation of the great majority necessarily make matters worse? Let us lay aside the parochial bias concealed in the invocation of absolute standards that eternalize the past. Once we do, there is ample reason to expect that in respect to cultural achievement an equalitarian society with present-day technological resources will at the very least come up to the high levels of non-equalitarian societies.

Because for Mr. Eliot, "Man is a rational animal," is a metaphysical, not empirical, proposition, it has no relevance to his program of social reform. Taken empirically, not all men are rational; but neither are most of them cretins or idiots. Rationality is not a timeless "essential" property of man but a natural and social power, dependent upon many other things which have a career in time. That is why men may become more rational and human through intelligent control of nature, society, history, and body-mind.

Because for Mr. Eliot, "Human personality possesses a unique worth," is a theological, not empirical, proposition, he discounts the possibilities of organizing education, after a socialist order has been won, not merely to raise the level of cultural interests but to diversify creative achievements. He overlooks the fact that the so-called average man is a social category, not a biological one. To a society that plans for freedom, the notion of the gray undifferentiated masses is

utterly repugnant. The truth on this point was recognized long ago even under the distorting influences of conventional class society. "The greater intellect one has," says Pascal, "the more originality one finds in men. Ordinary persons find no difference between men." William James and John Dewey have between them elaborated the systematic basis for this insight and its educational imperatives—it is an insight that is freshly rediscovered by every teacher who has found his true vocation.

In the democratic socialist culture of the future—if it has a future, a question I have completely begged—it will be the teacher dedicated to the scientific spirit and the democratic faith, and not the priest, who will bear the chief responsibility for strengthening and enriching a common faith.

## In the Wind

**MAN-POWER:** While the press bemoans the "exodus" of workers from war industries, the War Production Board estimates that war shortages are due to the following causes: step-ups in production schedules, 46 per cent; design changes, 26 per cent; labor shortages, 22 per cent; facilities shortages, 12 per cent. And the conservative Bureau of Labor Statistics announces that the "quit rate" in all manufacturing for August, September, and October of 1944 was lower than for the same months of 1943; also that it was lower in war industries than in manufacturing as a whole.

**POLITICS:** This advertisement appeared in the Savannah, Georgia, *Morning News* of December 19: "For Congress, First Georgia District. Vote for H. W. Shepard, White Jeffersonian Democrat, in Real Election November 5, 1946. Favors restricting the franchise to the white race. Opposes policing the world with American conscripts."

**BALLYHOO:** On the day we learned that the British Broadcasting Corporation, acting on orders from the government, had refused to permit Juan Negrín to broadcast his address to the anti-Franco meeting in New York January 2, a reader called our attention to the fact that the dust jackets of books from England carry a blurb for the B. B. C. that ends with these words: "The voice of Britain is the voice of freedom."

**JOURNALISM:** The Baton Rouge *State-Times* of December 20 ran Westbrook Pegler's column thus: "The Dies committee educated the public in many ways. The terms 'fellow-traveler,' 'Trojan horse,' and 'transmission belt,' all part of the Communist jargon, entered the common language, designating conspirators or dupes who col- (Continued on Comic Page)."

**FESTUNG EUROPA:** A Copenhagen woman, watching some new German recruits, remarked, "They're only children!" As punishment for her insult to the Wehrmacht, the Gestapo forced her to stand at attention for three hours, repeating, "They're not children, they're heroes."

[Readers are invited to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

# Testament Against Fascism

ALEXANDER UHL

NOT so many weeks ago I stood on the Franco-Spanish frontier, at the little border post of Pont du Roi, where the Garonne River tears down from the Spanish Pyrenees into France. It was the first time that I had seen Spanish soil since those last tragic days of the Spanish civil war. . . .

That night, in a French hospital, I talked with some of the wounded who had come back from the Spanish border. I talked with one man whom I was sure I had seen before. At first I couldn't place him. Finally I noticed an old bullet scar on his arm, and I asked him about it. He said that he was a Cuban and that he had been wounded fighting with the International Brigade back in 1937. Then suddenly it flashed upon me where I had last seen him. I said to him: "You were once a florist, and the last time I saw you was when I interviewed you in the trenches south of Madrid. I wrote a story about you because I met you carrying a heavy jar of water to water the plants you were growing on the side of the trench. And I thought how strange it was for a man in the midst of battle to be growing flowers. You told me that you loved flowers and that that little garden was one of the bright spots in your life."

He looked at me and smiled. "Yes," he said, "that's right. I still love flowers."

We shook hands like a couple of excited schoolboys who had met after long years. And when I left him I carried with me a little feeling of shame in my heart that I had been living in comparative comfort while he had fought against fascism for seven long years, until he was lying in this bed with a fresh bullet wound in his leg to match his old scar of the Spanish war. I don't think anyone can understand this war against fascism unless he can understand that man and the determination and hope that fill him.

He was just one of many in that hospital, one of the many men who had fought for the Spanish Republic as long as they could, who had fought in the French *maquis* against the Germans, and who hoped now to free their own country.

THOMAS MANN

THIS war has a gloomy, unsavory pre-history, and it is the deep concern of all those who are waging the war with a moral sense that we did not truly and for all time break with this pre-history when we were forced into the war against fascism, that indeed we are ready, as soon as the opportunity is right, to tread this same path again, which leads directly to war, the path of appeasement, fostering and promoting the fascist enemy of mankind. If this concern were at all justified, it would indicate a break in our will which all our technical capabilities, all our productive forces, and all the skill of our generals would never make good. Even at this late date it may cause us to lose the war and would certainly cause us to lose the peace. . . .

It all began in Spain. There the powers of evil, in a moral and military sense, tested their war of aggression upon the cause of humanity, and the hypocritical name of non-intervention inadequately concealed the aid which we gave them and the oppressors of the Spanish people. From that point a direct road leads to the disgracefully fatal day of Munich, and to the world catastrophe of war. The Spanish Caudillo is as cruel a hangman of liberty and democracy as Hitler or Mussolini. To make common cause with him, to bolster his shaking pedestal by making treaties with him—the sworn enemy of our cause—to concede a position of neutrality to him, is equivalent to a confession before the world that we do not know what we want or that we know only too well that in secret we want the survival of fascism. . . .

G. BROMLEY OXNAM

I DESIRE the severance of all diplomatic relations with Franco Spain because I want to keep my faith, in myself and in what men are and may be. I do not want the hand of democracy made foul by clasping the hand of fascism. My sons wear the uniform of this country, one with the crossed rifles of an infantry officer and the other with the cross of a chaplain, and I am eager that they and their comrades may know that this nation fights fascism not alone of German brand but wherever it lifts its head. Let us, as a people and as a government, have done with the fascist.

I speak not only as a citizen, but also as a churchman. . . . I would not be true to myself if I did not add that whenever the church, in a blind endeavor to preserve its privileges and its property, makes common cause with fascism, allies itself with the great landlords and the military, it not only repudiates its Christ but deserves the wrath of the masses it has betrayed. In making this statement I do not mean to attack a particular church. It so happens it was the Roman Catholic church in Spain. In pre-revolutionary Russia it was the Greek church, whose voice was too often that of the Czar rather than of Christ. And if Protestant bodies anywhere become more interested in the maintenance of the institutions of religion than in permeating the community with the spirit of Christ and moving forward in those mighty endeavors that seek justice and the emancipation of men, then they will earn the rejection of the people, who know that the Kingdom of God cannot be built upon foundations of injustice.

WILLIAM L. SHIRER

I RECENTLY returned from a two months' stay in France. And I can give you this news: France, which along with Great Britain and ourselves shared such a terrible responsibility for the triumph of Franco, has changed. Frenchmen from De Gaulle on down, and including the

vast majority of French Catholics, will do what they can to hasten the end of the Spanish dictator. They know that unless Britain and America intervene, Franco and his Spanish brand of fascism cannot survive the defeat of Nazism and fascism.

It was a very stirring thing to see this change in France. The other day I sat in the Consultative Assembly in Paris. It was a strange but magnificent scene. A speaker at the tribune was attacking Franco as a German stooge, which of course he always has been. And everyone in that assembly, including the conservative Catholics, and a French monk in a white robe, jumped to his feet and wildly applauded.

The people of Europe, I found, the overwhelming mass of them—the people who fought Germans at the risk of their necks and were tortured and murdered for their patriotism—are determined to have an end with fascism—everywhere. These people are stronger than you think, or than Mr. Churchill thinks, or at least thought before he flew to Greece the other day. After all, was it not Churchill who spoke that eloquent sentence, a sentence I would like to leave with you in closing: "There is no high explosive so powerful as the soul of a free people"?

That goes for all people and especially for the valiant people of Spain. They too—I hope with our help, but if that is not forthcoming, then without it—will be free again.

[Excerpts from speeches at the Madison Square Garden rally against Franco held on January 2 under the auspices of The Nation Associates and labor and civic organizations.]

## South American Labor Front

WE DO not like to think that the end of this war or its sequel may be fought in the Western Hemisphere. We are slow, therefore, to become interested in Latin America, where fascism is now preparing to fight on a third front. Progressive elements in Latin America recognize the danger that confronts them and are mobilizing to meet it in the only way possible, by strengthening trade-union and democratic forces and by attacking the life line of Falangism at its source in Spain. One of the most vigorous groups in this effort is the Confederation of Latin American Workers, the C. T. A. L., which claims a membership of 5,000,000. Its Second General Congress was held in Cali, Colombia, last month. An A. P. reporter attended the sessions and filed thousands of words, but the United States press took almost no notice of this important inter-American event.

The C. T. A. L. Congress had four major objectives: the organization of a continental democratic barrier against the spread of fascism from Argentina, the organization of a united front of American workers preparatory to the World Trade Union Conference to be held in London next month, the development of a post-war program for American labor, and the formulation of policies for the participation of labor in Latin America's industrialization.

Delegates from fifteen Latin American countries, Great Britain, and the United States were present. Joseph Selly, president of the American Communications Association, and

O. A. Knight represented the C. I. O.; David Efron and Adolph Staal attended as International Labor Office observers; Arthur Horner was the fraternal delegate of the British Trades Union Congress. Several Colombian government officials attended the opening sessions, and a congratulatory message from President Lopez was read. From abroad came greetings from the National Committee of the French General Confederation of Labor and from the Central Council of Unions of the Soviet Union.

Lombardo Toledano, president of the C. T. A. L., delivered the keynote speech, in which he stressed the fact that the coming era is "the period of the Industrial Revolution in Latin America." "The hour of socialism," he declared, "has not arrived. This is the hour of real democracy for which Bolivar struggled and died. . . . In order to achieve our goal we need the cooperation of our brothers in the United States, and the United States also needs us. . . . The same is true of Canada." Lombardo's speech called attention to the no-strike pledge and to the danger of native reactionaries, who, he said, were far more formidable adversaries than "the democratic sector of the United States, which, on the contrary, desires with us the economic and cultural development of our countries."

It is interesting to note that leading industrialists of Cali gave a banquet to the delegates. And on several occasions Lombardo declared that many manufacturers favored a strong labor movement as a help in the effort toward industrialization. The strength and implications of this sudden entente between labor and industry in Latin America remain to be seen; a possible explanation is that it is part of a united front against foreign imperialism. A resolution on the post-war industrialization of Latin America adopted by the Congress specifically welcomed foreign capital under controlled conditions, including a guaranty of wage rates, contract rights, and the like.

Ten important resolutions were adopted on the Argentine situation; one called for a one-day protest strike against the present fascist regime. The strike is scheduled to take place in Latin American countries only. Action by the C. I. O., whose delegates were enthusiastically applauded by the congress, has not yet been announced.

Joseph Selly reports an incident that is ironical in view of the Colombian government's hospitable attitude toward the C. T. A. L. During the first days of the congress Colombian government censorship prevented the transmission of statements derogatory to Argentina. Selly himself tested this by trying to send a message denouncing the Farrell-Perón regime. After protest by the congress the ban was lifted.

The trade-union and progressive movements in Latin America, regarding the Catholic church as a bulwark of reaction, have long been associated with anti-clericalism. The resolution on the church is therefore inexplicable except in the light of the overtures Moscow has been making in the direction of the Vatican. The resolution states that the C. T. A. L. respects all religions, churches, and believers, that it finds "no incompatibility between religious belief and the struggle for individual and social progress," and that the churches must "pursue the ends for which they were created, which are spiritual and not political." After distinguishing between reactionary and pro-democratic clerical

elements, the resolution specifically expresses the C. T. A. L.'s desire for the cooperation of the Catholic church with the organized labor movement—a desire which is the stuff that dreams are made of but not political realities.

Other resolutions demanded the rupture of relations with Franco Spain and support for the Supreme Junta of National Union. The congress called for the eventual reconstruction of Gran Colombia and the Central American Union, Puerto Rican independence, and the reestablishment of democracy in the Dominican Republic. It condemned racial discrimination, and urged the release of all political prisoners in the Americas, with special mention of Carlos Presees, still imprisoned in Brazil. A mild resolution on Brazil noted its cooperation in the war effort but called for greater internal democracy in the holding of elections.

The Industrial Revolution now developing sporadically in Latin America has skipped many of the early technical, social, and economic phases of capitalist evolution, most notably that of uncontrolled competition under free enterprise. Government controls have already been established in most Latin American countries and are likely to be strengthened. Whether they will contribute to the achievement of greater or less democracy depends largely on the strength and wisdom of the organized free labor movement. If the C. T. A. L. grows sufficiently in political foresight and power it can become the decisive factor in the struggle between fascism and democracy.

The C. T. A. L. has so far maintained a solid united front against fascism. Much of its top leadership is Communist; some is not. It has made important gains against reactionary forces, and for Latin American workers the issue is not, for the present, communism or fascism, but the survival of democratic institutions in the Americas. V. M.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

GERMAN domestic propaganda continues to make capital out of a serious mistake that crept into General Eisenhower's first proclamation to the German people. The proclamation contained the sentence, "We are not coming as liberators but as conquerors." Whether this offspring of the unconditional-surrender formula was politically useful is open to question, but quite aside from that, a catastrophic error was made in translating it, and it was the translation which the Germans read on posters and in dropped leaflets and heard on the air. The translator at Allied headquarters used the German word "Eroberer" for "conqueror." But while "to conquer" in English has two different meanings, in German each of these meanings is expressed by a special word. "To conquer" means either to win the victory or to acquire territory by subjugating it. "Erobern" has only the second meaning; the first is rendered by "siegen." The translator found in the dictionary two words for "conqueror": "Eroberer" and "Sieger." In all innocence he chose the first, which completely upset the sense of the proclamation. "We are coming as 'Eroberer'" was equivalent, for Germans, to an authoritative announcement by the Allies that they were

entering the country with the intention and for the purpose of subjugating it and holding it permanently.

Such mistakes are human, and certainly this slip will not alter the course of the war. But we should not be surprised to see it turned to every possible use in the Reich. Day after day Germans are reminded, in one way or another, that "General Eisenhower has declared over his signature that he intends to 'erobern' our country." For example, in the campaign against collaborators with the Anglo-Americans all persons who accept office in the Allied zone have been threatened with vehmic murder. Objections seem to have been raised by the public—the *Kölnische Zeitung* printed a genuine or fictitious communication which protested: "You apply different standards. Belgian collaborationists were always welcomed by us. We arrested their opponents and executed their murderers. But German collaborationists in Eupen and Aachen are called traitors and their murderers are glorified. How is that?" The newspaper's answer was based not only on the fact that Belgium had capitulated while the Reich has no thought of doing so but also on Eisenhower's proclamation. "If we had acted as Eisenhower now does," it said, "we would probably not have found any collaborationists at all. For us Liège was an occupied town, whereas Eisenhower has authoritatively stated that Aachen is an 'eroberte' town."

Some details for those who in recent weeks, swinging from one extreme to the other, have gloomily foreseen no end to the German capacity for resistance:

1. In the coming year Germany will not have the large quantities of foodstuffs which it got from the occupied countries in 1944. Domestic production is also bound to fall off. The *Deutsche Landwirtschaft* for November 3 informed farmers that the amount of fertilizer furnished will be appreciably reduced. Only 25 per cent, at the maximum, of the nitrogen—the most important of the fertilizers—used in 1938 will be available. "And it is uncertain whether this reduced quantity can all be delivered in time." The situation with respect to labor and animals "will deteriorate farther."

2. In January, 1945, the seventy-first month of rationing, the German consumer will receive one egg. It is doubtful whether he will get even one in February. But on the January basis he would get 12 eggs a year. In the first year of war he was allowed 86, in the second 69, in the third 49, in the fourth 39, and in the fifth 24.

3. The scarcity of civilian supplies has become so desperate that the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* ran the following idyl in its November 13 issue:

In some restaurants guests are now requested to leave a deposit for their dinner cutlery. In others people must deposit their identification cards before getting knives and forks for their meals. Sometimes the issuance of these implements is combined with the checking of coats and hats; guests are given special tokens for which the waiter supplies the needed cutlery, which must be returned before the guest leaves.

"All travelers and persons who eat in restaurants," the newspaper went on to say, "are advised to carry with them not only a napkin but their own knife, fork, and spoon in order to spare themselves some unpleasant experiences."

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

**I**NTRINSICALLY it is unfair to subject John Steinbeck's latest book, "Cannery Row" (Viking Press, \$2), to the standards of serious (I do not mean unhumorous) literature, as unfair as it would be to judge glass jewelry, or what the department stores call simulated gems, by the standards that apply to precious stones. But the responsible critic, who is presumably jealous of the good name of art and whose function, if he has any at all, is to engender discrimination in the reading public, is forced to undertake the thankless exercise of demonstrating that "Cannery Row" is the chaff and not the wheat of literature because the book is being talked about as if it were, *a priori*, an authentic work of art.

Let it be said at the start that the subject of "Cannery Row"—the life and the attitude toward life of a group of *ne'er-do-wells* in California—seems to me a perfectly good subject for literature; and I don't think it's "too bad" that Steinbeck doesn't write about the war.

A good book, even a great book, could be fashioned from the materials Mr. Steinbeck has used. I say could be; I should say has been, by a writer named Mark Twain. For, unhappily for Mr. Steinbeck, this book reminds one of Mark Twain—as fake jewels remind one of real ones—if only because it is essentially a string of anecdotes, some of them tall tales, of the sort Mark Twain delighted in.

The writing, to begin with, is factitiously simple, after the fashion of the moment; it is at the same time highflown and flyblown, cheap, fancy, and false. Here are the first and the last two sentences of paragraph one:

Cannery Row in Monterey in California is a poem, a stink, a grating noise, a quality of light, a tone, a habit, a nostalgia, a dream. . . . Its inhabitants are, as the man once said, "whores, pimps, gamblers, and sons of bitches," by which he meant Everybody. Had the man looked through another peephole he might have said, "saints and angels and martyrs and holy men," and he would have meant the same thing.

The whole book is written in this daydream prose which devalizes everything it touches and has the same relation to the force of life, and of good writing, as the iridescent foam on the edge of a river has to the main current.

The paragraph also gives us a *précis* of Mr. Steinbeck's "philosophy"—which brings us to his characters. They include a bunch of "no-goods, come-to-bad-ends, blots-on-the-town, thieves, rascals, bums," to quote the author's all too imitable catalogue, a village idiot, a mysterious "Chinaman" who "carried a little cloud of fear about with him," the madam of a sporting house and her girls, who are, in the hoary tradition, good at heart—these and "Doc," the little father of the town who knows all, understands all, forgives all. His "face is half Christ and half satyr." He has "the hands of a brain surgeon, and a cool warm mind," whatever that may mean. He tips his hat to dogs and dogs "smile at

him." He is, finally, "concupiscent as a rabbit and gentle as hell."

The first defect of these characters is not that they are "typed" but that Steinbeck endows them with no motive power of their own. They do not move but are moved about. Often he achieves a good imitation of the behavior and speech of bums and *ne'er-do-wells*—but at fatal moments the hand and voice of Steinbeck become all too apparent. As a result "Cannery Row" lacks reality—either the reality of a fairy tale, which can be devastating, or the reality of straight fiction.

The great defect grows out of Steinbeck's attitude toward the people he has chosen to portray. He professes to love them; he probably thinks he does. But his real attitude, except in the case of Doc, is nine parts condescension and one part sentimentality. In "Cannery Row" Mr. Steinbeck handles human beings as if they were a species of small animal life. They exist and have their being on the same level as the frogs and dogs, the cats and octopuses he is so fond of watching. Their "happiness" is that of insects, and his "love" for them is that of a collector. Conversely, and significantly, he humanizes frogs and dogs, cats and octopuses in a way that becomes at times repellent as well as embarrassing.

Steinbeck grants a certain equality in human terms to Doc, who collects animals for scientific purposes. Doc is patently, up to a point, Steinbeck. But as a character he is a miserable failure. In order to create a character who is a philosopher, a man of wisdom and compassion, it is surely necessary to be oneself really mature and endowed with wisdom and compassion. In Doc we get only substitutes for these qualities, and I mean literally substitutes, for when Steinbeck must show Doc moved by deep feeling, all we get is the news that Doc hears music and a description of the music; when he must communicate wisdom to his animal-children he produces "world sadness" among them by reading, at a party they give for him, a poem which we are told in a footnote is "Black Marigolds," translated from the Sanskrit by E. Powys Mathers!

Aside from its negative failures, "Cannery Row" also has its positive vices. If proof were needed that sentimentality and cruelty are the two sides of the same coin, it may be found in this book. The unpleasant pleasure with which Steinbeck describes the killing of a mouse by a cat, the "murder" of a crab by an octopus, the sadism of a small boy toward a smaller boy, is disturbing, to say the least. As for the vulgarity which is a by-product of sentimentality, it is all too manifest here. Steinbeck's maudlin celebration of the automobile leads him to speak of one of his characters as "the little mechanic of God," "the St. Francis of coils and armatures and gears." It also leads him to the "philosophical" statement that "two generations of Americans knew more about the Ford coil than the clitoris."

His social criticism in general is of this stripe. For "Cannery Row" has "social significance" of a curious kind. It seems to be written out of a violent hatred of modern life,

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# ECONOMIC ORDER AND RELIGION

By FRANK H. KNIGHT

Professor of Social Sciences, University of Chicago

and THORNTON W. MERRIAM

Director of USO Training, National Council, YMCA

Here for the first time are set forth the issues of the current controversy between the scientific humanists and the exponents of Christianity as to the ills of American capitalism and how to cure them. An ardent secularist and a protagonist of the religious outlook lock horns on what motives and methods shall actuate the improvement of America's economic order. \$3.00

particularly of our money civilization. Mr. Steinbeck uses strong language on this score. "What can it profit a man to gain the whole world and to come to his property with a gastric ulcer, a blown prostate, and bifocals?" ". . . a generation of trapped, poisoned, and trussed-up men. . . ." He calls the parties given by professional hostesses "about as spontaneous as peristalsis and as interesting as its end product."

Hatred can be creative. Steinbeck's is not. And in the end it defeats itself. His picture of Monterey is certainly meant to be a protest against the futile busy-ness, the greed and ugliness of modern life. If he had captured the reality of Cannery Row, in fantasy or otherwise, it *would* have constituted a protest, and might have been far more hilarious than it is. What he has actually accomplished, by turning his characters into happy and inferior creatures who live in a non-existent Monterey, is an irrelevant and rather smug escape from modern life. Bankers will love it.

"Cannery Row" is a "simulated gem" which has neither intrinsic luster nor permanent worth. It would not be worth the space I have given it if it were not, along with many another of the same sort, being currently passed, and accepted, as the genuine article.

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Dr. Ruml's Proposals

A NOTEWORTHY FEATURE of Dr. Beardsley Ruml's "Tomorrow's Business" (Farrar and Rinehart, \$2.50) is its avoidance of the clichés and platitudes which drip from the pens of most business men—or their ghost writers—when they undertake the defense of private enterprise. This is not just a matter of style, for Dr. Ruml has done his own thinking and has produced an analysis of the structure and functions of business which is decidedly stimulating. Moreover, he is a man who realizes that business must justify itself by works as well as faith, who can discuss the question of the union shop without working himself into a lather, who has read and digested Keynes and Hansen, and who can contemplate an unbalanced budget with a calm calculated to shock the *Wall Street Journal* profoundly.

Business, argues Dr. Ruml, is a form of private government, one of the several private governments which, subject to the overriding authority of the state, direct the lives of all of us. It must be a rule-maker in order to carry out the business of business, which is to get things ready for use, to provide people with purposeful activity, and to employ savings productively. In making and enforcing its rules business sets a pattern for most people which restricts their freedom of choice, and as the author admits, if there is to be tolerable freedom for the governed under these circumstances, they must have the power to say "No," whether as vendors, customers, stockholders, or employees. It follows that freedom under private enterprise depends on both the absence of monopoly and the maintenance of approximately full employment. Dr. Ruml agrees that it is the job of the national government to insure both these conditions, and he urges a plan of fiscal reform and public works designed

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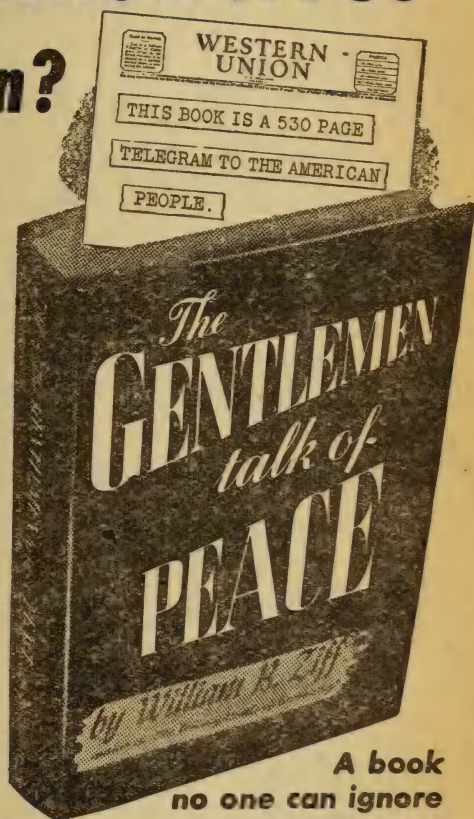
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The author's solution to the world's dilemma is drastic and controversial. But the facts he presents cry out for swift and violent action. Those who have read Mr. Ziff's previous best-seller *The Coming Battle of Germany* know that he writes beautifully, with power and passion . . . documenting his findings with devastating precision. *The Gentlemen Talk of Peace* is his best and most important book. 530 pages, indexed, \$3.

## William B. Ziff

William Bernard Ziff is a distinguished military historian and authority on international affairs, whose views are highly regarded in official Washington. He is the author of *THE COMING BATTLE OF GERMANY*, an outstanding best seller of 1942.



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to provide an adequate flow of purchasing power. It is impossible to summarize these proposals here. In so far as they provide for the abolition of regressive taxes and for a planned, continuous public-works program which would enable the construction industries to be reorganized on a stable basis, they are to be commended. But I question whether they would suffice to curb the tendency of purchasing power to pass from the weak to the strong, from the spenders to the over-savers, a tendency which Dr. Ruml recognizes as one of the gravest threats to the equilibrium of a capitalist economy.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## A Lesson From 1918

THE CHAPTER OF WORLD HISTORY described in "Armistice 1918," by Harry R. Rudin (Yale, \$5), is more timely today than ever. The author does not discuss what might or should have been done, but tells the story of what was done. Mr. Rudin's account makes conscientious use of the available sources; it is non-partisan and factual and unbiased by popular myths. His story is informative and pertinent to the problems of the present.

There is nothing in the story of "Armistice 1918" to justify the theory that the granting of a premature armistice caused the developments leading to 1933 and 1939. The armistice very definitely took from the Germans the ability to continue the First World War, leaving everything else open. The phrase "unconditional surrender" was not used.

But the conditions of the armistice were sufficient to enable the Allies to create the kind of peace they desired or were able to agree upon. The way this opportunity was used is another story.

Mr. Rudin interprets the effect of Wilson's Fourteen Points on Germany. He shows that the decisive success of the Fourteen Points was to cause Ludendorff to make a great mistake. Ludendorff hoped, after the fiasco of his last offensive in July, 1918, that it might be possible to gain a breathing spell or to escape the consequences of defeat by exploiting Wilson's idealism. Captivated by this idea, Ludendorff forced the Chancellor, Prince Max von Baden, to appeal to Wilson. By his pressure on the Chancellor, Ludendorff actually set in motion the mechanism by which in the course of a few weeks the German will to fight was broken. The discussions, the hopes, and the doubts aroused by the appeal to Wilson strongly contributed to rendering a German "last stand" psychologically impossible. Wilson succeeded at least in speeding the end of this one war. Readers of Mr. Rudin's book will have reason to doubt whether the slogan of "unconditional surrender" would have succeeded as well.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

## Theater Yearbooks

FUTURE HISTORIANS of the stage are going to bless Burns Mantle for his annual "Best Plays" volume, which contains, in addition to abbreviated versions of ten plays, what is probably the most useful compendium of information about a theatrical year ever regularly compiled for any time or any country. The new volume, called now "The Best Plays of 1943-44 and the Year Book of the Drama in America" (Dodd, Mead, \$3), finds the editor rather hard pressed to discover "ten best" that are also "ten good" plays, but the information supplied concerning the whole season is as full and as well arranged as ever. George Jean Nathan's "The Theater Book of the Year, 1943-44" (Knopf, \$3) is the second annual issue of a volume rather more different from Mr. Mantle's than the title might indicate. There are no statistics, but to every play produced during the season Mr. Nathan gives from a page to several pages of comment in his own highly personal style instead of the mere summary of the plot to which Mr. Mantle, as annalist rather than critic, limits himself. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## To Baudelaire via Allen Tate

THE NEO-RELIGIONISTS have reached Baudelaire. Joseph D. Bennett's argument in his "Baudelaire. A Criticism" (Princeton, \$2) is that Baudelaire is *persona grata* because in an age of optimism he reasserted the existence of the devil and because, though at the very end, he accepted even the positive side of Catholicism. The argument is based upon two interesting and symptomatic false assumptions: first, that such a reassertion was unique, or almost unique, in the nineteenth century; second, that only Catholics take a realistic view of human nature. The two assumptions combine to prevent Mr. Bennett from hearing what writers of the period, except for a handful of positivists, actually did say; and even the positivists he does not follow to the point

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where, like himself, they so often turned to religion. To Mr. Bennett the life of Nietzsche is only an attempt "to incarnate a demon." Baudelaire's attack on the idea of natural goodness he calls an "exposure of modern romantic ethical beliefs"; yet precisely such an attack is the stock procedure of romanticists from Novalis and Stendhal to Strindberg and Stefan George. Mr. Bennett's assault upon the nineteenth century is all too much in the nineteenth-century tradition.

The bad history and jejune philosophy are, however, largely confined to the first thirty and the last dozen pages of Mr. Bennett's 165-page book. The body of the text contains the close and dialectical analysis of poems from "Fleurs du Mal" that has long been needed. Alike in a deficiency of relevant historical information and in a keenness of intellect trained upon ironies and ambiguities, the analysis is the first important "new criticism" of Baudelaire. Some will say that the reader's opinion of the book as a whole will depend on his opinion of Allen Tate's school of criticism. For my part I admire Tate himself for his own special abilities; at least he stands in direct relation to the work criticized. The epigone is different. The perceptions of the master he degrades to the rank of formulas, and he sees not the object but the formulas. Mr. Bennett is looking for Baudelaire; but in his path stands the redoubtable editor of the *Sewanee Review*.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

## Isolationism and War

IF THE PROSPECTIVE READER doesn't take its title too seriously he will find "An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace (Dryden Press, \$3.75), which was compiled under the general editorship of Sumner Welles, extremely useful. Mr. Welles also contributes the introduction. This comprehensive handbook of the nations of the world is really a guide to the causes of World War II rather than a guide to the peace. Its purpose, as Sumner Welles states in the introduction, is to help "the average citizen . . . obtain . . . some of the basic and factual information which he will require in order to understand the major problems" we must face. To this end a section is devoted to each independent nation and each major dependent people in the world. In addition to the information contained in any good handbook—facts about the people of each country, its land, industries, natural resources, and cultural development—this book provides an interpretative sketch of each country's history between the two wars. It is these historical sketches that make the book "an intelligent American's guide," for they are extraordinarily informative. They show how in the interval between wars each country, great and small, pitted its individual resources against the powerful world forces that were making for war. While different countries adopted different expedients in the vain search for security, all were infected with the deadly germ of isolationism, in one form or another. The end, in nearly every case, was war, and in many instances it was destruction. A final paragraph in each section is devoted to a realistic consideration of the given country's stakes in the peace, showing that after the war each will face problems that can only be solved through effective international cooperation.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

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# Films

JAMES  
AGEE

IF YOU compare the moving pictures released during a given period with the books published during the same period—or with the plays produced or the pictures painted or the music composed—you may or may not be surprised to find that they stand up rather well. I can think of very few contemporary books that are worth the jackets they are wrapped in; I can think of very few movies, contemporary or otherwise, which fail to show that somebody who has worked on them, in front of the camera or in any one of many places behind it, has real life or energy or intensity or intelligence or talent.

But you have only to compare the best of last year's films with the best that have been made or in your conception could be made, and the best that have been made with the best work you have known in any other art you choose, to know that those who make or care for moving pictures have great reason to be angry, for all that is frustrated, and still greater reason to be humble, for all that is fallen short of, frustration or no. And if you foresee how few years remain before the grandest prospect for a major popular art since Shakespeare's time dissolves into the ghastly gelatinous Nirvana of television, I think you will find the work of this last or any recent year, and the chance of any sufficiently radical improvement within the tragically short

future, enough to shrivel the heart. If moving pictures are ever going to realize their potentialities, they are going to have to do it very soon indeed. Aware of that, and aware also of the works of genius which have already been achieved in films, I have no patience with the patient and patronizing who remind us mellowly that it took centuries to evolve an Aeschylus or a Joyce.

The sickening thing is that nearly everything that has virtue or hope at all is lukewarm or worse. We are learning better and better all the time, for instance, how to make films beautifully, elegantly, patiently, perfectly—so long as nobody severely questions the nature of the beauty, the quality of the elegance, the focus and result of the patience, the meaning and value of the perfection. In this sense I suppose "The Song of Bernadette" is a nearly perfect picture. I would about as soon see all that kind of skill and devotion used in embroidering the complete text of the Solemnization of Matrimony on a pair of nylon drawers. It is as if all the power and resource of the English language were to culminate in the prose of Donald Culross Peattie.

This suffocating genteelism, this suicidal love for and pride in the utterly controlled and utterly worthless effect, has become as grim a threat to movies as the rankest commercialism that could ever be reputed of Hollywood. Needless, perhaps, to add, it is the one aesthetic logically available to the commercial mind; such minds can hardly be blamed for indorsing a kind of beauty

they genuinely care for, to the detriment of kinds they have to accept or indorse, if at all, on faith.

Or consider "With the Marines at Tarawa," the best of the four or five film records of war which I consider the best films of the year. I profoundly respect their craftsmanship, which is not only good but well used, and their good taste. And I grant that short of a tremendously forceful, daring, and sure creative intelligence, craftsmanship and taste are the best available two hands with which to work at such material. Yet it seems a sorry year in which decent grammar and a modest sense of one's subject, honorable as these are, have earned higher honor than any other achievement.

The best fiction films of the year, "The Curse of the Cat People" and "Youth Runs Wild," were made by Val Lewton and his associates. I esteem them so highly because for all their unevenness their achievements are so consistently alive, limber, poetic, humane, so eager toward the possibilities of the screen, and so resolutely against the grain of all we have learned to expect from the big studios. But I am afraid there is no reason to believe that the makers of these films, under the best of circumstances, would be equipped to make the great, and probably very vulgar, and certainly very forceful revolutionary pictures that are so desperately needed. Indeed, I suspect that their rather gentle, pleasing, resourceful kind of talent is about the strongest sort we can hope to see working in Hollywood with any consistent, useful purity of purpose; and the pictures themselves indicate to what extent that is frustrated.

If only a half-dozen properly placed men in Hollywood realized and knew how to apply the lessons in "Going My Way," they might be assured of almost any number of hits, and we might be assured of an equal number of more or less good films. The lessons, if I read them right, are that leisureliness can be excellent, that if you take a genuine delight in character the universe is opened to you, and perhaps above all that a movie, like any other work of art, must be made for love. But I am ready to bet that the chief discernible result, if any, of "Going My Way" will be an anxiety-ridden set of vaudeville sketches about Pat and Mike in cassocks; and on that bet, with enough takers, I could set up a studio of my own.

It seems to me that when an intelligent director and an intelligent boss work smoothly together, you can expect

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pictures like "Double Indemnity." It is a neat picture, and it brings back into movies a lot of acid things which ought to be there. But it brings no new ones, and it does not handle the old ones, I would say, with any notable ingenuity or interest in taking a risk. Rather, it is strictly expert—a good thing of itself perhaps; but it looks to me as if the expertness were always as sharply controlled by what is dead sure at the box-office as by what is right. I imagine that in this limited sense we can hope for more from Billy Wilder, in the immediate future, than from anybody else around.

But is it anywhere near enough? I feel more hope, on the whole, in the climate of such a studio as Metro, which gave us last year the very generous and pretty "Meet Me in St. Louis" and the very likably earnest, dogged "30 Seconds Over Tokyo." But I would hardly say that either of these films gave me any hope that next year, or the year after, their makers might bring out one that you could never forget; indeed, both were rich in guaranties that nothing of the sort will happen.

As for the films of Preston Sturges, which are of course among the best and most gifted of the year, I will be more at rest in my liking for them when I am thoroughly convinced that Sturges is not rejecting half his talents; or that there is nothing on earth he is temperamentally able to do about it. I will probably always like the films of David Selznick better than reputedly condescending aesthetes like me are allowed to like such things; for I think that more than most things that come out of Hollywood they show both genuine talent, a distinct from mere professionalism, and a genuine love for movies, as distinct from mere executive concentration on them. But I am afraid they also show, and probably always will, an equally genuine love for commercial success, and a weakness for emotional and aesthetic and philosophical attitudes which belong, if anywhere, to soap opera.

In some respects I admire Arthur Ripley more than anyone else who released a picture during the past year—for his "Voice in the Wind," which was made relatively far outside the mill, on very little money, in very little time. His film showed an unequivocal and reckless passion for saying the best things possible in the best way possible. In nearly every other respect, I must admit, I thought it poor. But it is only in that kind of passion and disinterestedness,

joined with adequate talent, that I see any hope. Name five men who have or have ever had it, and their position in Hollywood. And try to conceive what difficulties they would encounter, in raising the capital, in making the films, in getting them distributed, if they or any men of their order tried to do the work outside.

When an art is in good health, mediocrity and amorphous energy and commercialism and hostility toward disinterested men become more than forgivable, as lubricants and as stimulants, and the men of skill, or of affable or gentle or charming or for that matter venal talent, are more than welcome to exist, and to be liked and rewarded. When an art is sick unto death, only men of the most murderous creative passion can hope to save it. In either condition it is generally, if by no means always, this dangerous sort of man who does the great work. I wonder whether it is any longer possible, anywhere on earth, for such a man to work in films. I am almost certain it is not possible, and is not ever going to be, in this country.

## Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

CAPTAIN JOHN PATRICK'S "The Hasty Heart" (Hudson Theater) turns out to be something of a tour de force. The entire action takes place in a convalescent ward behind the Burma front. There are no civilians in anyway concerned, and only one woman—the ward nurse—appears upon the scene. Yet the play is only by the accident of time and place a play about the war, and what happens could be told in so few words as to leave one wondering just how the material can be made to fill an evening. Yet the interest never really lags, and it seems to be sustained less by the atmosphere upon which it must to some extent depend than by the spiritual history of the one queer character around whom everything turns. Moreover, this central character is a young Scot who manages to unite in himself all the traditional Scotch characteristics and to cultivate them to so preposterous a degree that he might seem at first sight the hero of a burlesque rather than the hero of a play which is tragic at its best, and at least pathetic at those moments when it approaches closest to the sentimentality which it manages usually to escape.

This hero, Lachlen by name and "Lachy" to those who befriend him against his will, is a young member of a Highland regiment who has had one kidney removed as the result of a wound and who does not know that he will die in a few weeks because the remaining kidney is diseased. A kindly surgeon tells the secret to the mixed company of a convalescent ward into which Lachlen is sent, and they try to take him into their company. But Lachlen is suspicious, uncompromising, dour, and defiant to an almost insane degree. He will keep his own and he will give nothing. He wants no help from anyone and he will help none. The gift of a cigarette, a kind word even, seems to him an obligation, and he will be obligated to no man. He wants his own property and his own rights, but he wants no favors and no friendship. Because they know his secret and suspect that hardship and suffering explain his defiance, his companions turn first one cheek and then the other. They even buy for his birthday a kilt and its accoutrements—none of which he has ever owned because they are extras which the members of his regiment must pay for if they want them. Finally Lachlen melts. For the first time in his life he believes that disinterestedness is possible. He falls in love with the nurse; he distributes cigarettes to his buddies. But the surgeon, acting upon orders, is compelled to tell him that he is about to die. He realizes then that he has been pitied, he reverts to lonely fury, and he denounces the whole company. This is too much for even their goodness. They tell him what they really think of his character, his disposition, and his habits. But it is just such plain speaking as this that he understands. He hesitates; he asks them to take him back. And as the curtain falls he takes his place in the group which is having its picture snapped by the friendly nurse.

I have called the play a tour de force for the simple reason that it is more effective than sober thought convinces me it ought to be, because I cannot escape the conviction that it has been somehow "put across." I have some difficulty in really believing either that any man could be quite so dour or, at least, that if any man ever were he could be so converted. Three changes of heart so catastrophic as these and all within a few days are difficult to credit, and even if they are accepted they can be accepted only on the supposition that Lachlen is too extraordinary a freak not to be at most a pathetic oddity rather

than a tragic hero. Moreover, I somewhat resent so violent an assault upon my capacity for response to sentimental appeals, even when, as is here the case, there is a good deal of humor to relieve the sentiment. But I must nevertheless admit that "The Hasty Heart" is put across, whether it should be or not. For one thing there is an extraordinary performance by Richard Basenhart (formerly the young Nazi of "Counter-Attack"). For another, besides very smooth performances by the rest of the cast, there is careful writing and very careful direction. But the whole thing does seem a bit gratuitous. Why should we need to feel so much about so unusual a character imagined in so unusual a predicament?

## Art Notes

A SUPERB EXHIBITION of Degas's bronzes, drawings, and pastels at the Buchholz Gallery (through January 27) asserts him to have been a great sculptor. However that may be, the charcoal and pastels surrounding his bronze pieces show that he was an incomparably greater draftsman. His marvelous line, not sharp but deep, cuts volumes out of flat picture space instead of out of gathering shadows; yet at the same time it cuts back into the infinity into which all the possible contours of a volume can be multiplied. His bronzes, on the other hand, depend just a little too much on the spectator's finding the right point of vantage—in other words, his sculpture reveals fewer contours than his drawings.

Richard Pousette-Dart, a young painter being shown at the Willard Gallery (through January 27), displays considerable promise. Working away from an ornamental, too heavily elaborated style, pushed along by the kindred influence of Jackson Pollock and that—strangely enough—of Mark Tobey, he tries for boldness, breadth, and the monumental. He has not attained them yet; he is still too graceful,

but he is traveling in the right direction. American painting is much in need of all three qualities, and it is significant that Pollock, who manifests all three, has already begun to exert an influence, though he has been before the public hardly more than a year. C. G.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

IN C. E. Montague's "A Hind Let Loose" one of the characters reflects on the nature and pleasure of real writing—which is not "to fit word on thought—no; to say this made two things of them—but to hold the thought, to force it up and up the scale of clarity to where it and some unsought word rushed together and a new thing came to life." He is led to this reflection by a piece of writing that had not been produced in that way. It had begun as an imaginary newspaper concert review: "Descanting . . . on the ways of the musical critics . . . Fay had said that a notice as written by any of them would apply just as well, and no better, to any one concert than to any other; more—he had spouted . . . a typical, universal concert-notice, true of all concerts past, present and to be, with unprejudiced blanks duly left for the names of any performers whatever." And suddenly faced with the need of a review of an exhibition of paintings he had not seen, Fay had filled the blanks with the names of the painters, and the meaningless statements had become a typical, universal art-notice. Thus, "Mr. Portland has a talent—we use the word advisedly—to which it is only too easy to do less than justice. He may, as some think, have not yet compassed the whole ascent from the mood of graceful prose to that of serene and elevated poetic feeling. But at least it is something to have the ground clear and unquestionably fertile, for the seeds of future breadth and resolution."

I was reminded of this the other day by a real-life example of the meaningless jargon of newspaper concert-reviewing. "Mr. Breisach," wrote Olin Downes after a performance of "The Magic Flute," "gave a musicianly and generally meritorious reading of the score. It is not to be concluded that if he continued to interpret this score he will necessarily fail to confer upon it more of the tension, fantasy, and sparkle that permeate the miraculous composition." As for the practice of writing about

what one hasn't heard, the example occurs to me of a statement that Beecham's recorded performance of Mozart's Symphony K.201 was a transitional one in the direction of his "more recent performances" of the work—performances which the writer had not heard for the simple reason that Beecham had not given them. This was an example of the critic's being able to make points about invented material that he would not be able to make about fact; and some of Virgil Thomson's reviews and articles are further examples of this on a more elaborate scale and of course a much higher critical level. Thomson himself invents the data that he works up into the elaborate constructions of thought about Schnabel's playing of Beethoven or about Toscanini's playing of almost anything or about the way the great American orchestras came about and function, which he would not be able to work up out of what Schnabel or Toscanini or the orchestras actually do; on a lower level there is the common store of invented material on every subject, out of which writers go on producing their annual article on the problem of American music or the state of opera in America that they would not be able to produce out of the mere facts of those subjects.

By ignoring such fact—that lovers of serious music in this country show the same interest in opera, when they have the opportunity to hear it, as lovers of serious music in Europe, but that they don't have the Europeans' widespread opportunities to hear it because opera is too expensive to pay for itself and doesn't receive the government subsidies in this country which keep it going everywhere in Europe—writers can go on writing about opera not having taken root in this country and why; because it is given in foreign languages which prevent people from understanding it, or because its librettos are poor drama, or because old-fashioned staging converts it into musty museum-pieces with no appeal to minds of our own day. I have in the past pointed out that one sees opera-goers in Vienna reading librettos; and that one goes to the opera not for the drama of "Norma" or "Aida" but for the music into which that drama is translated. Let me now say something about staging.

I once attended a performance of "Lucia" by the Milan Scala company which was made extremely effective and moving first of all by the respect and love with which Toscanini treated every phrase of the music, and secondly by

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the similar respect and love that were evident in the staging. This did not reconstruct "Lucia" in the way the Moscow Art Theater Musical Studio reconstructed "Carmen," nor produce it in a "modern" style like that of Meyerhold; it gave validity to the work's own style and conventions, and in this way gave the opera the value it could have for a modern audience. It is this attitude of respect for their essential quality, and loving care in its achievement, that "Lucia" and other operatic classics need; it is this that the minds of today need, insofar as they need such classics. It is this, moreover, that one may ask of an institution like the Metropolitan; and one is then asking it to perform the function of a museum; but that is the Metropolitan's proper function in relation to a work like "Lucia." A museum piece—whether it is a painting of Constable, a novel of Jane Austen, or an opera of Donizetti—is capable of affecting us by its qualities as a work of art; and what in each instance performs the function of a museum makes it possible for us to be affected. What we may object to is not to the performing of the function, but to its being performed badly—to the painting being obscured by grime or poor hanging, the novel being published with errors or cuts, the opera being badly sung or staged in a way that makes no sense. And for the function to be performed well Jane Austen doesn't need to be rewritten in the style of Hemingway, Constable doesn't need to be repainted in the style of Picasso, and Donizetti doesn't need to be produced in the style of Meyerhold. To say, as some do, that the style of Meyerhold is necessary to interest Americans in opera is to say that opera itself has nothing to interest Americans—which is true only of some Americans; and then it may follow that we must do something with those Americans, but not that we must do things to opera.

## CONTRIBUTORS

SIDNEY HOOK is chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University. Among his books are "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy" and "The Hero in History."

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN was for many years managing editor of the *Tagebuch* in Berlin and later became editor-in-chief of the *Pariser Tageblatt*.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY is the author of "A Century of Hero Worship."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### A Soldier Wonders

*Dear Sirs:* A response like the following, sent to me by a technical sergeant stationed in Europe after I had mailed him a bundle of *Nations*, should help to confirm you and all of us in our determination to fight for a decent post-war world:

I received a package of *Nations* from you this week and it did my heart good to see them. I haven't seen one for at least a year. . . . I can only see this war as one in a series which will bring all of Europe and possibly America in ruins—spiritually and materially. The Germans have lost this war but the game will go on. I feel frustrated and helpless about it. Can I ever have time any more—or can mankind ever have time again—to do the worth-while things? I hope I don't sound too gloomy, but because of well-known events—Greece, etc.—and yet others less well known it is hard to be cheerful. The foundations for World War III have been laid.

LEE ELBERT HOLT

Williamstown, Mass., December 30

### For Massachusetts Readers

*Dear Sirs:* You will be glad to hear that an organization affiliated with the National Citizens Political Action Committee is in the process of forming in Massachusetts.

We intend that this organization shall act aggressively on international, national, and local legislation and candidates, striving consistently for the extension of political, economic, and social democracy in this country and for the development of an effectively implemented world cooperation for peace and security.

May we extend, through your publication, an invitation to all liberal Massachusetts individuals and groups to get in touch with our headquarters at Room 822, 294 Washington Street, Boston, Massachusetts, so that they may join with us in organizing for effective action.

CATHERINE J. WITTON, Secretary

Boston, Mass., December 15

### Racism and Vansittart

*Dear Sirs:* It is the reviewer's privilege to disagree, but he should not distort. In my book, "The Tyrants' War and the People's Peace," reviewed by Rustem Vambery in *The Nation* of December 16, I did not base my claim that Vansittartism is racism in reverse merely

upon the use of the word "race." I added: "As long as it is claimed that for two thousand years the Germans did exhibit the same qualities—the Brazen Horde has not changed down the Ages" [a quotation from Vansittart]—there is a theory behind it. No theory which will cover such a case has yet been advanced except Hitler's 'racial theory' (p. 21). In my interpretation I was preceded by certain writers whose knowledge of English terminology Mr. Vambery, I am sure, will not wish to challenge. Thus the author of an article entitled *The Rise of Brutality*, published in the *Economist* of December 27, 1941, states that "this gifted pamphleteer [meaning Vansittart] was able, in the fear and uncertainty of last summer, to canalize resentment into the easy channel of a racial myth. The Germans are to be for the British what the Jews are for Germany. . . ."

As for the statement, with which Mr. Vambery took issue, that before 1933 the Jews of Central Europe looked to Germany for a chance, I made it very clear that I was merely quoting "a young Hungarian Jewish scholar, who is now teaching in the United States." If evidence is needed, this gentleman will no doubt be glad to provide it.

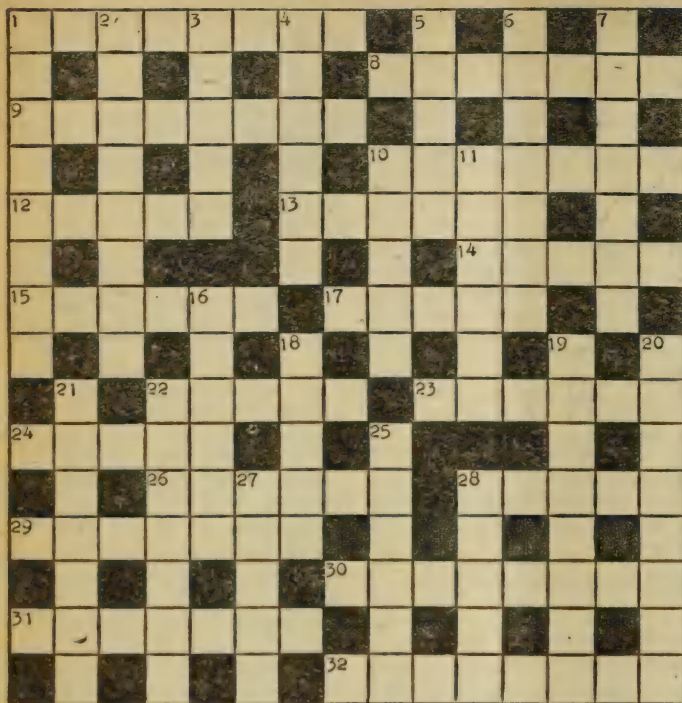
Mr. Vambery absolutely distorts what I said about the concept of the "master-race" (pp. 234-35). That the Nazis believe themselves to be a master-race I never did—nor ever will—deny. I did—and do—deny, however, that the common people of Germany regard themselves as a master-race. I mentioned the Nazis' failure to preach the master-race doctrine in campaign meetings as a tacit admission that the people would not swallow such stuff.

When I discussed the insufficiency of the republican leaders (p. 99) I also referred to what I consider the major cause—namely, a system of proportional representation which was not even devised to produce leadership. The conclusion would seem to be that if you eliminate the cause you eliminate the effect. Mr. Vambery, by referring to what I said about one aspect of the matter and ignoring the other, again distorts my argument.

At no place in my book did I charge that Lord Vansittart had anything to do with Mr. Kaufman's proposal to sterilize—not "castrate," as Mr. Vambery says—all German males.

# Crossword Puzzle No. 99

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Gratification which makes an alibi certain
- 8 A fresh horse—at least the rider hopes it is!
- 9 Mounds of communal activity which are just made to order for ant-eaters (two words, 3 and 5)
- 10 Sullivan and he fought on several occasions
- 12 "The sweet simplicity of the ----- per cents" (Disraeli)
- 13 A man can usually just keep his head above this
- 14 Speech of the common man of Scotland
- 15 Ran with a Portuguese gentleman in aimless fashion
- 17 It is in a quiver before it is shot
- 22 Sort of speeches soapbox orators make
- 23 One must be a better man than him, said H. G. Wells, or what's the good of successive generations?
- 24 Such a matter is not of national importance
- 26 Sort of shooting-star
- 28 Can denim be this? Depends on how you look at it
- 29 Kicked upstairs
- 30 Simonides called it silent poetry
- 31 A fable
- 32 Why should this part-song make a girl mad?

## DOWN

- 1 It doesn't accompany the singing in church
- 2 Green tin (anag.)

- 3 The animal has twisted a sinew
- 4 Widow
- 5 Give him his due (he'll get it anyway)
- 6 He doesn't require much head room
- 7 Go on board
- 10 Nothing so expensive as this, according to one writer
- 11 Europe's largest lake
- 16 A means of escape
- 18 Don't, Edwin, let them be discovered here (hidden)
- 19 Hunting's diverting
- 20 Not one of the deserving poor
- 21 Gang leader
- 22 Boiler of Russian design
- 25 The fleet is involved in a drama
- 27 American electrical inventor associated with Edison
- 28 House of lords

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 98

ACROSS:—1 TOTEM; 6 PEACE; 9 ALABAMA; 10 RAPID; 11 YEAST; 12 RANGERS; 16 HASSAN; 19 EASTER; 22 ASCENDANT; 23 ROOT; 24 RUTH; 25 CHOCOLATE; 26 BATH; 27 WEED; 28 ELIMINATE; 31 GOBELT; 33 IODATE; 36 TEARING; 37 FLASH; 40 GLOBE; 41 ANIMATE; 42 SHELL; 43 DOTTY.

DOWN:—1 TORCH; 2 TYPES; 3 MADRAS; 4 YARN; 5 VANE; 6 PAYSAN; 7 APART; 8 ENTER; 13 ANCHORITE; 14 GONDOLIER; 15 READ AGAIN; 17 AVOCADO; 18 SATCHEL; 20 STREWED; 21 ENTREAT; 29 LETHAL; 30 TOGGED; 31 GIFTS; 32 BRAKE; 34 ALOFT; 35 EVERY; 37 AXIS; 38 IVAN.

Let me add in conclusion that it is a strange thing indeed to call someone a German nationalist because he advocates a democratic Germany within the framework of a democratic federation of Europe, which in turn is to be integrated with a system of international democracy, commonly known as "collective security."

FERDINAND A. HERMENS

South Bend, Ind., December 31

## Not Convinced

Dear Sirs: Two wrongs do not make a right. Both Mr. Hermens and the *Economist* together are less competent to decide whether Vansittart is a "racist" than Vansittart himself, who, in "The Nineteenth Century and After" (1942), made the following statement: "Again in the House of Lords I said that for reasons easily explained the bulk, not the whole, of the German nation—and please note that I do not say 'race,' I added explicitly—had become a nation of savage aggressors." Nor do I believe that an anonymous "young Hungarian scholar" whose evidence the author apparently did not examine is a more trustworthy authority on pre-Hitler anti-Semitism than Treitschke, Stöcker, Ritter von Schönerer, Lügner, and similar Germanic heroes, who certainly would not deny the fact that no Jew could fill higher posts in the civil service or become a reserve officer in the German army.

I leave it entirely to Mr. Hermens to determine whether those forty million Germans who at the plebiscite on November 12, 1933, cast their votes for Hitler were members of the Nazi master-race or just "common people," but I think, in view of this fact, that he underrates the swallowing capacity of the average German. I certainly did not "distort again" his argument by disbelieving the assumption that German democracy can be established by abolishing proportional representation. I certainly did not call the author a nationalist, but his being a "democrat" does not disprove it. On the contrary, the principal dogmas of democracy favored state omnipotence and the rise of nationalism. (Cf. "Nationality in History and Politics," by F. Hertz, 1944, p. 263.)

Nevertheless, democrats who attempt to cloak the blemishes of German nationalism render disservice not only to democracy but to the future of the German people as well.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, January 6

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE SECOND BATTLE OF LUZON WENT SO WELL last week that one began to suspect a catch somewhere. Why were the Japanese not fighting? Obviously they were caught badly off balance by the landings in Lingayen Gulf, which took their Manila defenses in the rear. Even locally they were surprised by our landing on the southern, more swampy shores of the Gulf, instead of in the northeast, where they had big guns. Immediate opposition, as in other recent Pacific landings, was negligible, suggesting that the destructive force of the rocket projectiles which the Navy now uses in such great numbers is a good deal more impressive than the correspondents have been allowed to tell us (probably these rockets were the American "secret weapon" which helped stop the German Ardennes offensive). Then the Japanese found movement of reinforcements severely curtailed by our air interference, which by the end of last week had destroyed half the rolling stock on Luzon. Movement of reinforcements in from the mainland was even more severely restricted by Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet air arm, which patrolled deep inside Japan's "basic sea area"—where the enemy's navy is pledged to fight—and smashed four convoys in the South China Sea, presumably forming up for the run to Luzon. Even considering these difficulties, the failure of the Japanese to fight on the highly defensible Agon River line or anywhere else except in the mountainous region northeast of Lingayen was obviously a surprise to General Krueger, who advanced cautiously towards Manila. Perhaps the answer to the puzzle was that the Japanese had suffered too heavily on Leyte to fight a losing and bloody battle on the Luzon plain, and were planning to abandon Manila, get away into the mountains, and make us dig them out. If this proves to be the case, it will be good news: for with Manila Harbor in operation again, we can prepare for the next big steps of the Pacific war.

✱

THE ARRIVAL AT MYITKYINA OF THE FIRST motor convoy destined for China over the new Ledo Road pre-figures dramatic new developments in the war on the Asiatic continent. Although the opening of direct communications with China awaits the capture of Wanting, near the China-Burma border, military observers expect the fall of that city within a few days. Plans have already been completed for placing traffic on the new road under strict American-Chinese military control, thus preventing the corruption that minimized the effectiveness of the old Burma Road. There are prospects, moreover, that direct connections with Burma may be reestablished in the not too distant future. British troops are already in the outskirts of Mandalay, and other British

units are cleaning up south of Akyab. Meanwhile the United States Fourteenth Air Force has greatly stepped up its activities in eastern China and has coordinated them with blows of Admiral Nimitz's fliers along the China coast. So far no news has been received regarding the effect of the improved military prospects on the political situation within China. The deadlock between the Kuomintang and the Communists remains unbroken, but the new Chungking government has displayed much greater willingness to cooperate with the American military authorities than did the old one, in which figured Ho Ying-Chin as War Minister. China still faces great difficulties, but once supplies begin to move many of them will disappear.

✱

THERE IS A TRAGIC IRONY IN APPLYING THE term "liberation" to the capture of Warsaw. For the ancient city is in ruins and death had done its work of wholesale liberation long before the Red Army crossed the Vistula. First great city to feel the unleashed fury of Nazi vengeance, its defenseless citizens were systematically exterminated by Hitler's supermen until scarcely one was left. The few who managed to secure arms used them in the heroic but fruitless rising under General Bor at the very moment when the Russian armies staggered back under a fierce German counter-offensive. Now into the devastation moves the new government, as yet unrecognized by London and Washington but carrying Moscow's benediction. If we regard the London Polish government in exile as a feudal relic, we must view the Lublin group as primarily the creature of Moscow. And Russia's intransigence on Poland, if expressed in less pious phrases, is hardly more excusable than the British government's claims in regard to Greece. In our opinion Poland is very much the concern of the United Nations—of the United States. It must be made Item I on the Big Three agenda. Our immediate concern is for the Polish people themselves. It seems strange, for instance, that Mikolajczyk, head of the large Peasant Party, is not in the government. Again, democratic minority groups must be guaranteed rights even if they happen to be in opposition to the government. If the Curzon line is to be accepted as Poland's eastern frontier—■ seems likely—what about the western frontier? Is the partial dismemberment of Germany a matter for unilateral decision, or should it be held over for a joint decision of the United Nations, or at least the Big Three? We have insisted that it is the President's duty to take the initiative in Europe and bring the full weight of our nation into the settlement on which our own security must rest. The Polish question is a good place to start.

✱

THE POLICY OF UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER, insofar as it means no bargaining with the Nazi government or the German generals, remains as valid as it always was and we have no sympathy with the critics who condemn it, seeking a peace by negotiation. But, stated baldly and left without further definition, it has helped Goebbels to put over the idea that surrender means complete annihilation for the German people—an idea all the more easily assimilated, perhaps, because of a guilty realization of their own crimes towards conquered nations. In his speech last week Winston

Churchill, refusing to abandon the principle, sought to meet this situation by declaring: "We may now say to our foes . . . we are not extirpaters of nations or butchers of peoples. We make no bargain with you. We accord you nothing as your right. Abandon your resistance unconditionally. We remain bound by our customs and our nature." Reassurances in such terms, however, are not likely to make much impression on the propaganda-sodden minds of the Germans. What is needed is some more specific statement of the conditions we mean to impose, thus giving the Germans an opportunity to weigh the advantages of surrender against the prolongation of a hopeless battle. We hope to discuss this subject in more detail next week.

✱

SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER HAS FOUND A new method for distilling poison from the pure milk of international idealism. Not so long ago his only concern was to keep America out of Europe, as he indicated very plainly in an interview with I. F. Stone which *The Nation* published on January 11, 1941. Then he wasn't interested in the Poles, for whose brutal treatment by the Nazis he had no word of reproach. The Poles, he said on that occasion, should have made peace on the basis of the surrender of Danzig, the Corridor, and Silesia, and the United States ought to have pressed them to do so. Today he is loud in his sympathy for Poland, "subjected to the terrors of a ruthless conqueror" (he means Russia), and cannot find words strong enough to condemn Soviet claims to the lands east of the Curzon Line. But if the Senator's attitude seems to have changed, his purpose is the same. Then he was trying to keep America isolated; now he is intent on returning America to isolation. Either our Allies, he declares in effect, must institute the millennium in Europe or we must wash our hands of the whole mess and refuse all responsibility for maintaining the future peace. Thus he totally misses the point that American participation in an international order is not a matter of knight-errantry but of hard common sense and intelligent self-interest.

✱

CRITICS OF OUR POLICY TOWARD ARGENTINA have been proved wrong again. It is true Argentina has refused to participate in further Pan-American parleys "so long as Argentina's rights continue to be disregarded," but it has also been careful not to break with the Union, which can still serve to keep Argentina in touch with the other American countries. Moreover, Foreign Minister Peluffo's forced resignation, ascribed to differences with Juan Perón, Argentina's strong man, over internal rather than external affairs, is largely the result of American refusal to be "appeased" and is a heartening sign of disunity among the ruling clique. Peluffo is said to have been cold to Perón's aspirations. Perón apparently wants to hold "elections" to gain the Presidency for himself and by a democratic gesture secure American acceptance of the present regime. Finance Minister Caesar Ameghino, now also interim Foreign Minister, is well suited to his new post by virtue of lack of interest in it. He is now busily engaged in organizing a National Reinsurance Institute to protect blacklisted Axis insurance

companies and may be expected to leave foreign-policy decisions to Perón. Argentina's relationship to the other American countries is one of the problems to be taken up at the Inter-American Conference on the war and post-war problems scheduled for Mexico City starting February 22. Stettinius will attend, and the Foreign Ministers of almost all the Latin American countries will be there. It is probably too much to expect that the problem of Argentina will be frankly discussed and a definite policy arrived at, but a jointly adopted, well-implemented Hemisphere policy toward Argentina is long overdue.

★

BY NAMING EDWARD J. HART OF NEW JERSEY chairman of the new House Committee on un-American Activities, Administration supporters apparently believed that they had laid the ghost of Martin Dies which Representative Rankin had so unexpectedly resurrected. There was even talk to the effect that the first task of the new committee would be to investigate the un-American activities of the Dies committee. Apparently, however, Rankin has again been underestimated. Although the new chairman has issued a statement declaring that in his view the committee has a moral obligation to adhere to judicial rules of evidence and not to denounce a thing as un-American merely because it "is opposed to the personal views of those who are doing the denouncing," Rankin has countered by declaring that he will bear no interference from his associates on the committee in his efforts "to rid the country of these un-American activities." Despite the efforts of the Democratic majority, it looks as if Rankin and not Hart may dominate the committee. On the crucial vote as to whether the Dies committee should be perpetuated, Hart and three of his Democratic colleagues on the committee voted against further witch-hunting. But the three Republican members—including two holdovers from the old Dies committee—voted with Rankin of Mississippi and Peterson of Florida for a continuance of the investigations. Thus the witch-hunters seem to have a clear majority of one on the committee, which is all that a man like Rankin requires to do untold mischief. Fortunately, the new committee has yet to receive an appropriation of funds. There is still time for the Democrats who voted for the Dies resolution to get letters from the home folks.

#### IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

CHARLES MICAUD, author of "The French Right and Nazi Germany 1933-39," writes on *France's Role in the New Europe*

GRAYSON KIRK, professor of Political Science at Columbia University and a close student of post-war organization, discusses *The Politics of World Security*

CAREY McWILLIAMS describes *Racial Dialectic—Missouri Style*

CHARLES ABRAMS inspects *The High Walls of Stuyvesant Town*

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN LABOR'S VIEWS ON post-war housing policy and those of the housing industry have been brought sharply into focus in hearings before the Senate Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and in the recent sessions of the National Association of Home Builders. R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, has set as a minimum goal the construction of 1,750,000 houses annually, giving employment, direct and indirect, to 6,500,000 men. He revealed in addition that his organization was prepared to build, through collective work, large numbers of homes for its own members. Other labor spokesmen urged the establishment of a permanent national housing agency and guaranties for year-round employment for workers in the construction industry. In contrast, Douglas Whitlock, president of the Producers' Council, national organization of the manufacturers of building materials, expressed doubt whether as many as 833,000 houses could be built annually and opposed the setting up of a national housing agency. In the absence of government initiative, involving housing subsidies for low-income groups, it is evident that the housing industry fully intends to pursue the restrictive policies which have characterized its activities in the past twenty-five years. Instead of costs being reduced through standardized designs and mass-production methods, Mr. Whitlock predicts that the average home built after the war will cost 30 per cent more than in 1940. If the industry persists in these policies, labor may have no alternative to a system of cooperative building as outlined by the president of the U. A. W.

★

THE MASTIFF IN THE AIRPLANE IS, FOR THE moment, as famous as the seal in the bedroom. That any responsible individual should ask for—and that any responsible official should grant—an A priority on an Army cargo plane for a dog, in war or peace, is fantastic. That the fantasy should be carried out to the point of "bumping" three servicemen is even more incredible. And that the dog should have reached its final destination in an Army truck escorted by an Army major is just too much. The whole story of Elliott Roosevelt's dog sounds as if it had been made up by James Thurber, including the fact that only the bull mastiff preserved his dignity throughout. No wonder the White House joined the outraged editorial writers in denouncing the whole proceeding. It should now dispatch a few blistering memos on the use of Army equipment for private purposes.

★

ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1905, IN PECK'S RESTAURANT, 140 Fulton Street, New York, a small group met together and observed that "the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as some indication to the educated men and women of this country that socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent." On this note of academic optimism the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society was born. Jack London was the first president, Upton Sinclair one of the two vice-presidents, and Harry W. Laidler undergraduate representative on the executive. Forty years later the League for Industrial Democracy, successor to the I. S. S., is holding an anniversary dinner—on February 3, at the Roosevelt Hotel in New

York. Upton Sinclair will broadcast a speech from California. The league's indefatigable director, Harry W. Laidler, will be honored with a presentation. Chief speakers will be Professor Frank Scott, national chairman of the Canadian C. C. F., a Socialist party headed for power, and Arthur Creech Jones, Labor Member of Parliament from England. The "recent Socialist vote" of 1944 looks small in comparison with the 400,000 polled in 1904, but the forces of progress which are cutting new channels through walls of tradition and dogma, more than justify the vision of the pioneers of forty years ago. *The Nation* congratulates the league and its director and urges its readers who are in the New York area to attend the celebration of its fortieth year.

## Mr. Churchill Protests Too Much

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S speech in the House of Commons last week was a masterly performance. Hard pressed by his critics, foreign and domestic, he launched a counter-attack which appears to have caught the rather weak opposition in Parliament off balance. We write before the debate is closed but there is little doubt that he will get his vote of confidence. However, if the political strategist has triumphed, the statesman has failed; the speech will not restore the confidence of a large part of the democratic world, nor remove the growing mistrust of Churchillian imperialism.

It was clear from the speech that Mr. Churchill had been stung by recent criticisms of his policies. His reply was to deny everything. Britain, he insisted, had no ulterior designs in Europe, no plans for acquiring spheres of influence, no desire for bases. The sole objective of his government was to restore government of the people, to establish the rule of the ballot box, to guard against intimidation or regimentation by any faction. And he attempted to prove that in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Italy, British policy had been directed toward this end. In regard to Greece, in particular, Mr. Churchill said that he had never felt "more sure in mind and conscience of the rectitude of our motives." We think the gentleman doth protest too much.

Nor are our suspicions assuaged by the chronological account he gave of events in Greece, an account both incomplete and prejudiced. Moreover, he began his story only with the landing of the British forces last fall and thus omitted the first four acts of the tragedy. For British actions in the past three months can only be understood in the light of the persistent British effort since 1941 to bolster up the King of Greece and to scatter his opponents. It is true that at another stage Mr. Churchill referred to the supplies of arms sent to the E. L. A. S. but he did not mention that these supplies were stopped in April, 1943, although the right-wing partisans of Colonel Zervas continued to receive them. Nor did he say anything about the report of a high British officer who after personally observing the effectiveness of the E. L. A. S. operations recommended it should be given greater support. The report was pigeon-holed, the officer assigned to another post. And now Mr. Churchill sneers

at the way the E. L. A. S. fought the Germans and insinuates that it saved its arms to establish a domestic dictatorship.

Again, Mr. Churchill described the republican partisans as infiltrating into Athens after the liberation and plotting to seize the government. Our correspondent, Constantine Poulos, who was there, reported in *The Nation* of December 23 that the resistance movement had every opportunity to take power in Athens between the time of the German withdrawal and the British arrival. Its leaders refrained because they thought the independence of their country and their democratic liberties guaranteed by the Teheran agreement.

We could point to innumerable other omissions and distortions in Churchill's story. Two must suffice. He said that when he went to Athens on Christmas Day, he found a general desire for a regency under Archbishop Damaskinos. Why did he not admit that this solution was put forward weeks before with the support of all the democratic parties in Greece and was then vetoed by Rex Leeper, British Minister in Athens? At that time agreement to the regency would have come as a sign of British good faith and would probably have averted the later tragedy. Churchill discovered this solution too late.

The British Prime Minister persisted in describing most inaccurately the E. L. A. S. forces as composed mainly of communists but added that it might be better to call them "Trotskyites." Where did he acquire the vocabulary of the fellow-traveller who uses this term to damn any left-wing nonconformist? Does it indicate a British protest to the Kremlin, which found it convenient to disavow the Greek communists in this way? Or is it an invitation to Stalin to disclaim responsibility for his followers in Greece? Whatever the explanation, Mr. Churchill's resort to this kind of abuse does not add to our confidence in his sincerity.

Full of sound and fury in his condemnation of the Greek left-wing partisans, Mr. Churchill had nothing but honeyed words for Tito and his followers who, to most observers, seem to be men of much the same kind with much the same ideas. He explained that his government had agreed with Moscow to avoid friction by pursuing a common policy in Yugoslavia and both indorsed the Tito-Subasich agreement for the establishment of a regency pending a plebiscite on the future constitution. Mr. Churchill regretted that young King Peter was not satisfied with this plan but warned him that it would be put into effect whether he liked it or not. We have no criticism of this decision but why should Peter be slapped while George is coddled? The suspicion will not down that the explanation is to be found in the greater strategic importance of Greece to the British Empire.

It is equally hard to accept at their face value Mr. Churchill's protestations about Italy. "We have," he declared, "no political combinations in Europe or elsewhere in respect of which we need Italy as a partner." But what many Italians suspect, and will continue to suspect, is that Britain requires Italy not as a partner but as a puppet. This fear may be unjustified but Mr. Churchill said nothing to allay it. Nor will the Italians appreciate his statement—in the course of a later appeal to the Germans to trust Allied humanity—that, "so far as Italy is concerned, there are moments when one has almost wondered whether it was they who had uncon-

ditionally surrendered to us, or we who unconditionally surrendered to them." Considering the present state of Italy, this witticism is not merely tasteless but callous. For not only is the country wracked by starvation, hunger, and disease, but its government is completely under the thumb of the Allied Commission and the British ambassador, who seem intent on impeding the restoration of democracy. It is all very well for Mr. Churchill to orate about giving the people "a fair chance to decide their destiny." It is deeds that count and his actions both in Italy and Greece strengthen reactionaries who can be trusted only to hold elections when they are in a position to "make" them. While he pursues such policies, he cannot expect the motives of his government to go unquestioned.

On the other hand, it is not enough for Americans to question. We have to press our own government to take far more positive action for the establishment of democracy in Europe. That means, for a start, that we must put aside our fears of revolution in Europe, recognizing that over a large part of the Continent revolution is as necessary and inevitable as it was in America in 1776. The reactionary leopards are not going to change their spots in response to preachings, especially after observing our practice in fostering Darlans and propping up Francos. They will have to be forcibly ejected, and we should encourage such action instead of wringing our hands on the side-lines. We must have the nerve to pursue the logic of democracy if we are to counter effectively Churchill's logic of imperialism.

## Wallace In, Jones Out

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, January 22*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S decision to replace Jesse Jones with Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce is no mere payment of an election debt, unless it be a debt the President owes the common people of the United States. The ousting of Jones and the appointment of Wallace is a necessary first step in the fulfilment of the full-employment pledges Mr. Roosevelt made in his fourth-term campaign.

The creation of 60,000,000 jobs will depend in large part on instruments of government up to now in the hands of Jones. As Federal Loan Administrator, the Texan controlled the agencies of public expenditure to which post-war works programs must look for their financing. He dominated the RFC, which in turn owns the war plants that can play so fruitful a role in an expanding economy after the war. As Secretary of Commerce, Jones occupied a key position in respect to foreign trade, one of the principal sources to which we must look for full utilization of war-swollen facilities when peace comes. This triple power conferred a triple obligation that an unimaginative, socially backward small-town banker of the Jones type was strikingly ill-qualified to fulfil. The President is fortunate and the country is fortunate to have available for these key positions a man of Wallace's vision, broad knowledge, and human sympathies. Not the least of the beneficiaries of the shift will be the forces of genuine enterprise in American business. No one could have been less sympathetic than Jones with the independent en-

trepreneur and the small business man, no one more subservient to monopoly.

There will be a bitter fight in the Senate over the Wallace appointment, and Jones had been busily preparing for that battle long before he released his exchange of letters with the President last night. The first public indication of his attitude was the ill-tempered editorial attack on Wallace in last Friday's *Houston Post*, a paper financed by Jones and run by his friend, former Governor W. P. Hobby of Texas. The paper supported Dewey in the last election. The keynote of the coming fight was struck by Jones in his rebellious and unsportsmanlike reply to the President: "For you to turn over all these assets and responsibilities to a man inexperienced in business and finance will, I believe, be hard for the business and financial world to understand." The reaction from those circles will be intense, for the RFC and the Federal Loan Agency—hitherto safe in the ultra-conservative hands of Jones—represent the first American experiment on a huge scale in state capitalism. In progressive hands this vast accumulation of government credit and capital is a potential menace to those business forces which profit by a restrictive economy. The first statements from Congress foreshadow another "Republicrat" coalition against Wallace. Jones has the support in the Senate of Taft, head of the G. O. P. steering committee, and in the House of Minority Leader Martin. The right-wing Southern Democrats have always been Jones's supporters. The Wallace appointment must run the gauntlet of the Senate Commerce Committee, which is headed by Bailey of North Carolina, friend of Jones as of every big money lobby in Washington.

Wallace faces three hurdles before he can take over Jones's vast powers. The first is confirmation; and given strong grass-roots support, he can win it. The Republicans can be embarrassed by their position during the fight over the State Department nominations. At that time they said they could not interfere with the President's choices for his own official family. The second hurdle is in taking over the Federal Loan Agency. The Reorganization Act of 1939 placed it under the Commerce Department; a special Congressional resolution passed in September, 1940, authorized Jones to accept the nomination as Secretary of Commerce and still remain Federal Loan Administrator. Whether Wallace can be both without Congressional authorization is a ticklish legal question. The third hurdle lies in the fact that the board of directors of the RFC is dominated by Jones satellites, and they may balk at accepting Wallace directives. Jones may also stir trouble by making an alliance with Foreign Economic Administrator Leo T. Crowley to cut down the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department and enlarge that of the FEA. It remains to be seen what part Will Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State for foreign economic affairs, will play in this struggle—whether he will be loyal to the President or to his old ally, Jones. At the time of Clayton's appointment it was said that he was being placed in the State Department to weaken Jones and prepare for his replacement by Wallace. Clayton is reported ambitious to take over some of the work of Commerce.

The President has tackled a man-size political job and needs organized popular support. We cannot expect the President to take serious risks left of center if we do not do all in our power to help him in the battles thus precipitated.

In this fight Mr. Roosevelt's strongest ally in Congress is Speaker Rayburn of Texas, who blames Jones for the unprecedented opposition to Rayburn's renomination in the last primaries. This opposition stemmed from the same circles which bred the unsuccessful anti-New Deal revolt in that state, a revolt to which Jones gave covert aid despite his position in the Cabinet. Whatever the outcome of the Wallace

fight, Jones himself is through politically for the time being. He became a power in the Democratic Party by financing Houston's bid for the 1928 convention; he made his debut in Washington as a Hoover appointee to the RFC. He has used his vast powers to build up his own influence in Congress and to hamstring the New Deal from its very beginnings. His ouster at last is good news of first importance.

## If Negrin Comes to Mexico

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

Mexico City, January 20

THE attempt to convoke the Spanish Republican Cortes has failed for two main reasons. First, it has been boycotted by several important groups, particularly those identified with the Negrín government. Second, it has been torn asunder by the irreconcilable conflict of ambition between the two leading figures responsible for calling the deputies together—Indalecio Prieto and Martínez Barrio. The rank and file of the twenty thousand Republicans exiled in Mexico long for political unity, and many deputies attended the first session on January 10 hoping that unity might be established through the Cortes. But the essential illegality of the move and the political purposes behind it made any reunion between the divergent forces impossible. The calling of the Cortes was revealed as a political maneuver, nothing else. Its collapse was inevitable. The second session, scheduled for yesterday, was canceled, and the Cortes adjourned by unanimous vote *sine die*.

The maneuver was doomed at the first meeting when the necessary quorum failed to appear. The exact number of delegates present was seventy-two. This initial difficulty was glossed over, however, by turning the session into a memorial for the deputies—more than 120—who had died since the last meeting on Spanish soil in 1938. But the second session could hardly be devoted to such an uncontroversial subject. The major political issues which had reached the boiling-point had to be faced. Either the Cortes must be accepted as legal and capable of making decisions in regard to the future of the government of the Spanish Republic or else it must discard all pretense of being the Cortes. The lack of quorum was only one obstacle. Even more important than the failure to achieve a quorum was the absence of the government itself. Martínez Barrio in calling the Cortes tried to pull off the impossible double play of recognizing the existence of a legal Republican government and at the same time ignoring it. With great ceremony the traditional government "blue bench" was provided, but the head of the government, Juan Negrín, was not consulted or even advised in advance of the Cortes meeting. A telegram received here from Negrín in London by members of the Negrín Cabinet in Mexico City declared that not until January 10, the day the deputies met, did he receive notice of the meeting and then as member from Las Palmas, not as Prime Minister. Even some of the members attending the Cortes were unwilling to accept as legal a meeting called without the government. Along with

the members who are not attending they realize that the only value of the Cortes lies in its constitutionality. Lacking that, a revolutionary junta would do just as well. The Cortes cannot be manipulated for political ends without undermining the validity of the democratic process.

But behind these legalistic arguments lie political and personal conflicts that have been sharpened by events in the last ten days. Put into a few words, the facts are these: Martínez Barrio intended to use the Cortes to elevate himself to the position of head of the state, a post he would automatically succeed to if he were to be confirmed as the president of the Cortes. (It should be remembered that the last Republican President resigned after the Catalonian retreat in the Spanish war and later died in France.) Indalecio Prieto had quite a different interest in the Cortes meeting. He originally opposed the idea of convoking it. One of the shrewdest of Spanish politicians, he undoubtedly anticipated the legal and other complications which were involved. He eventually supported the Barrio maneuver, hoping that he might augment the Junta de Liberación, which he wholly dominates, by drawing in various elements represented in the Cortes. Presumably he was willing to assist in the elevation of Barrio in exchange for this much-needed support. But after the first meeting he caucused his group and announced that they would oppose any action of a parliamentary nature, including the election of a president. Seeing the Cortes on the toboggan slide, Prieto hopped off before it reached the bottom. He has not saved his prestige. His junta has certainly been weakened by the whole maneuver, but at least Prieto's fortunes are not now tied to the fading star of Barrio.

One element that has gained from the abortive coup has been the Negrín government itself. If Negrín had been in Mexico, a large proportion of the groups represented in the Cortes would have crystallized around him. Several of his ministers, with Alvarez del Vayo representing him as vice-president of the Cabinet, have been playing an active part outside the Cortes, first, opposing the meeting as an illegal attempt to overthrow the government and, second, making plans for a broader coalition of Republican elements. The eager desire for unity was demonstrated by the crowds of Spaniards that packed the gallery during the first meeting and by the presence of many deputies who came not to support Barrio or Prieto but only to identify themselves with the effort to mobilize the Republican forces. The failure of the meeting must have disappointed these honest people, but it

has left the government almost a free field and enhanced prestige. Now it is of the greatest importance that the elements backing the government get together and offer Spanish Republicans everywhere a firm standard to rally to.

The day before yesterday the press here carried a dispatch announcing that Negrín would arrive in America the latter half of February. Without doubt he is planning to come and has definitely told his friends so. If he should not arrive it would be only because he was prevented by the British or the American government or by both. Spaniards here discount the possibility that obstacles will be put in his way and feel sure that he will come and come soon. I cannot share this confidence. If the British government found reasons to prevent Negrín from broadcasting to the great Madison Square

Garden meeting in New York they can find better ones to prevent him from coming to Mexico. Nor has the State Department shown any inclination to facilitate the movements of democratic European leaders—especially Spaniards. It seems unrealistic to hope that a plan designed to hasten the unification of Spanish Republican elements will get help from either of the major Western powers. If Negrín actually arrives, he will, I believe, succeed in drawing together all groups except the diehard irreconcilables. If he does not arrive, then the unifying forces among the Republicans here will have to work overtime to achieve the same result. It would be fantastic if reactionary policies in London and Washington were permitted to interfere with the union of Spanish democrats in exile.

## Break-Through in the East

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE Russian offensive of mid-winter, 1945, is unquestionably one of the great achievements of the war; for the skilful employment of sheer power it is probably one of the greatest military performances of all time. Regarding the affair cynically and with an eye cocked at the unhealthy political relations currently prevailing among the United Nations, one sympathizes with the fairly common expression of the American doughfoot's feeling: Jeez, I hope we never have to fight the Russkies.

Presumably the German doughfoot wishes his leader had found some other path to world domination than by fighting these same Russkies. Trying to hold the Vistula line in the past fortnight can have been no fun for even the most *Götterdämmerung*-minded Nazi. The gods were never intended to pass their twilight hours to the accompaniment of 500 heavy artillery pieces per mile, or to the unleashing of such a vigorous and rancorous trio of marshals as Konev, Zhukov, and Rokossovsky. These three, who learned their lessons the hard way in the early spate of German victories, have now returned with a great offensive which makes the Nazi blitzkrieg look like a rather modest kindergarten enterprise.

The primary objective of the offensive seems to be identical with that of all Allied objectives in the European theater—the destruction of Germany's armed fighting strength in the field. A secondary objective, the breaching of the Reich's eastern frontier, is already accomplished. (Perhaps not figuring largely in the calculations of the Soviet high command but composing what we may call a tertiary objective is the final annihilation of all the little voices of the "Atlantic community" which cry out that the Russians have left us holding the bag, that they make political offensives only, and why don't they open a second front anyway? Just as the opening of the second front in France annihilated—one trusts—the selfsame voices in the Soviet Union.)

The means used in attaining these objectives are quite unparalleled. Marshal Stalin does not toss in Rokossovsky, Konev, and Zhukov at the head of three battalions. It is important to remember that these men do not command armies

but army groups: Zhukov, for instance, had on his staff before Warsaw five colonel generals and at least two lieutenant generals. The press-association estimates of 2,000,000 Russian troops involved on this 450-mile front may not be far amiss. This might work out at about 150 divisions. It is an interesting comparison with the United States army's original plan to fight the war against both Germany and Japan with 100 divisions of combat troops.

Konev led the offensive in the south with a drive out of the Sandomierz bridgehead, first retaking the towns which the Germans had retaken last summer—which were not then reported as lost in the Russian communiqué—and subsequently scoring a major break-through, to advance about 100 miles westward in five days to Czeszochowa. German losses in this action must have been extremely heavy, with many small-scale encirclements and surrenders. Then, with the enemy's attention concentrated in the south, the great, imperturbable, careful Zhukov—perhaps the best Russian field commander since Kutuzov—ground forward, encircled the city that neither Rokossovsky nor frontal attack could take, and liberated Warsaw. Rokossovsky himself, switched to the next front north, pushed across the Narew and outflanked half of East Prussia, driving a wedge between the Polish capital and the stronghold of militarism that can give no comfort to the Germans defending East Prussia.

Regardless of the total German losses in men, guns, and tanks, the immediate result of the early stages of this grand offensive is that the hard core of Germany's eastern defense has been broken. The Narew-Vistula line from Ostrołęka to Krakow is smashed, and with it the enemy's best hope for a successful defense of central Poland. The fall of Warsaw, marred only, but excessively, by the tragic differences of Polish—and therefore of United Nations—politics, removes the chief roadblock on the Red Army's way to Berlin. It opens not only the main road west to Berlin but the route along both banks of the Vistula northwest to Danzig and the Baltic, potentially sealing off East Prussia from the rest of the Reich. Southward, the advance beyond Czeszochowa and Krakow

threatens German Silesia, second in industrial capacity only to the Ruhr.

The realization of any of these threats would be as intolerable to the Germans as would have been the continued advance toward the Ruhr and Saar on the western front. Consequently one must expect a hardening of the front—one of those seemingly miraculous tactical improvisations which the Germans can pull out of the bag to meet an apparently hopeless strategic situation. Germans have done this so consistently—at a dozen places on the eastern front since just after Stalingrad, the Mareth Line, Kasserine Pass, Anzio, the hills north of Rome, the Ardennes—that one nearly despairs of ever finally licking them. Yet obviously their opportunity for miracles diminishes. The pulling off of miracles requires three chief ingredients, outside of ingenuity, which the Germans admittedly have *par excellence*—space, time, and man-power. The recoil after each miracle has taken space from the Germans; the extra time has been time in which German strength declined relative to Allied strength; and the cost of the miracle has always been a net loss to German man-power. This process has but one logical culmination, which is total and irrevocable German defeat—unconditional surrender, whether Senator Wheeler likes it or not. Here the question is not one of political expediency but of fundamental military policy; and the history of German arms in this war proves conclusively that only the total dissolution of the whole fabric of the nation-at-arms can establish the fact of the nation's defeat.

Thus we may resign ourselves to the probability of yet another miraculous German recovery on the eastern front with the comforting conviction that a few more miracles will cost Germany its existence as a nation. I must state flatly, with the hope of being proved wrong, that I can now see no other way of concluding the war in Europe. The *Volkssturm* is in action on both the eastern and western fronts; the recent trend in German propaganda with respect to the execution of Allied "war criminals" indicates strongly a similar intention to involve the whole mass of the German people finally and irrevocably in the criminal performance of the Nazi leaders and the S. S. It is not impossible that the Germans may now turn to the use of gas on both fronts, and to the previously announced execution of prisoners of war as hostages against further Allied advances into the Reich. Through the undeniably devilish inventiveness of the German General Staff and the culminating inhumanity of the Gestapo the leaders of the present German state will try to postpone their last day as long as possible. The Ardennes counter-attack definitely succeeded in its immediate objective of upsetting the winter time-table of the Western Allies, which more than counter-balanced the heavy German losses. If the east-front situation is too far deteriorated for even the Germans to mount a counter-offensive, we must yet expect a hardening of the line some place that will require a major Russian regrouping and preparation for further offensive action. The loss of space, time, and man-power diminishes the German capability for miracles, and thus brings the day of victory blessedly closer; but in the meantime we had best toughen our minds for the kind of hideousness that would naturally accompany a nation's attempt to pull the walls of civilization down over its head into the grave.

## 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE DISSATISFACTION with the young Kaiser seems to find every day bolder expression in Germany. . . . The Emperor's notion of himself was always ridiculous. During the first few years of his reign he instructed all the first teachers in Germany in the proper methods of instruction, called a convention to elevate the working classes, and told the soldiers they were to obey only God and himself, or rather God through him, and were to shoot their fathers and mothers if he ordered them. His occasional manifestations of his wisdom since then have been in all respects worthy of the Middle Ages.—*January 3, 1895.*

THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN the Rev. Lem Penrod and Mr. John Slate at Grassy Creek, Kentucky, the other day, on the subject of infant baptism, will, we fear, cause a good deal of unreasonable scandal. Finding it impossible to get Slate to take a proper view of this important ordinance, Penrod drew a revolver and shot (probably merely as a warning) at Slate's leg, the ball passing through his boot. Slate, instead of taking this in a proper spirit, "rushed at the minister," whose resources at close quarters were not, however, exhausted, for he produced a butcher knife and endeavored to slash Slate's abdomen, but only reached his trousers. Friends then stopped the fray. This attempt on Slate's abdomen we cannot excuse, Slate's head being the real seat of his error; but in a fray it is, of course, difficult to plant one's blows where they will do the most good. But we must not too hastily condemn the Rev. Penrod's methods, for infant baptism is by no means the only doctrine erroneous views on which have been corrected with the knife or the bullet. There is hardly a single theological error which in times past has not been corrected by cuts, bruises, and burns. Penrod is simply an anachronism, but we trust he will keep an eye on Slate, and get him right somehow eventually.—*January 17, 1895.*

THE OHIO WOOL-GROWERS have resolved that the free-wool provisions of the new tariff are "a colossal political crime." This seems to us a mistake. In the first place, it will stir up the wrath of the silverites. They hold the copyright in the phrase "a colossal political crime." . . . Besides, it is hardly polite to tell the men—and particularly the women—who are buying better clothing for less money than ever before in their lives, that they are accessories to a crime.—*January 24, 1895.*

WHATEVER BE the right or wrong of it, the great bulk of our population will not sit and talk without some kind of intoxicating drink before them.—*January 24, 1895.*

OF THE FOUR NEW CHAPTERS added by Mr. Bryce to the third edition of his "American Commonwealth," none will attract more attention than those on The South Since the War, and The Present and Future of the Negro. . . . He leaves it to be inferred that he agrees with the eminent Southern witnesses whom he adduces, in regarding the possession of the suffrage as indispensable to the protection and independence of the blacks. This opinion, we believe, will stand.—*January 31, 1895.*

# Murphy Will Out

BY PETER STEVENS

ON JANUARY 5 the New York *Herald Tribune* published a U. P. dispatch from Paris reporting the arrest there of Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Jean Rigaud on charges of "endangering the security of the state." Every American who was in North Africa knows that when these two men are placed on trial before the French High Court, there will loom behind them the absent figure of Robert Murphy, formerly the President's personal representative in Algiers. For it was Murphy who was the architect of the reactionary American policies which we sought to impose on the French after our landings in November, 1942; Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Rigaud were his eager collaborators.

Newspaper reports are often like icebergs; only a fraction of the real story shows above the surface. I propose to take up this U. P. dispatch paragraph by paragraph and indicate what lies in the murky depths below. . . . Murphy Will Out.

Two leading supporters of Admiral Jean François Darlan, Vichy High Commissioner in North Africa, who collaborated with the Allies after they landed there in 1942 and who later was assassinated, were arrested here today and charged with "endangering the security of the state."

The pro-democratic, American-organized fifth column in French Africa had begged Murphy before the landings to drop his dealings with Darlan, Lemaigre, and Rigaud. Murphy refused because he was determined to defeat the Germans and still preserve the reactionary *révolution nationale* of Vichy, to which Darlan, Lemaigre, and Rigaud were openly devoted. All three men belonged to that wide circle of French fascists who wanted France to be on the winning side in the war, whichever that was, and to retain the Pétain corporate state. All three were members of the super-counter-revolutionary organization, secretly nourished since 1922 by the German General Staff, called the "Mouvement Synarchique d'Empire," or M. S. E. It was to this gang that Murphy instinctively turned, for to him the pro-democratic French were simply "that bunch of Jews and Communists."

Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil, a prominent pre-war French industrialist and president of the influential French Taxpayers' League, and Jean Rigaud, who served as Minister of the Interior under Darlan, were both bitterly anti-De Gaulle in North Africa. They were placed under armed surveillance but escaped and were reported since in Spain and Portugal.

Lemaigre-Dubreuil, peanut-oil king, was also closely associated with the Banque Worms, chief German financial agent in the control of strategic French industries and the agency through which Germany sent money to French anti-democratic fascist organizations. Both he and Rigaud were associated with Laval in the sinister Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie (B. N. C. I.). Lemaigre founded

the Taxpayers' League, whose chief function was to hire hoodlums to beat up French democrats and stage riots for political purposes. And he was the French chief of the food-stuffs section of the Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden, which stripped France of its food to feed the Germans. Rigaud was a high Cagoulard and is credited with organizing French participation in the murder of the Roselli brothers; the Cagoulards had them killed in France in 1938 as a favor to Ciano, the request having been relayed to them by the G-2 section (intelligence) of Marshal Badoglio's staff.

It is true that Lemaigre and Rigaud were placed under what the French call *résidence forcée* after De Gaulle came to Africa. De Gaulle had requested the right to arrest them and try them immediately, having evidence that both men had been in constant touch with the Vichy government since our landings. Murphy interceded for them with all the prestige of his position as the President's personal representative, and De Gaulle, threatened with the loss of Lend-Lease, gave in, as he did also in the case of Flandin and Nogué.

They had actively supported the Allied landings in North Africa but subsequently made no secret of their hostility to the French Committee of National Liberation, which evolved into the present French government.

The two men did in fact support our landings, and they arranged for the importation of General Giraud. It is reported, however, that they profited from their knowledge of the impending landings by buying African francs on the Lisbon Exchange. It is certain that four months after the landings they, together with General Nogué, were mixed up in the smuggling of the Bank of Morocco's gold to Lisbon. No one was punished for this crime until after De Gaulle was in power, and then only the poor puppet directors of the bank. Even after De Gaulle was established in Algiers, the French reactionaries were confident that Murphy would somehow keep him out of France, and that the junta of Nogué, Lemaigre, and Rigaud would then be recalled from the Iberian Peninsula, where they were reported to be using the Bank of Morocco's gold for their conspiracy.

If these men made no secret of their hostility to De Gaulle, neither did their American friends and backers, especially the then Colonel, recently General, and now Assistant Secretary of State Julius Holmes, and his friendly mentor, Robert Murphy. In saying goodbye to an American returning home in the spring of 1943, Murphy said, "We are not worried about De Gaulle: we've got him lassoed!"

French authorities were unable to ascertain how they crossed the frontier and reached Paris.

The chances are good that they crossed the border out of Spain into France with the same assistance they had when

they fled from North Africa. I was informed by a French eyewitness that the two men had crossed from French to Spanish Morocco unchallenged, thanks to American transportation facilities and the fact that their *laissez-passers* were either of American origin or issued on American request.

Lemaigre-Dubreuil was said to have been instrumental in arranging the escape from France to North Africa of General Henri Honoré Giraud. Always identified with the extreme right in French politics, he at one time was suspected of being in contact with the Count of Paris, pretender to the French throne, in Algiers, and of having kept in touch with Vichy after the Allied landings. However, he was sent with Giraud's military mission to Washington and served as chief economic delegate and chief delegate for inter-Allied affairs under Giraud.

Lemaigre was instrumental in bringing Giraud to North Africa, although Giraud's departure was no "escape" but a concerted effort by the men of Vichy, through their secret "synarchy," to provide for the continuation of the New Order in France whether the Germans won or the Allies—another example of the Janus-faced collaboration by which the anti-democratic industrialists, generals, and bankers of France sought to insure their future.

Lemaigre and Rigaud were not merely suspected in Algiers of being in touch with the pretender, the Count of Paris; they openly boasted of it and said they would make him Lord Protector of the Realm. In this they had the support, on the quiet, of Murphy and his henchmen.

It is interesting to note that while Lemaigre was in Washington in December, 1942, as Admiral Darlan's delegate, he came to New York seeking to open an American branch of Pierre Laval's Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie.

Followers of General Charles de Gaulle have never hidden their distaste for Lemaigre-Dubreuil. At London, in February, 1943, De Gaulle asserted that "his policy has always been directed toward the exclusion of democratic elements from French resistance forces wherever they be."

To an American who was in North Africa this must seem a most moderate understatement of Lemaigre-Dubreuil's (and Rigaud's) policy. Every discouraged French democrat in Algeria and Morocco in 1942-43 also knew that in pursuing it both men had the unofficial but whole-hearted backing of Murphy. To suppress democracy had been the political objective of Lemaigre and Rigaud for twenty years. To this end they had tirelessly conspired with Pétain and Weygand to kill the Third Republic, using such organizations as the M. S. E., the *Cagoulards*, the Taxpayers' League, and the reactionary press. "Pétain Shall Rule" was their motto before the war began, and their intention was openly published in their press.

It was these two men, as the real power behind General Giraud, who insisted on keeping the 15,000 political prisoners and refugees in concentration camps in North Africa, where they remained for six months after we landed. Many of these internees had merely committed the crime of joining the Foreign Legion to fight for France in 1939 against the Germans or of resisting the Vichy-Axis regime in North Africa before the landings.

Murphy informed the President at Casablanca in January,

1943, that there were no longer any political prisoners in North Africa, and the President was credulous enough to repeat it on the radio. That same week I personally counted more than 7,500 such prisoners, many of them French citizens, being used in the killing slave labor of building the Trans-Sahara Railway, which would have connected Lemaigre's Senegal holdings with North Africa. Most of these poor devils were intellectuals or middle-class Europeans, unused to the fierce heat and hard labor; they received four cents a day, and died like flies. The brutality of these camps surpassed that of the German Dachau.

The persecution and disfranchisement of the Jews, the summary arrest and imprisonment of Gaullists, and the imprisonment of Communist deputies continued under Rigaud and Lemaigre with the protection of Murphy and his cover-all phrase "military necessity."

Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Rigaud, who had been Giraud's Secretary of Political Affairs, both resigned their posts in March, 1943, as a part of the general house-cleaning of anti-democratic forces from the Giraud regime. Rigaud was identified as a former *Cagoulard* (hooded man, or pro-fascist), and in his North African post he held power over the civilian police, which he was said to have used to spy on De Gaulle.

Both men resigned their posts, following the lead of General Bergeret, former Minister of Aviation at Vichy, who was also in Giraud's Cabinet. They resigned because on March 14, 1943, Giraud, under the pressure of American public opinion, which had begun to protest against the fascist smell of Murphy's North African version of Vichy, made a mildly pro-democratic speech. (Most of the minor political reforms promised in this speech were postponed under the excuse of military necessity and were actually not enforced until De Gaulle arrived.) But both men continued to be close to Murphy, going in and out of his great villa on the Rue Michelet and apparently serving as his advisers.

Rigaud, fascist and *Cagoulard*, had indeed controlled the police. He had done this by means of a coup d'état a week after the assassination of Admiral Darlan. In the middle of the night he ordered the arrest of Chiefs of Police Achari and Bringard and of a dozen other influential democrats who had aided our landing at Algiers and had in fact made it possible and nearly bloodless. Rigaud accused these men of complicity in the Darlan shooting and without a hearing hurried them off to a fort in the desert. Murphy went through the formality of a polite protest, but he and his office were unable to hide their thorough agreement with Rigaud's action. The men were kept in prison long enough for Rigaud to complete the task of making the Algerian police force his tool.

No longer fearing the police, Rigaud and Lemaigre were able to get on with their schemes for a super-Vichy regime under the Count of Paris. The S. O. L., Pétain's storm troopers, came out again and openly preached fascism and even defeatism. Murphy remained silent.

Both men fled to Spanish Morocco in May, 1944, after they were placed under police surveillance in Algiers. They are believed to have reached Spain from there. If they had not fled, it was reported, they would have been arrested "for plotting against the state." (End of U. P. dispatch.)

Here the U. P. dispatch has become vague; nothing is said of the whereabouts of Lemaigre and Rigaud between June, 1943, when De Gaulle came to North Africa, and May, 1944, when they are reported as "fleeing" to Spanish Morocco and Spain.

When the new French government made moves to arrest these men in June, 1943, it found them secretly protected by the Americans. In the case of Rigaud, the evidence of his conspiracy with the Count of Paris and his constant maintenance of contacts with Vichy was so complete that the Algiers government finally felt it could move against him despite this protection.

Rigaud fled from Algiers in an American airplane provided by Robert Murphy. He went to Casablanca. There he hid in the house of an American official and received secret messages from Murphy assuring him that his friends were all working for him in Algiers and that he should not worry. At this same time American officials answered an inquiry from M. Puaux, Resident (governor) of Morocco, by saying that they did not know Rigaud's whereabouts. Finally, through a compromise reached in Algiers by his "friends," Rigaud went into *résidence forcée* in Casablanca. For part of this time he was sheltered by Vice-Consul Kenneth Pendar in a house in Marrakech.

Some time in June, 1943, General Noguès, the notorious pro-fascist ex-Resident of Morocco, fled, just ahead of arrest, to Spanish territory. He was followed the next month by Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Rigaud, who crossed the border in a car lent to Murphy's organization by the Civil Affairs section of the United States army.

The U. P. dispatch reports Lemaigre and Rigaud fleeing from arrest in May, 1944, and does not mention their flight in July, 1943. I assume that they probably returned to French North Africa—just as they recently arrived in Paris—either clandestinely or with some American protection. A conspiracy of such long standing, so well financed, and for such high stakes does not die easily, as their daring trip to Paris in the face of arrest proves. Both General Noguès and Lemaigre were repeatedly reported in Vichy during the fall and winter of 1943-44, when of course all France was occupied by the Germans.

If plotting against French democracy, for the monarchy, for the Vichy type of totalitarianism, and against the restoration of a republic constitutes "plotting against the state," Lemaigre and Rigaud are guilty. Will they plead that all their actions in North Africa were taken with the full approval of the American authorities? Will they seek to call Robert Murphy as a witness for their defense? In any case, even if Murphy's name is never mentioned in court, Frenchmen will not forget the role he played in the plot to circumvent the restoration of the French Republic; and for them his policies and those of the American State Department will also be on trial.

Indeed, on a wider scale, British and American policy in Greece, Belgium, and Italy will, in the eyes of European democracy, be arraigned in that French court, for the tragic pattern for many subsequent mistakes was set in North Africa. The American press ought to report this trial in complete detail.

## In the Wind

FROM HIS LITTLE FARM in the Chicago *Tribune* building Alex Small went to New York. This is from one of his letters home, published in the *Tribune* of January 5: "The very sight of the New York crowd antagonizes the visitor who has come into New York from his farm or small town on the Western plains. These frizzy heads, these broad, brutish cheekbones, these furtive, piggy eyes, these slack mouths—the whole 'muffin-faced race' which he sees in the New York subway—how different from the well-marked features of his neighbors back in Iowa or Kansas. So comes the conclusion that New York is an alien force inside the United States."

IN ITS ISSUE of January 6 *Business Week* reported that Republic Steel had settled out of court 192 damage suits, totaling \$300,000, for the deaths and injuries of C. I. O. workers in the Memorial Day massacre of 1937. As far as we can learn, this was a clean scoop. Despite the news value of the story, none of the New York newspapers mentioned it, nor did *Time* or *Newsweek*.

BEST AND COMPANY closed its St. Louis store on January 13. The *Post-Dispatch* said the reason given by the company was "increased business, which it was unable to cope with in inadequate business quarters."

MRS. JOHN T. BATTEN of Birmingham, Alabama, chairman of the pan-American study committee of the American Legion Auxiliary, told the national executive committee on January 11 that the twenty Latin American countries "all have a republican form of government, they all officially recognize the existence of a common democracy throughout the Americas, and all have the same deep-rooted love of liberty."

BY HECK! Sears, Roebuck's new spring and summer catalogue, just out, has twelve pages of "dress and leisure" slacks, but not one pair of men's overalls.

COLORADO'S 40,000 old-age pensioners this month received an extra dividend of \$2,000,000. That was the amount of the surplus left in the state's pension fund at the end of last year. The law requires it to be distributed pro rata.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Certificates of German birth used to be one of the highest-priced articles on the black market in Poland, but reports are that the bottom has dropped out of the market. . . . The Nazi authorities in Czechoslovakia have recently decreed the death penalty for selling civilian clothes to German soldiers. . . . Last month saboteurs visited an Oslo factory which had been making pullovers for the German army. After doing their job they carried away 1,845 kroner in currency. They later returned the money with a note expressing regret for the "mistake" and stating that they realized it was not up to them to confiscate profits derived from serving the Germans, since that would be done more effectively when the time was ripe.

[Readers are invited to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

## Why the Nazis Fight On

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE American people were as unprepared for the mighty Russian break-through in the east as they were for the recent German counter-offensive in the west. Yesterday we were thrown into deep gloom by the discovery that the German armies could not only impede our advance but actually fight back with vicious power. Today, as the Soviet armies sweep through Poland into Silesia and East Prussia, we are resuming our interrupted plans for victory celebrations. Once more we may be disappointed.

For it is my firm conviction that our optimism today is made of the same stuff as our complacency at the very moment of von Rundstedt's attack. The limited break-through of the German western armies cannot, of course, be compared with the power and magnitude of the Russian drive. But the German armies which today are yielding before the Red Army can no more be written off than could the German armies which handed us so grim a Christmas present in Belgium. Behind the armies are a people steeled to a long and bloody resistance. It will help us appreciate the resources of the enemy today if we attempt to draw some lessons from our reverses in the west.

Although the Germans lost more than a million men during the fighting in France, these were almost all second- and third-class troops. Drew Middleton, in a dispatch to the *New York Times* on December 10, 1944, before Rundstedt's counter-offensive began, reported that the number of German divisions on the western front was still at least as great as on June 6, the day of invasion. The German military leaders had managed this, Mr. Middleton wrote, by "the sacrifice of third-class infantry divisions in the retreat across France and Belgium in order to save S.S., Panzer, and Panzer Grenadier units."

The regrouping of German armies on the western front was also facilitated by the fact that the Allies found it extremely difficult to supply their onrushing troops. The Germans held on to the French ports with great tenacity—they are still holding on to some—and before giving up any of them they destroyed most of the docks and machinery. These measures gave the Germans the time they needed. The reorganization was facilitated further by an advantage that increased as the fighting approached the frontiers of Germany: as the Allies' supply lines grew longer, the Germans' grew shorter.

Not only were the Germans able to reorganize; they were also able to man the western front with armies little if any smaller than those of the Allies. The Germans have an estimated seventy divisions on this front; the Allies have sixty to seventy. To be sure, the German divisions are somewhat smaller, but the numerical superiority of the Allied divisions is not so great as has been believed. And the Allied high command has no more men immediately at its

disposal. This fact appears clearly in the statement which Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, Commander of the Twelfth Army Group, made on the German counter-offensive. He said:

In leaving the Ardennes lightly held, we took what is known in military terminology as a "calculated risk" to strengthen our northern and southern drives. In other words, instead of employing our surplus divisions in the then quiet Ardennes, we used them to attack in other sectors.

One of the most important causes of this stringency is, I believe, an overestimation of what air power can do. The air forces form a much larger proportion of the Allied than of the German armies. Such a proportion would be justified if it were possible to knock out Germany's war industries by bombing. But all the known facts indicate this cannot be done. Certainly the air war has damaged German production considerably, but it has not prevented German troops on all fronts from being excellently equipped or, on the western front, from having better—or at least bigger—tanks than the Allies. A considerable proportion of the Rhenish-Westphalian industries have been moved to areas in central Germany, Austria, the Sudeteland, Bohemia-Moravia, and Upper Silesia, which, until the current Russian advance, have been comparatively safe from heavy bombing.

If German commanders have had to reckon with a shortage of oil, it has never been serious enough to have an important influence on military decisions. There is every reason to believe that the German oil supply will not be appreciably reduced in the near future unless the war is carried from the border regions to the interior of Germany. In an analysis of Germany's oil reserve the *London Economist* came to the following conclusions:

... If the figures for synthetic oil are added, the German total for 1944 perhaps reaches 6,000,000 tons, although bombing may in fact have reduced the output even below these figures. Some stocks may have been destroyed by bombing, but it would be wrong to conclude that the Germans are carrying no stocks. Meanwhile, in 1943 and 1944, more and more vehicles have been transferred to generator gas, and more horse-drawn transport has been introduced for military purposes. The series of great retreats has also relieved some of the strain. It would therefore be unsafe to assume that the minimum amount of fuel and lubrication oil necessary to keep the tanks moving and the planes flying will not be forthcoming for another six months. Germany's tremendous losses of natural oil have undoubtedly brought it nearer to the edge of collapse. But past experience shows that the Allies always underestimate how much room there is still left for balancing on that edge.

The counter-offensive has completely upset the Allies' plans for a western winter offensive. In addition, it has, for the time being, strengthened the domestic position of the

Nazi regime. The Nazis know they have no chance to win the war as long as they have to fight on two fronts. Their one hope is that political differences among the Allies will become so great that the coalition will break up. On this point it is worth noting that German newspapers today frequently devote half their space to these differences. Column-long stories appear on British policy in Italy, on the veto of Sforza, on the fight with the Belgian resistance, on the war with the E. L. A. S. in Greece, on every detail of Anglo-American difficulties, on the Polish question, and so on.

Lately it has been the English Tories who have given the Nazis most reason to hope. T. Bower, a Conservative member of Parliament, informed his colleagues a few days ago that Russia had "stabbed Poland in the back," and went on to say, "However unpleasant, we must face the fact that Russian imperialism is sowing dragon's teeth in Eastern Europe today. If she is allowed to get away with it, I believe another more terrible war will result in a few years' time." That certainly makes it plain enough. Mr. Bower not only speaks for himself but also brings out into the open what many Tories are thinking today. An editorial in the London *Tribune* entitled "Our Relations with Russia in Danger" puts it this way:

Their [the Tories'] opposition to Nazi Germany was purely opportunist and limited to the period during which Germany appeared as the main threat. This threat many powerful Tory interests consider no longer material. They consider their interests far more menaced by what they call Russian expansion into Central and Western Europe than by such threats as emanate from Nazi Germany. Their main preoccupation for some time has not been with what Germany might still do, but with what Russia is doing in the Balkans and the Baltic and possibly also in Central Europe and even France. This is no assumption on our part. It is an open secret for anyone who knows what is going on in certain Tory circles.

When the London *Tribune* expresses the opinion that today, in the midst of war, influential Tory circles fear Germany less than Russia, the Nazis are certainly entitled to some small glimmer of hope that the unity of the Allies will crumble if Germany is able to hold out a little longer.

Despite many weaknesses, the Gestapo apparatus is generally effective in Germany. By means of the most up-to-date and improved methods of terrorization it is able to keep both the army and the home front in line. Many writers have pointed out that Germany has no strong underground movement and have declared that this proves that the German people are united behind Hitler and the Nazis. In Germany today there are nine to twelve million foreigners, some of them prisoners of war, some of them slave workers sold by quivering governments. They work for the most part in German war industry. Without them the German army would have been beaten long ago. But the Gestapo is so strong in Germany that we have had no reports of a widespread resistance movement among them. Can anyone be so naive as to believe that these people favor Hitler?

All reports indicate that the German people are not behind Hitler, but that they are politically inactive. Not the least important cause of their apathy is the fact that the Allies' war aims offer them little hope of any salvation after defeat. Propaganda Minister Goebbels expressed the senti-

ments of a majority of the people when he wrote in *Das Reich* that the stubbornness of Germany's resistance was due, among other things, to "the Allies' fatal error in telling us of their plans for our destruction. These plans," he went on, "have been widely circulated in Germany, and every German at the front carries them with him as a catechism of war. We may lose all we have, we may lose our lives, but we shall never lose sight of this deadly danger."

The apathy of the German people can be overcome only by some challenging action on the part of the uncompromising anti-Nazis. Most of these belong to the political left. And what they have read of Allied policy toward the leftist movements in Belgium, Italy, and Greece—and the Nazi press keeps them up to date—does not encourage them to act.

We cannot expect a political crisis in Germany until the German army suffers a smashing defeat, until the war is carried deep into Germany, and until a change of policy by the Allies gives Hitler's domestic enemies reason to believe that there is a future for anti-Nazis.

## Trivia Politica

WHEN POPE PIUS XII says that a return to the past is vain we had all better begin looking ahead. Those were his words to the Roman nobility when they presented him with a traditional New Year's gift. But, said the Pope comfortingly, "even the nobility has its task" in the brave new world. . . . EL SALVADOR's fake election last week had the expected result; it was won by General Salvador Castaneda Castro, Provisional President Aguirre's man, who received 312,754 votes. Several hundred courageous Salvadoreans registered their protest against the dictatorship, however, by casting votes for the four opposition candidates, who had withdrawn on the ground that they could not combat the machinery established to insure General Castaneda's election. Elections were staged in the hope of fooling hemisphere republics into thinking that El Salvador had gone democratic. . . . IN SWITZERLAND German war books have taken a sharp drop in price. "Break-through in the West" has been reduced from \$1.75 to 60 cents. "Victory over France" and "From the Karawanken Mountains to Crete" have been similarly cut. "In Defiance of All Powers," which contains the high command's philosophy, is now selling for 30 cents. . . . "RUSSIA BARS Entry of Catholic Priests," a headline in the *New York Times*, no longer indicates that religion is considered an opiate for the masses but simply that the Soviet is meeting its own clerical requirements. "I am confident," said Ivan V. Polyansky, chairman of the Soviet Council on Religious Cults, "that Russia's own talented and hard-working clergy is capable of serving the needs of the faithful, especially as the training of new priests is already proceeding." . . . "GREATER GREECE and George for King" was one of the songs sung at last week's allegedly spontaneous demonstration in Athens, which was actually organized by the Greek Chamber of Commerce. Street hawkers did a rush business in King George lapel buttons, and one of the banners showed King George bearing a can of bully beef, a bottle of wine,

and a loaf of bread in his outstretched hands. . . . FRIENDS OF FASCISM will be glad to know that Jorge Ubico, ex-dictator of Guatemala, is safe in New Orleans. He says he will remain in the United States until the end of the war, when he will take up residence in Spain. Ubico's regime was overthrown last year after a fourteen-year reign of terror in which civil liberties were ruthlessly suppressed—and schools and highways built to create a façade of democratic progress.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

HOW German industry, in spite of the bombings it has received, can still exist, how it can still continue to produce, has long been a riddle, and reference to "underground factories" has been an unsatisfactory explanation. For how, in the midst of war, did all these underground factories suddenly come into existence?

The first plausible explanation is contained in a piece of information which the Stockholm *Morgontidningen* printed on January 5. According to this report the Germans have been able to improvise a considerable number of underground factories by installing them in abandoned mines. Old coal mines in the Ruhr, old salt mines in the mountains around Salzburg were ready-made refuges for some sixty large war plants.

The decision to transfer the factories to this underworld was taken with reluctance and only when the bombings became unendurable. Working conditions are of course bad. Coal gas, ground water, and difficult problems of space, temperature, and ventilation must be contended with. Moreover, the shafts which afford ingress and egress are a weak spot. The account in the *Morgontidningen* says that the single shaft of one mine was destroyed by a bombing and that more than two thousand workmen were trapped below ground and lost their lives.

Notwithstanding all this, the sixty underground factories are now in production and employing more than 400,000 workers. That is not very many, and their output is doubtless below normal; but it helps to explain the riddle of how German industry continues to produce.

Hitler's New Year's address was broadcast at a peculiar time—five minutes after the New Year began. Whoever arranged the affair must have thought it an especially good idea to choose this hour of the night—at five minutes after twelve on New Year's Eve people are in a sentimental mood and more receptive than usual to sentimentality. What was overlooked was that the expression "five minutes after twelve" has another connotation and that Hitler himself on a previous occasion closed an address with the words: "This time Germany will not capitulate, but will fight on till five minutes past twelve." The Zurich newspaper the *Weltwoche* reported that throughout Germany this seemingly trifling coincidence was the only thing that stuck in people's minds from the New Year's speech. It came in a trice—and remained—"the five-minutes-past-twelve speech."

Yes, the New Year's *Stimmung* was gloomy. But it is well

to realize that a very different mood prevailed just before Christmas, that is, after the great Rundstedt offensive had begun. We now have reports from almost all the foreign correspondents on the reaction in Germany to the first bulletins of victory. All agree that the spirit of 1940 rose from the grave with astounding vitality. When the news vendors began to call out "Great German Offensive" on the afternoon of December 18, some of the passers-by smiled at first, incredulously and maliciously. Then began such a battle for the newspapers as had not been seen in a long time. As later editions kept appearing with the headlines "Mighty German Offensive on a Broad Front in the West" and "American First Line Shattered," general enthusiasm developed. Men exchanged congratulations in the streets and in shops. The excitement grew as the good news continued through the following days. "Public opinion in Germany changed completely." The Nazi government was suddenly admired again. People decided they had done it an injustice. Enthusiasm mounted to such heights that official propaganda tried to dampen it. It remained high until, a few days later, the victorious advance was slowed. Then the flame of hope at once sank down again, and "the year ended in an atmosphere of gloom."

Drawing practical conclusions from defeat is technically known in Germany as "*sich umstellen*"—changing over, switching position. The Reich's diplomatic personnel in Switzerland is switching its position en masse; no fewer than nine members have recently severed their connections with the Berlin government. They are Prince Aloys Auerperg, air attaché, Dr. Georg Trump, press attaché, Gerhard Graf, *Kultur* attaché, plus a general consul, three consuls, the head of the Swiss office of the German News Bureau, and one of his assistants.

Outwardly all their cases were alike. All were ordered to Berlin "to report." All refused to go and left the service. Of course this account can conceal almost anything. But the gentlemen themselves declared that no deep secret lay behind it. In a brief justification of their action that they published for the benefit of Germans living in Switzerland, they reproached the Nazi government for only one thing—that it punished cruelly the slightest critical word uttered in private conversation. "But is there anyone among us," they asked, "except perhaps a few 150 per cent Nazi Party wheel horses, who has not from time to time made some critical remarks when talking with other Germans?" Clearly this was all that the gentlemen had on their conscience, and they charged the government only with excessive persecution of "even the slightest deviation from Nazi doctrine." They condemned such persecution, moreover, only because it "jeopardized the unity (*Volksverbundenheit*) of Germans abroad in an hour of grave danger."

The Swiss press without exception reacted unfavorably and characterized this kind of "switch" in uncharitable terms. We shall encounter it, however, more and more frequently, and not in isolated instances but by the million. Persons who thus shift their position assert, publicly or privately, consciously or subconsciously, that their defection is motivated by an objection to the minor vices of the dying regime; they do not repudiate its major crimes.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## LETTER FROM FRANCE

BY LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

*Somewhere in France, December 3*

**T**HIS is scarcely, as requested, a letter from Paris. But from the provinces one has a perspective on the events of today as well as on those of two and a half months ago, when I was there last. It was not surprising that anyone wandering into Paris during the first delirious days of the liberation expected, at the least, a new renaissance. The wine thrust into one's hand, the love and thanks that overwhelmed any American soldier, seemed to promise an immediate release of energies chained for four dreadful years.

It has not turned out that way. What we saw was a marvelous physical explosion, a heavenly yawning and stretching, the invalid's first faltering steps on the way to recovery. It was almost too much. From the provinces it looks like a slight relapse. Blood has started to pump back into the heart, but the real intellectual, moral, and artistic rebirth is bound to be slow in coming. And why not?

Americans, and I include all of us who have been in France for the last half-year, have no real comprehension of what the Germans did—from undeniable atrocity to cultural perversion. One hesitates even to make a slight criticism at the moment, since any American, in the past five years, has slept, eaten, smoked, and breathed better than any Frenchman. It is an error to think that suffering on the scale endured by France is "good" for the artist. It kills art and paralyzes artists so that their experiences are still-born so far as serving as subject matter.

How shocked some of us were when we paid a call on the editor of a review which now weekly holds together the great names of French letters! He had had a heroic clandestine career. But he was too angry even to be gracious. A cartoon had been submitted that he felt was too easy on some collaborating writers. The telephone wires crackled with gossip of *épuration*, vengeance, denunciation, and exasperation. Everyone, it seemed, had behaved badly except a few close friends. It was just like 1938. It was even rather comforting to realize, on leaving the wrangling office, that one of the constants of French character is that the more it changes the more it's the same thing. For the liberation was by no means a revolution, and the F. F. I., though once compared to the army of the Convention, has made of its capture of Strasbourg not a Valmy but another Allied victory.

From North Africa André Gide sends his journal of the arrival of the Americans in Algiers, and adds his name to the roster of the writers of the Resistance. The next week, in a withering *J'Accuse*, in the identical columns, Louis Aragon practically denies Gide the right to call himself a Frenchman, since he found the occupation the first occasion to learn German and read Goethe in the original.

The *épuration*, the purge, is less murderous than under

Robespierre, but it has taken its toll. Stéphane Lauzanne, the most active Vichy journalist, was shot. De Brassilach is awaiting trial. Drieu de la Rochelle, once one of the glories of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, tried unsuccessfully to expiate through suicide. De Montherlant, in an abject letter of apology, pretends to be a political idiot. He did not realize, with Céline and Sacha Guitry, what he was doing! He had hated the Jews before Hitler. Paul Morand, Pétain's ambassador to Rumania, is in Switzerland, and Gaston Bergery, minister to Turkey, has opened a dress shop in Ankara. René Benjamin is in prison, and Bernard Fay, the authority on North American culture, and Librarian of the National Collections under Vichy, is in very ill repute.

On the other side of the ledger Max Jacob, the Christian poet-painter of Jewish origin, died at Drancy, literally of mistreatment. Saint-Pol Roux, Jacques Decour, and Jean Prévost died under German bullets. The poets Mathias Lubeck, André Julien de Breuil, and Jean Desbordes were killed by the Vichy militia. Saint-Exupéry is counted as lost. Malraux, a colonel of the F. F. I. serving in the Vosges, is fighting, like so many others who may have families in hostile hands, under an assumed name. His study of Lawrence (D. H. or T. E.?) is announced.

The Académie Française reopened with a formal purging of Philippe Pétain from its roster, as well as his Minister for Culture, Abel Bonnard. It elected a great mathematician, the Prince de Broglie, André Siegfried, the economist, and Dr. Pasteur Valéry-Radot, an eminent physician. The other academies, the Goncourt and the Mallarmé, have undergone similar renovations.

An open contest for young writers held weekly by a good literary paper had for two recent subjects "Portrait of a Collaborator Who Has Turned His Coat," and "Books Which Have Done Most Harm to France in the Last Four Years." Cross-word puzzles appear in the form of the cross of Lorraine. The caricaturist Sennep has published his recent drawings; one of the best shows the Maréchal, with two bottles of Vichy water under his arm, begging pardon for bothering two Gestapo agents who are dismembering a nude. But there is no Daumier of the Resistance, and Picasso's "Dreams and Lies of Franco" were the last cartoons to treat their subjects with the dignified horror they deserve.

The last issue of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* appeared in July, 1943, and it will not be revived. It was put to the uses of Vichy. Its end was a sad commentary on the brilliant career which had launched so many brilliant careers. A number of weeklies are, for the time being, more or less filling the gap—notably *Les Lettres Françaises*, *Carrefour*, *La Marseillaise*, and other more popular magazines like *Gavroche*, *Le Temps Présent*, *Action*, and *France d'Abord*. *Les Temps*

*Modernes*, named after Chaplin's film, and promising the collaboration of Malraux, is announced. It first bore the title of *La Condition Humaine*. Its editor will be Jean Paul Sarthe, whose great and moving apostrophe to the Resistance, "La République de la Silence," started off the initial issue of the liberated *Lettres Françaises*.

The monthly reviews of arts and letters, some of which were continued in Switzerland and North Africa during the occupation, are taking up their Parisian headquarters. Notable among them are *Fontaine*, *Renaissance*, *Confluences*. Promised are *L'Eternelle Revue*, *Esprit*, *Vrille*, *Les Quatre Vents*, *Miroirs* (de luxe). There has been nothing de luxe about those that have so far appeared. Rationing of paper has almost amounted to censorship, and is a political issue. But the dailies continue to appear, as well as an increasing number of weeklies, purveying that fractional, factional, although precise and intelligent brand of opinion which American readers seldom consider a substitute for information. It was always thus, but one thing has made a real difference, namely, the recent reform laws, under which for the first time a paper is required to declare its actual ownership and circulation.

The Communist press, notably *l'Humanité*, has a large metropolitan following and is eagerly read in the industrial provinces. The daily with the greatest distinction of staff and style is perhaps *Figaro*, where one can read the exquisite prose and noble sentiments of François Mauriac of the Académie Française several times a week.

Paul Valéry has written a "Troisième Faust." This event of the first importance is to be celebrated by a special edition, replacing one of a hundred copies, secretly printed, which contained only fragments. (Other portions were heard recently over the B. B. C.) Valéry has contributed libretti for the use of contemporary composers, but this marks his debut as a dramatist. His "Faust" comprises two plays, the first part in a more or less comic mood. It is called "Lust," and in it we find Faust as an academician and author of several musical and dramatic works. The young woman, Lust, his secretary, rifles the archives to provide materials to aid his fading memory. Mephisto is a slightly tired clergyman who nevertheless recalls that he was once, in heaven, an archangel.

The second portion is entitled "Le Solitaire, ou les Malédiction de l'Univers." It is part fairy tale and part tragedy. Faust and Mephisto find themselves on the roof of the world, a mountain peak. The devil, short of breath, cannot stand the altitude. Faust throws himself into a fantastic cavern. This part is written in verse, the rest in prose. Valéry feels that his drama is indebted to Marlowe, Goethe, and the moralities of the Middle Ages. He began the play in July, 1940, during the worst hours of the flight from Paris. Valéry was up late, working, when there was a knock at the door. He went down to open it and found two enormous *Feldgraus*, helmeted, carrying an electric torch. They searched the house. The poet asked himself, "Have they come after my Faust or to make an inquest of my secret intentions?" But they passed by his desk, sought the roof, remarked that a slit of light was showing, and quit the house.

Gide is publishing his "Imaginary Interviews," which appeared fragmentarily during the occupation. He is as hotly defended as a patriot as he was attacked as complacent in the face of Vichy. His adaptation of Shakespeare's "Antony and

Cleopatra" is announced for spring production at the Comédie Française, under the direction of Jean-Louis Barrault.

Mauriac, aside from his stint for *Figaro*, is supervising the scenario for the first importantly sponsored film of the Resistance, aided by the first cinema artists of France. The exteriors are now being shot. Mauriac chose the most vocative of recent verse to be declaimed by the voices of the Comédie at a recent gala, and spoke the program notes on the poets from the stage. The same theater, now under the direction of Pierre Dux, an eminent comic actor, recently revived with much success his savage "Asmodée."

Louis Aragon, whose "Crève-cœur" is well known in London and New York, is publishing a new collection of poems, "La Diane Française," and a very long novel, "Aurelian." This former surrealist, revolutionary, and even anti-patriot in the days of the popular front, emerges as the Victor Hugo of the Resistance. His quasi-official strophes on Paris, on the University of Strasbourg, on the Martyrs of Châteaubriand, give him the aspect of a laureate, but his "Musée Grevin," a long work named after the ghastly waxworks of the boulevards of the epoch when "Laval was Dauphin," and such great short poems as "Elsa au Miroir" demonstrate that he is still a poet.

Vercors (Jean Bruller), whose "Silence of the Sea" remains the classic description of the pure French spiritual attitude toward the German triumph, now edits in the open his Editions de Minuit, which were the highwater mark of clandestine publishing. But it is taken as a sign of the present slackness of creative writing that his lists mainly include reprints. I do not know whether his remarkable essay on "The Sufferings of My Country," written for America, received the attention it deserved. It is certainly the most eloquent sermon preached so far on the humbling of France and her present proud humility.

A great deal of poetry has been written on occasional themes. Aside from the poetry of Aragon, only the verses of Loys Masson, Paul Eluard, and Pierre Seghers seem to this writer to have much exportable value. It is curious to observe that the innovations of the surrealist imagery and idiom of the late thirties have been appropriated quite undiluted to serve as the academic voice for the official homage verses which are in as much demand today as the memorial wreaths deposited at the walls of executions in prisons and at the foot of statues whose pedestals alone remain.

The statue of Voltaire on the Quai was long since melted into German cannon, but the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of his birth is being widely celebrated in the state theaters and in libraries in Russia as well as in France. Max Jacob and Guillaume Apollinaire, victims and friends in war, now have streets bearing their names. We recall that the first to use the word *surréalisme* was le Poète Assassiné.

Malraux, speaking of painting, said that only the great works survive contact with sadness and death. Recently several writers of the Resistance were asked what authors they read in their captivity. Sarthe, author of "Le Mur," "La Nausée," and the remarkable play "Huis-Clos," was imprisoned at first in Baccarat for two months, and was, he admits, bored by the Memoirs of Montluc. But a history of the two Restorations by Vaulabelle offered impressive parallels between Pétain and Louis XVIII. He also read "Around the

World in Eighty Days." In the prison at Trier he devoured Maurice Dekobra and was grateful to the French Ethel M. Dell for transporting him out of Germany to India, if only momentarily—also assorted detective stories, Sophocles, Racine, Bossuet, and "Sparkenbroke" (*de Charles Morgan, sans grand plaisir*). In German, he read the poems of Rilke and Hans Carossa. His two greatest discoveries were Claudel's "Soul of Satin," portions of which he tried to have enacted in the *Stalag*, and "Le Journal d'un Curé de Campagne." "Really, one could read no matter what, with passion, and those days stay marked with the book one read. There were the days of Somerset Maugham, of De Nerval, even the days of Maurice Dekobra."

Jean Paulhan, one of the founders of *Les Lettres Françaises*, was held incommunicado in the Santé. He tried to obtain a Bible from the German chaplain on the plea that he wished to be converted, but was refused. There were many legible descriptions scrawled upon the walls of his cell, but, alas! "these did not constitute a novel." So he tried to remember all the poems he had learned as a student. Three hundred lines of Leconte de Lisle "were a genuine comfort."

A conscientious effort is being made to catch up on recent British, American, and Russian music and writing. The *N. R. F.* is editing a series of "classics," the American works including, oddly enough, Melville's obscure "Bartleby the Scrivener," Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence are resuming their former popularity. On the stage Noel Coward, Eugene O'Neill, and Chekhov are hailed as allies, Boris was presented with much care at the Opera. Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down" is serialized in a daily as "Nuits Noirs," and widely-praised as an exact picture of occupation.

Perhaps the most interesting of the new books promised will be an edition of the memoirs of the police chief Fouché, a figure with staggering likeness to the masters of the Gestapo. Duhamel's "Anthology of French Verse" was forbidden by the Germans and is nearly ready. A fine reproduction of the Bayeux tapestry—the original was recently shown undamaged in the empty Louvre—will be issued by Les Editions du Chêne, responsible for the best of the art books published under the occupation.

So much for a few *notules*. And it is impossible to make, in a phrase, any final generalization about the reemergence of the French spirit. It can be far better done a year from now when recollection, even of horrors, in some tranquillity, has allowed art to erect some new monuments in her almost accidental and unexpected way. Save for Picasso and the work of permanent value of Bonnard, little has happened in the plastic arts. Maillol died untainted by Hitler's admiration. Musical life revives with rather an insistence on Debussy, Gabriel Fauré, Dukas, and Ravel, but this can be forgiven when one recalls that there is a new generation of young Frenchmen, now approaching mature appreciation, who have never heard "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" (even in "Fantasia") or seen Courbet's "Burial at Ornans" or Delacroix's "Liberty on the Barricades." Architects are invoked to submit new projects, and the museums are being renovated.

In the big provincial capital near which I have been stationed since shortly after the Germans left, there is an activity which I am sure is typical of many parts of France, activity

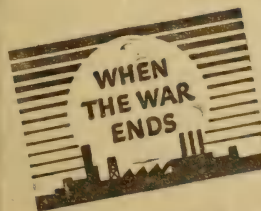
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which may prove the nursery for France's future inevitable greatness. The new mayor is by *métier* an iron-forgers, responsible not only for the magnificent restoration of the grills and gates of Jean l'Amour, the eighteenth-century master, but for the fine Maison du Peuple at Clichy. Renowned for his role in the Resistance, he was chosen to plan the local government. This he has done with dispatch and efficiency, but he has also formed a symphony orchestra which gives weekly concerts under the baton of Master Sergeant Walter Ducloux of New York, has arranged in the still empty museum a series of fascinating shows of regional art drawn from the rich local private collections, and is planning new industrial suburbs and the embellishment of the town by public works. His home is the delightful meeting place of French artists and engineers, American officers and enlisted men, and visiting members of De Gaulle's government. It is significant that when he was asked to go to Paris to fill a Cabinet position, he refused, feeling his first obligation was to his own *pays*. France is a land of such *propres pays*, and from them have gone the Rimbauds, Flauberts, and Lautrecs, to make Paris the focus, but not the face, of France.

## Narcissa

Here every surface is forever gloss,  
Even Time's smooth sliding  
Is a great pier-glass for her, slowly drawn  
In panoramic gliding.

Her days are hanging mirrors, and her hours,  
Like ivory-handled looking-glasses, lie  
On varnished dressers, ready to the hand,  
Convenient to the eye.

And even the little moments, quickly taken,  
Like a compact from a pocket in a purse,  
Reflect, with brief but shining reassurance,  
Their offered segment of the universe.

So to the street; and Oh, the city glitters  
Brightly around her progress; where she treads,  
The avenues are sleek and supple rivers,  
Along whose banks the people turn their heads.

Their heads are turned, it seems, in admiration,  
And the plate-glass windows gleam,  
Holding, alike, her motion and her pauses,  
Her fixity, her dream.

She walks below the trees, whose leaves are burnished  
Spangles of bronze or copper, and whose bark  
Is polished, like a colonnade of pillars,  
Black marble, on the pathways of the park.

And after these, she comes to the round water,  
Gun-metal color, luminous and dark,  
Leans over the railings, looking at her halo,  
Unbroken, in the perfect curving arc.

Beautiful world! And even more delightful,  
In the secret close, to meet and recognize,  
Double and pure and absolutely faithful,  
Her smiling image in her lover's eyes.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### The Early Joyce

A LONG PASSAGE from the first version of James Joyce's "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" is contained in "Stephen Hero," edited and with an introduction by Theodore Spencer (New Directions, \$3.50). It will be fascinating to readers of the final version and extremely valuable to students of Joyce. Much of it consists of scenes insufficiently developed, marred by sudden transitions. Consequently it may make little sense to the reader who does not know "The Portrait." But there is no longer any justification for ignorance of or indifference to any work by Joyce, who, it may now be said with assurance, used the language with a degree of *consciousness* greater than that of any other author who has written in English.

The beginning of this mastered consciousness of language—which reaches a true conclusion in the inexhaustible wonders of "Finnegans Wake"—shows itself when Stephen studies Skeats's "Etymological Dictionary." Yet at the same time he studies the life and the language of the streets. Thus it is clear that Joyce never permits his genius for the verbal to make him forget actual things and actual human beings. When Stephen Daedalus as an undergraduate struggles against the powerful claims of the church, of his family, and of the conventions of his time, he acts always from a profound sense of what is actual. He knows how abstractions and words often distort and hide actuality and truth. Despite his love of style in itself and language for its own sake, he constantly moves from word to thing, and from language to the experience which language should illuminate. In his mature work Joyce succeeds most of all when he is at once a great stylist and a great realist. In his first effort the double interest in language and experience is already formulated in Stephen's undergraduate essay, "Drama and Life." His theory, though directed against censorship and didacticism, cuts beneath these concerns to the principle stated and embodied in "Ulysses": "The fundamental question about a work of art is from how deep a life does it spring."

Depth of life, the full surface and the mind behind the surface, is achieved chiefly in the scenes between Stephen and his mother; and in this way "Stephen Hero" illuminates the guilt and remorse in "Ulysses." Elsewhere in this version, when the youthful Joyce is priggish, affected, pretentious, and of an uncritical seriousness, we are brought back to the statement in "The Portrait" that an artist makes no errors, since his errors are the portals of discovery. A reading of "Stephen Hero" suggests a less paradoxical statement of this truth, namely, that an artist always makes errors because his errors are his only means of arriving at certain discoveries.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

### Are You Sure You're So Clever?

THIS IS A COMMENT not so much on a book as on its publishers. Carlton Brown's "Brainstorm" (Farrar and Rinehart, \$2.75) tells the story of an actual person who, for a relatively short period, fell victim to an intense mental

derangement. The author "novelizes" his story—that is, he moves beyond the clinical objectivity of the ordinary case-history to make immediate and moving both the internal and external conditions of the patient. This he does with considerable literary skill; and so far as a layman can judge, his handling of the medical and institutional aspects of the case is balanced and intelligent. In short, Mr. Brown's book is serious and perhaps useful. It is therefore worth noting the methods which are being used in its promotion. When I received a letter from the publishers which bragged of the book's "sensational" style, I was unwilling to decide whether it was ignorance of the language or cynicism which prompted the choice of the adjective. But having watched the publishers daily exploit in their advertisements the vague fear of insanity which is endemic in the public, I am willing to exonerate them of any charge of ignorance. "Are you *sure* you're so clever?" "Why are you vaguely uneasy?" "Did you really sleep well last night? Did you?"—it is with questions like these that they promote the sale of what they cozily describe as "the intimate story of a man gone mad." Observe that "intimate"—if it worked with halitosis and B. O., why shouldn't it work with insanity? What could be more intimate than a mind? Perhaps we can soon expect photographs of two people whispering behind cupped hands and the caption "What are they *really* saying about you?" It is a notable piece of irresponsible brutality, and of the people who are perpetrating it we would like to ask the question, "Did you really sleep well last night? Or did your conscience bother you the least little bit?"

LIONEL TRILLING

## Malarkey

FOR FIFTEEN unhappy though highly lucrative years I sat in cubicles in various advertising agencies manufacturing the sort of malarkey described in "The Advertising Smoke Screen," by Blake Clark (Harpers, \$2). Lately my advertising acquaintances have been telling me that those bad old days have gone forever, but the bulk of the content of Sergeant Clark's devastating book indicates that advertising today is on the whole even more terrible than it was prior to World War I, despite all the pious protestations of committees on advertising ethics.

The hard-hitting author, whose article on cigarette advertising in the *Reader's Digest* raised such almighty hob, is in the good tradition of Stuart Chase, James Rorty, and a few, too few, others, when he names the names of the corporations, their products, and their advertising agencies which are currently repeating the Great Lies.

Sergeant Clark goes to the horse's mouth for his indictments, taking his material from the Federal Trade Commission's complaints against fraudulent advertising. He tells us that the commission, ridiculously undermanned as it is, handled, in 1943, more than 1,500 cases of false advertising claims at a cost of one and one-half cents per citizen. With precision aim Sergeant Clark, backed up by the FTC, picks off the heavy battalions of the advertising armies, the big cigarette manufacturers, the toothpaste purveyors, the laxative lads, the prevention-of-baldness boys, the common-cold commandos, the vitamin vultures.

One discouraging feature of the business is the way in

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which supposedly reputable researchers and publishers lend themselves to the promotion of the hokum emanating from the copy-writers' cubicles. In the matter of toothpastes, let it be said to the honor of the dental profession that its members come off a lot better than do the medicos connected with the fraudulent cigarette claims. Gatherings of dentists have denounced all the ballyhoo about the magic powers of any particular brand of dentrifice, and their journals have refused to take such advertising.

This book is no generalized, wholesale indictment of advertising *per se*. The author recognizes its legitimate function in the fields of mass production under a profit system. He gives due credit to honest advertisers and the efforts of *Printer's Ink*, the trade journal of the profession, and other bodies struggling against seemingly insuperable odds to clean house.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

## China to Emily Hahn

THE POLITICS of Emily Hahn's story of what China meant to her too easily goes overlooked in the face of the titillation of the lively and otherwise diverting pages of "China to Me" (Doubleday, Doran, \$3). But the unwary reader, and there will be many for a book of this type, will nevertheless gain a very definite political slant on China, cleverly angled by a clever writer and adding up to a thoroughly distorted picture.

A wary reader might be inclined to ask what qualifications the author has for dealing with Chinese politics. "Mickey"

Hahn's years in China were spent almost exclusively in three cities—Shanghai, Hongkong, and Chungking. At Chungking she apparently underwent the bombings with some fortitude, for which she deserves full credit, but this can hardly be considered a representative contact with the Chinese war effort. Her closest insight into things Chinese came through Sinmay, admittedly a dilettante who never left Shanghai if he could help it. She had contacts with important people—the Soong sister she most admired was Madame Kung. Madame Sun Yat-sen would not even see Emily Hahn, and she comes off pretty badly in "Mickey's" book. The ordinary Chinese soldier is a very indistinct figure in these pages. Peasants or landlords are completely out; they were not part of the China that impinged on Emily Hahn.

And yet this is the writer who dares to say that the American public is being misled by Evans Carlson, Edgar Snow, and Agnes Smedley, writers who have not spent all their time in Shanghai or Hongkong or even Chungking but have gone to the soil on which the Chinese people live and for which they fight. These writers need no vindication, of course; the facts to which they have correctly borne witness will henceforth supply increasing proof of their contentions, despite the airy wave of Mickey Hahn to the contrary.

At times the cleverness of this author overreaches itself. In the middle of her page attacking Snow, Evans, Smedley, *et al.* is an italicized sentence to the effect that she is not "running them down"—oh, my, no!—just insinuating that they have deluded the American public about China. Her prejudices—the strongest one is against "leftists," a term she much affects—are almost as fascinating as her naivete. God rest her soul! Both China and the leftists may, perhaps, manage to outlive even Emily Hahn's commentary.

T. A. BISSON

## CONTROVERSY

He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that.—J. Stuart Mill  
Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly, as when they discuss it freely.  
—Macaulay

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## Ortega on Education

DESPITE ITS PONTIFICAL STYLE and the unnecessarily long-winded introduction by the translator, Ortega y Gasset's "Mission of the University" (Princeton, \$2) contains a number of interesting ideas. The author pleads for a simplification of the university curriculum to a basic minimum of studies, mandatory for all students. Universities should be organized around "the student"—what he is and what he needs—and not around "the professor" or "knowledge." But the student turns out to be a least-common-denominator type, not an individual. An intimate relation between the professional schools and the university is encouraged, but in the teaching of the professions "science," conceived as discovery or investigation of truth, has no place. Students should learn what has been discovered by teachers who are not necessarily scientists. "The teaching of the professions and the search for truth *must* be separated." This is innocent enough if it means no more than that an experimental research seminar is very inadequate as an introductory course in science, and that a physician does not have to be a trained physiologist. But if Ortega y Gasset's dictum means that science on any level is to be taught as a series of discovered truths, out of books, without a laboratory practice which makes "finding out" a genuine experience, then his recommendation is educationally vicious. For it misconceives the nature of science and the spirit behind it.

The most arresting suggestion of the book is that a Faculty of Culture should be central in university instruction. Its function is to teach the vital ideas, the active convictions "at the height of the times," in the form of syntheses of knowledge. There are certain ambiguities that becloud the proposal. Are universities to teach only one philosophical synthesis of "the world and man" or a variety? Presumably any they believe in, so long as it is the result of uncoerced inquiry. In that case, what Ortega's suggestion amounts to is an invitation to cooperation and cross-fertilization between faculties—a modest but sound idea. This characterization also applies to his suggestion that the university, as a group of scholars, should participate in the contemporary life of the people and recognize the fundamental problems of social policy as its own. "The university is science *in addition*." The addition is history—or the life of the time. In America at any rate many universities have already carried out some of Ortega's ideas episodically. His point is that it should be done everywhere systematically.

The essay was first published in 1930. That it should be so topical for current educational discussion, notwithstanding the profound structural differences between American and European universities, is a sign that the author raises some fundamental questions.

SIDNEY HOOK

## Writers in Exile

PETER M. LINDT, whose German-language broadcasts are known to many *Nation* readers, has recorded his programs in a little book entitled "Schriftsteller im Exil," with a foreword by President Shuster of Hunter College (Willard Publishing Company, \$3.20). Besides being a report of interesting conversations before the microphone, the book constitutes a small directory of German writers now in the United States. The list of names should give Hitler something to think about.

## Dance Note

EVERY once in a while an artist turns up on Broadway whose heightened sense of life intensifies our own. Josephine Prémice, Haitian singer and dancer, who appeared on a program with Hadassah and Pearl Primus at the Times Hall theater week before last, is one of these. Like Carmen Amaya, whose quality and art are quite different from hers, Prémice is a live, rich personality working in a live, rich tradition; both are authentic. Prémice's gestures appear as casual and inevitable as breathing, yet involve a process quite as complicated. Everything she does has effortless authority—her approach, manner, wit, the wriggle of her hips, the way she looks at an audience. An inner, absolute timing, projected in voice and gesture, hits the audience straight and is as immediately invigorating as a blood transfusion. The Negro-French elements of Haitian folklore, moreover, produce an art that in its own way has complexities and fascinations as beguiling as those of the Spanish-Arabic *flamenco*. The carnival and voodoo songs which form the basis of her performance combine the sophistication and naivete which characterize Prémice herself. Both are delightful.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

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and **VICTORIA CRANFORD**, Psychotherapist and Rorschach Analyst, Harriem Lodge, Catonsville, Md.; The Farm for Alcoholic Patients, Howard County, Md.

edited by: **HAROLD S. GOODWIN**, Day City Editor, The Baltimore Sun, Baltimore, Md.

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## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

SEVERAL of the fairly important movies of last year, such as "Going My Way," were reviewed in this column in a couple of sentences because, lacking space at the moment, I thought I should at least add my own mention of their existence, and expected to talk about them in detail later on. I will open the New Year, a few weeks late, faithful to the same dubious policy. All of the following movies are more or less worth seeing; most of them are worth detailed comment. In case I never get around to that, here at least is a checklist.

"The Fighting Lady," a color documentary about an aircraft carrier, contains the most beautiful shots of air warfare I have seen. "Brought to Action" is a succinct, well-made record and laymen's exposition of last October's Battle for the Philippines. "The Unknown Battle," a March of Time abridgment of an Air Forces indoctrination film, contains especially fine shots of airmen in their briefing rooms, just before their missions over Germany, and answering their interrogators, just after the missions are completed.

"I'll Be Seeing You," the first American film story about a psychological war casualty, sacrifices much of its great possible value and interest to a painfully artificial set of hero-heroine complications. But there is also a beautiful performance by Joseph Cotten; and there are enough other unpretentiously good things to make a dozen average pictures.

"The Suspect" tells sympathetically about a man who kills his wife, marries the girl he loves, and lives happily until his conscience—which remains free and easy about the first wife—catches up with him. Such a story ought logically to cause the Legion of Decency to scalp itself with eyebrow-raising. Told straight, perhaps it would. Told as period melodrama, it will probably trouble nobody. The film is well acted by Charles Laughton, Rosalind Ivan, Henry Daniell, Stanley Ridges, and Ella Raines, and well if floridly directed by Robert Siodmak.

The screen version of Graham Greene's "Ministry of Fear," which is directed by Fritz Lang, is by all rights a better thriller. I didn't like it as well. It is stiff with movie talent and intelligence; so stiff it can hardly move. Perhaps its worst trouble is its lack of a

simple enough emotional or human center. Each effective scene—and there are many—has to raise itself by its own cold will. But as a textbook for movie melodrama it is very interesting indeed.

"Guest in the House" is for anyone who has ever run foul of the special kind of pathetic young woman whom it follows through her efforts to destroy a family. My wonder is that her victims, in the film, fail to see through her the moment they meet her; yet I suppose they are reasonably true to life in that. Not having seen the play, I can't compare performances, but I thought Anne Baxter hated and feared and understood the girl as well, anyhow, as the writing gave her a chance for, and knew well enough how to communicate her; I also enjoyed the work of Ralph Bellamy, Ruth Warrick, and Percy Kilbride. But to single out and impale so easy an object of popular loathing seems too thin and easy a way to write a hit.

That is my objection also to two current anti-Nazi melodramas, "Tomorrow, the World" and the British-made "Mr. Emmanuel." The broad idea of "Tomorrow, the World"—the juxtaposition of a Nazi-trained child and a well-meaning liberal American family—might be good, and the working out is at least sincere and, while it lasts, absorbing. But the film—again I missed the play—hardly gets beyond using its basic idea as a kind of tension, and varying the stresses. There is not much depth of perception, either of the child or of those who suffer him, and whom he suffers; and so in turn the idea itself is not very well served.

I don't like even the basic idea of "Mr. Emmanuel"; it is a great deal too easy to tear your audience to bits through the mere thought of a gentle old English Jew who is innocent and brave enough to go to Germany and ask dangerous questions during the late 1930's. Genius might get away with such a vulgar idea, but there is no genius involved in this production. The picture is, however, so intelligently made, and so intelligently acted by Felix Aylmer; Walter Rilla, and Greta Gynt—if acting is the word for what she does—that it is reasonably sure to get under your skin whether or not you resist its cardstacking and complacency. I hope it is seen by a few people I know (and a few million others I can through them assume) who can still talk comfortably with the more genteel types of anti-Semite. A blow from a mace of its coarseness might conceivably cause them to scratch their heads.

# Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

IF YOU have wondered why the Metropolitan's productions of opera are discussed so little in this column the reason is that its press department has not been able to persuade Assistant Manager Earle Lewis that a review in *The Nation* is worth the money he can get for a pair of good seats. And if I am able to report on "The Marriage of Figaro" it is because the press department managed to wangle back from one of the newspapers a pair of the excellent seats that are permanently assigned to the daily press.

"Figaro" as performed the last two seasons has been the greatest experience one could have at the Metropolitan; and it is still that, even though this year's performance is not up to last year's. Where Bruno Walter's treatment of the music was relaxed and spacious, Erich Leinsdorf's is tense and driving: he rushes hetically not only through particular pieces of music—through everything up to Cherubino's first aria, for example—but from one thing to the next. Thus, not only is his pace for *Dove sono* rather fast for the meditative character of both words and music, but he does not pause long enough for Eleanor Steber's *pianissimo* singing of the *reprise* to create the wonderful effect it did last year. So throughout, and worst of all at the end, when he goes from the hushed exclamations at the Countess's unexpected entrance to the Count's *Contessa, perdono!* without a pause sufficient to prepare the audience for this concluding sublimity.

On the other hand I was newly impressed this time by Herbert Graf's imagination and skill in laying out the lines of the action on the stage and filling in detail. But I still feel that a few of the details should be changed. In the second act Susanna tries one of her caps on Cherubino; but she has measured herself against him, and should try one of her dresses on him. During this scene, moreover, Steber may intend the Countess to appear distraught; but what she achieves is an appearance of lacking interest and not being involved in what is going on; and the Countess should be an interested onlooker. Far worse is what Sayao does in the Countess's cloak and hat in the last act: it is the antics of a child in the clothes of an adult, not the exaggerated-

ly grand movements of a maid in the clothes of her mistress; it gets laughs, but so would the dramatically right thing. The mistake may be Graf's; or he may lack the power to correct Sayao, who is guilty of other excesses—mostly of pertness—throughout the opera.

That is the only defect in the work of a superb cast. The outstanding performance is Steber's Countess: as I wrote last year, nobody I have seen in the role conveyed as she does the neglected young wife's beauty, spirit, and wounded pride, her humiliation at having to involve herself with her servants in stratagems against her husband; and she sings the part beautifully, using a small but lovely voice with fine musical taste and moving expressiveness. As it happens, Sayao also has a small voice of brighter timbre, which she uses with equal taste and expressiveness, and which blends perfectly with Steber's; so that their singing of the Letter Duet is one of the most enchanting moments in the opera. The Cherubino this year is Risé Stevens—amusingly gawky, and with her singing free of the tremolo and the explosiveness in phrasing that afflicted it two years ago. Brownlee's Count is good. And Pinza's Figaro—rather than his Don Giovanni—is, in my opinion, his best performance. (What is good in his Figaro is not good in his Don Giovanni: it makes him a Giovanni, not a Don.) As for the smaller parts in the ensemble, they are excellently done by Baccaloni, De Paolis, and the rest.

The first of Lotte Lehmann's series of three *Lieder*-recitals was devoted to Schubert and Schumann, and provided another impressive demonstration of the art that has been refined and perfected by the need of discretion in the use of an aging voice. The voice, at this concert, was still lovely; the art more moving than ever; but they were revealed in a program whose too many archnesses and inanities imposed less strain on the voice than they did, after a while, on the hearer's—or at any rate on this hearer's—patience. However there was every now and then an outstanding song which was made into an unforgettable experience. If we have seen and heard the last of Lehmann's great performances in the opera house we may still experience her gifts of dramatic characterization and projection in the concert hall—in her side-splitting performance of Schumann's "Kartenlegerin," among others.

## CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHY B. JONES served for more than two years as head of the Film Reviewing and Analysis Section of the OWI Bureau of Motion Pictures. The opinions expressed in her article, however, are her own.

PETER STEVENS is the pseudonym of an American writer who had an official post in North Africa in 1942-43.

DOROTHY BARUCH, author of "You, Your Children, and War," has acted as special consultant for the War Manpower Commission in Southern California.

FRITZ STERNBERG, a German economist, is the author of "From Nazi Sources: Germany's War Chances."

PRIVATE LINCOLN KIRSTEIN is an interpreter in a Regional Military Government unit, attached to the Third Army.

### INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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### Civil Rights Defense Committee

## MASS MEETING

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To be released from prison  
January 24

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4 of the released prisoners:  
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# its 100<sup>TH</sup> APPEARANCE

WHEN IS A 'CROSSWORD'  
NOT A 'CROSS WORD'?

When it's *The Nation* puzzle, which, continuing its checkered career, makes its 100th appearance this week. For you can't call it a "cross word" in the old-fashioned sense: it's more of an armchair detective problem really—complete with clues, false scents, red herrings, and whatnot. Especially whatnot.

Yes, when you settle back in a comfortable chair, with pipe and bowl handy, to tackle a *Nation* Crossword, your mind is soon being pleasantly titillated in a battle of wits with our own Professor Moriarty. Not that there's anything unfair about our Professor's methods, mind you. On the contrary. He's just a whimsically humorous, quizzical sort of fellow with playful habits—one of them being his ingenious way of actually telling you the answer you want! Judge Patrick H. O'Brien wrote recently: "... often, when I find the answer, I get a good laugh at my own stupidity for not having been able to see it at a glance."

If you haven't yet fallen under the spell, try your 'prentice hand on the puzzle on this page. Even if you don't completely solve it, we wager you'll be proud of your own perspicacity before you've progressed very far. Reference books are not a sine qua non—it's the use of "the little gray cells" that counts. Plus, of course, a nodding acquaintance with the simple facts of life.

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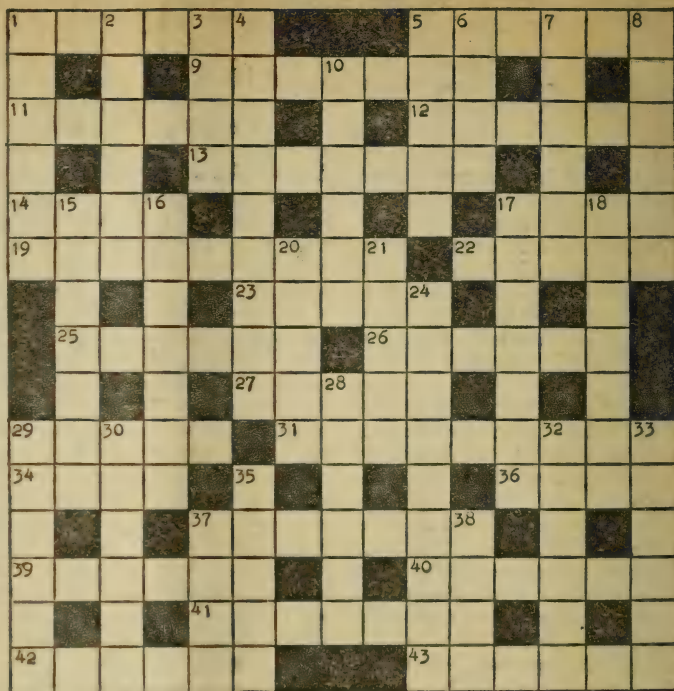
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## Crossword Puzzle No. 100 by JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

- 1 Young horse with an able seaman amidsthips facing aft
- 5 You in sport perhaps, but unlikely
- 9 A change from shortbread for the Scot
- 11 Turner makes a comeback
- 12 Patron saint of Scotland
- 13 They think too much of themselves
- 14 Found in the heart of a forest
- 17 Move in here
- 19 They are not for men
- 22 Must be incarnate, since he can be fined
- 23 Foolish—like the answer
- 25 "----- the rugged rocks the ragged rascals ran"
- 26 It is over even the radio expert's head
- 27 Number of yards of cloth in a Highland kilt (one version)
- 29 Scoffed
- 31 Ali, Ena, Ted are estranged, as you can see
- 34 Retreat
- 36 "Cherry -----, -----, I cry" (Cherry -----)
- 37 Put its head on its tail and get the supposed original of the mermaid
- 39 South American Indians' arrow poison
- 40 Ran off to Gretna Green
- 41 Must have had a lot of rain when we visited Venice . . . these were full of water
- 42 Hawkshaw, the defective detective perhaps
- 43 Put thy ear to the ground

### DOWN

- 1 A Sidney who voluntarily went to the guillotine to save his successful rival in love
- 2 Live in luxury

- 3 Learning in a disguised rôle
- 4 Orangemen might find in this a distinctive flavor of old Ireland
- 5 Cheap fish?
- 6 Two make a score
- 7 When he took ship he didn't register as a passenger
- 8 Virtue is its own
- 10 Peculiar for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain
- 15 Am a ruin in Europe
- 16 Not one that makes a long ~~ness~~ in play
- 17 Uniform
- 18 "Six hours -----, in law's grave study six" (two words, 2 and 5)
- 20 Heber wrote of its coral strand
- 21 A ship (anag.)
- 24 Seems to prove that two heads are better than one (hyphen, 4-1-4)
- 28 "How fleet is a ----- of the mind!"
- 29 A gentle slope
- 30 You may have read his *Cobwebs from an Empty Skull?*
- 32 Tip the favorite and get something for your neck
- 33 Add lye for fatal results
- 35 A Sidney who once found it ~~as~~ hot that he took off his flesh and sat in his bones
- 37 Broken rest
- 38 Here is our hotel, Sarah (hidden)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 99

ACROSS:—1 PLEASURE; 8 REMOUNT; 9 ANT HILLS; 10 GILBERT; 12 THREE; 13 COLLAR; 14 DORIC; 15 RANDOM; 17 ARROW; 22 STUMP; 23 FATHER; 24 LOCAL; 26 METEOR; 28 MINED; 29 DEMOTED; 30 PAINTING; 31 PARABLE; 32 MADRIGAL.  
DOWN:—1 PSALTERY; 2 ENTERING; 3 SWINE; 4 RELICT; 5 DEVIL; 6 LOW-BROW; 7 ENTRAIN; 10 GLORY; 11 LADOGA; 16 OUTLET; 18 EMBED; 19 SHUNT; 19 PROBIGAL; 21 FOREMAN; 22 SAMOVAR; 25 ARMADA; 27 TESLA; 28 MANOR.

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE PRIMARY EMPHASIS OF THE TEHERAN agreement was on cooperation for the defeat of Germany, and the vast improvement in the military situation since it was signed is sufficient proof of how much it accomplished. But this very success is beginning to underline the inadequacy of the political clauses of the agreement. With Germany invaded on two fronts and with prospects for its collapse improving daily, the long-awaited second meeting of the Big Three cannot take place too soon. One of their first aims should be to attempt to dispel the belief that Teheran was the occasion of an old-fashioned imperialist deal. They could best do this by giving full publicity to their solutions for such problems as Poland and Greece; vague generalities about "full agreement on all points" are not going to satisfy the thirst for information in America and Britain. Germany seems likely to occupy top place on the agenda of the conference. If we wish to counteract the Goebbels line that "unconditional surrender" implies total annihilation of the Reich and slavery for all Germans, it would be well to announce authoritatively just what plans the Allies have in store for Germany. Obviously the terms imposed will be severe; about that the Germans themselves can have no illusions. But while they are left to assume the worst, many of them will be apt to heed Nazi orders to fight to the death. Only if we can make it clear to them that their future, while grim, is not unutterably dark, that when they have atoned for their crimes and renounced aggression they will be readmitted to the family of nations, can we hope to appeal successfully to them to oust their leaders and lay down their arms. Eventually, no doubt, our arms will be victorious, but an intelligent political offensive at this moment might well hasten the end and save many thousands of lives.

★

PREMIER KOISO HAS WEATHERED AT LEAST THE first stage of the political storm that has risen within Japan as a result of recent United Nations victories. But his grip on the helm of the Japanese ship of state can hardly be described as secure. The steady American march toward Manila, the continuing Chinese, British, and American victories in Burma, and the never-ending aerial bombardment of Japan's inner-island defenses and prime industrial establishments on the home islands are hardly likely to dispel the whirlwind of criticism that has risen about the Koiso regime. Nor is the Premier's acceptance of a new all-powerful totalitarian party in Japan likely to strengthen his grip. For the real power in Japan remains in the hands of the military extremists. At the moment Koiso is useful as a scapegoat to distract popular attention from the catastrophe which threatens Japan.

■ ■ result of the policies which they have promoted. But having saddled the blame for Japan's plight on the Premier, the military clique will sooner or later be obliged to drive him from office in the same manner as they were forced to rid themselves of Tojo. Under these circumstances governmental crises are of course significant only in that they reveal the power of popular discontent even under an authoritarian regime.

✱

THE ISSUE OF CARPATHO-RUSSIA, WHICH EARLIER London reports indicated might occasion a fundamental rift in Czech-Soviet relations, appears to be merely a teapot tempest. Neither government involved shows the least sign of getting agitated. This small territory, bordering on Hungary and the Polish and Rumanian provinces now claimed by the Soviet Ukraine, was, at the outbreak of war, inhabited by some 300,000 Ruthenians of basic Ukrainian stock, 80,000 Jews, and 20,000 Magyars. By the treaty of 1919 it was made part of the Czechoslovak Republic, which contributed considerably to its educational and economic improvement by building schools, roads, and other public projects. In March, 1939, ■ few days before the Nazis moved into Prague, Hungary seized the territory. The Czech-Soviet pact of December 12, 1943, pledged that Carpatho-Russia would be returned to Czechoslovakia. Now it appears that certain genuine Ruthenian nationalists have been joined by former pro-Horthy quislings in pressing for ■ union between Carpatho-Russia and the Soviet Ukraine. It may be that the movement has received some encouragement from Kiev broadcasts. But those who anticipate ■ rift in Czech-Soviet relations overlook the sound common sense of Premier Benes and the determination of his government and Moscow to keep their pledges to the letter. If after the close of the war the Ruthenian majority decides by a plebiscite to change the national affiliation of Carpatho-Russia, Prague is not likely to stand in the way.

✱

MR. KING OF CANADA IS UNEASY OVER THE doings of the voters in Grey North, the Ontario electoral district that fronts on the icy shores of Lake Huron. For the voters have chosen two non-Liberal Party candidates to oppose Mr. King's Cabinet minister, General McNaughton, who must find ■ seat in the House of Commons so as to discharge his new duties ■ Minister of Defense. The two opposition candidates are the Mayor of Owen Sound, Garfield Case, who represents the Progressive-Conservative Party—only don't be fooled by the prefix—and Air Vice-Marshal A. E. Godfrey, nominated by the C. C. F. and backed to the limit by the Political Action Committee (P. A. C.) of the Canadian Congress of Labor. Reports indicate that it is anybody's race, and Mr. King is worried. On January 12 he addressed a special letter to the voters of Grey North pleading with them to get behind General McNaughton—all of them. On January 23 he wrote ■ second letter, rather brusque this time, with some unpleasant remarks for the Progressive-Conservatives and the C. C. F., and implying that if there was not ■ wholesale withdrawal of opposition candidates by nomination day (January 29) he might call for a speedy dissolution of Parliament and a general election. Mr. King does

not want an election, if it can be avoided, until after the end of the European war. But a defeat of an important Cabinet minister would mean a sharp rebuff which Mr. King is unwilling to contemplate. If the election comes now it will be one of the most critical in Canada's history. For not only will it revive the bitter issue between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, but it will also draw the line sharply between those whose strength is firmly bedded in big business and those who hope for more radical economic and social plans for the post-war period. From all reports it will be the C. C. F. led by M. J. Coldwell, M. P., and not the Progressive-Conservative Party that will provide the main challenge to Mr. King for the support of the Canadian people.

✱

PURSuing HIS CAMPAIGN FOR GUARANTIES of a free press in the peace treaty, Kent Cooper, director of the Associated Press, has proposed that newspaper correspondents should be granted diplomatic immunities. This would mean, in effect, "the right to report news without hindrance, and protection against being expelled—should ■ correspondent become *persona non grata*—except by officials of his own country." Mr. Cooper's suggestion appears open to a number of criticisms. In the first place, since foreign offices would become responsible for the removal of any newspaperman pronounced *persona non grata*, they would naturally insist on "vetting" all applicants for correspondents' passports. Secondly, the grant of such privileges implies the assurance of a sense of responsibility in the recipients. We could name plenty of American foreign correspondents who have such ■ sense of responsibility, but we could also name a number of others in whom it is weak, if not entirely lacking. Worse still, however, is the irresponsibility of publishers and agencies, who not infrequently employ as foreign correspondents men who are completely ignorant of the language, history, and culture of the countries to which they are accredited. And worst of all is the fact that ■ few publishers habitually issue instructions to their correspondents to slant the news in accordance with editorial policies. Maybe such abuses are more common in other countries, but our hands are not so clean that we can afford to hold them up in holy horror. If Mr. Cooper and his fellow-nabobs of the newspaper industry want to improve the status and prestige of foreign correspondents, they might well interrupt their preaching to the heathen in order to examine their own consciences.

✱

JUDGE PHILIP L. SULLIVAN'S FINDINGS IN THE Montgomery, Ward case may be good law, but they seem to us to be based on very poor economics. The government contended that the President's right to take over the Montgomery, Ward plants was based on Clause 3 of the War Labor Disputes Act, or alternatively on his extraordinary powers as commander-in-chief. Judge Sullivan stressed the point that the act only authorized the seizure of "any mine, plant, or facility equipped for the manufacture, production, or mining of any articles or materials which may be required for the war effort." Relying on standard dictionary definitions, he declared that production and distribution "were not synonymous," and since Montgomery, Ward was mainly en-

gaged in retail trade, it could not be treated as a producer. This seems to us an example of legal pedantry. In a highly integrated economy it is difficult to say where production ends and distribution begins. Moreover, Montgomery Ward cannot be treated as having no more significance than a corner grocery. As a supplier of farmers on a very large scale its operations certainly contribute to the productive process. In the matter of the President's war powers, the Judge found that while in cases of extreme urgency they might cover the seizure of private property, in this instance there was not an "immediate, imminent, and impending" danger to the public interest to justify resort to this procedure. But the President, it seems to us, was bound to consider not only the immediate effects of an interruption of operations at Montgomery Ward but also the secondary effects of Mr. Avery's defiance on the whole delicately balanced war-labor program. It is the whole trade-union movement that has given the anti-strike pledge, and it is not possible to draw an industrial demarcation line on one side of which strikes are permissible or to hold labor to its undertaking while leaving employers uninhibited. As W. H. Davies, chairman of the War Labor Board, has said, if the Sullivan decision is not reversed or if Congress takes no action to make the board's orders effective, "the whole plan of peaceful settlement of war-time labor disputes will collapse."

✱

THE NEW JOINT WPB-OPA CONTROLS OVER THE production and pricing of clothing promise to plug, at least in part, the most serious loophole in the war-time stabilization program. While retail prices for food and most other items in the average man's budget have been held almost stationary during the past year and a half, clothing prices have risen at least 11 per cent in the same period. Since the greater part of this increase was attributable to the disappearance of low-cost goods, the new regulations have been drawn up with the specific purpose of increasing the output of the cheaper grades of clothing. This will be achieved by granting priorities on raw materials to manufacturers provided that they sell their finished product at no more than the maximum average prices prevailing in the first half of 1943. Thus in order to obtain raw materials manufacturers are required to produce approximately the same proportion of the cheaper grades as they did two years ago. Direct controls over quality and the amount of trimming to be used have also been established wherever possible. Retail prices are to be reduced in some instances, and many articles are to be marked with specific OPA dollar-and-cents prices. Although there seems to be little doubt that the new regulations will relieve current shortages in low-priced articles somewhat, the OPA is still hampered in its struggle against deterioration in quality by Congressional limitations on the creation of clearly marked standards of quality which can be understood by the consumer.

✱

THE TERRITORY OF ADULT EDUCATION, ALMOST untrod in this country, is being boldly invaded by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the party now in power in the Province of Saskatchewan. Watson Thompson, director of the new program, says that the ambition gov-

erning his work is to see half a million adults in his province become active and intelligent participants in the business of running their own public affairs and reshaping their environment. Toward that end, and in cooperation with other government agencies, the Department of Education will provide both rural and urban areas with the materials for "study and action." District libraries will be set up for the dissemination of public information. District centers will be built, with facilities for every phase of recreation and study, where the media of film, radio, and press will be employed. Conferences and lecture-discussion classes under the guidance of experts will be held to solve the immediate problems of the community and to view them in their broad perspective. The entire project, as it is outlined in the department's release, has the imprint of real enthusiasm and purpose. And those are qualities which the educational systems of our democratic nations badly need. The lack of them has been responsible for a loss of human and intellectual resources which, had they been properly exploited, might have offered a solid wall of resistance to the fascist teaching of our time. Had they been properly exploited, no army psychiatrist would have found it necessary to say that the mental age of the American soldier is somewhere between thirteen and fourteen.

## Constantin Oumansky

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

Mexico City, January 28 (by Cable)

IT WOULD be impossible in New York to imagine the emotion felt here at the horrible accident that killed Ambassador and Mrs. Oumansky and most of the Russian embassy staff. Even the great news of the eastern front was pushed into second place in the press and in the minds of the people. Especially in government and diplomatic circles everyone seemed stunned. When President Avila Camacho was told the news, he was unable to speak for many minutes, and the effect on other officials was almost as violent. Although the immediate investigation ordered assumes that the tragedy was a pure accident such as happens every so often in even the best-regulated air force or airline, the plane that crashed was the personal plane of General Cárdenas, and the pilot was rated the best in the force. The fact that Oumansky was traveling in an army rather than a regular passenger plane was the combined result of his own desire and the amiability of the Mexican government. At a Foreign Office dinner he recently had expressed the wish that he could go direct to San José without stopping en route, as he would have to on a commercial flight. When Cárdenas heard of Oumansky's remark, he immediately offered his own plane, postponing an official army inspection trip to accommodate the Russian ambassador. It was an act of courtesy characteristic of this generous people and of Cárdenas in particular; that it ended in tragedy seems peculiarly cruel.

But the dismay here was even greater than the sudden and horrible nature of the accident would explain. To understand it one must also understand the role Oumansky has played in this country and his remarkable personal position

here. In the first place, he was immensely popular in both official and private circles. Everybody liked him, and his almost fabulous social success must have modified considerably the fear of Russia that has long dominated upper-class groups here as elsewhere. I had met Oumansky during previous periods in the United States, but I was not prepared for his exuberant good spirits, charm, and vitality. Mexico seemed to have released qualities Washington kept under constraint. His intellectual energy and his limitless curiosity were equally impressive. He lacked completely the appearance of caution and reserve that characterizes Soviet officials even more than others. Above all, he was passionately interested in Mexico and identified himself to a degree unheard of among diplomats with the life and activities of the Mexican people. Critics of Oumansky imply that this was all deliberate diplomatic strategy; if so, it should certainly be studied and emulated by other Allied ambassadors.

I sat next to Oumansky at dinner at the French legation just a few nights before his death, and he talked with the greatest apparent freedom on international and particularly inter-American relations. He had no illusion that fascism would be ended by the impending defeat of Germany. He had followed in minute detail developments all over Latin America and was convinced that this hemisphere would be the scene of a terrific struggle against fascist tendencies that are already well rooted. This conviction obviously controlled his attitude toward other problems, including the future of Spain. It also led him to work energetically for better relations not only between Russia and the Latin American republics, but also between these countries and the United States. The last problem is acute and complicated. Oumansky understood that the fight against fascism in the Americas demanded the closest cooperation among the Allied powers and the pro-democratic forces of this hemisphere; for this reason he consistently promoted better feeling and did his best to counteract the mistrust of American policy which would make necessary collaboration impossible. His influence was strong among just those intellectual and political groups where mistrust particularly prevailed and where official American propaganda or diplomatic effort could have least useful results. For this reason if for no other his death should cause grave concern in the United States.

After dinner the other night Oumansky talked at length about Germany. His views become more interesting as the Red Army pushes toward Berlin. He deplored the tendency of liberal opinion, including *The Nation*, to cling to the hope of effective democratic forces inside Germany. He believed that such elements had been totally eliminated by exile and the terror. He advocated the most rigorous punishment of all responsible Nazi functionaries and army men and spoke of the generals and other officers who had surrendered to the Russians as a group that could be used but not trusted or given power. If the Soviet ambassador was expressing the settled view of his government, we may expect not only tough treatment for Germany as the Russian armies advance but a long period of total political as well as military control.

In arguing against the existence of widespread anti-Nazi feeling among the German people Oumansky said he had spent several weeks examining some sixty thousand letters of

Ukrainians, mostly girls and women, who had been deported to Germany for forced labor in factories, homes, and farms. In the whole collection he found only a handful that mentioned an act of kindness or even ordinary humanity; the great mass revealed through those indirect phrases that have now become the lingua franca of oppressed and terrorized people the brutal or indifferent treatment of their German masters, who evidently accepted the Nazi attitude toward the "slave peoples" of Europe. Oumansky's comments, although given informally and unofficially, probably represent the typical Russian feeling and are therefore important. The wholesale horror of the Nazi occupation, especially in Russian and eastern European regions, should never be forgotten when one speculates on the policies likely to be applied to Germany.

## F. D. R. to Jesse Jones

### AN IMAGINARY LETTER

DEAR JESSE: This is a very difficult letter to write for I have never liked firing people. Because of this weakness on my part, and because of our long personal friendship, I have retained you in office in spite of the fact that you have never been whole-heartedly behind my policies, that at times you have gone behind my back to Congress to get my directives set aside, and that if you did not actually encourage the Texas revolt last year, you did little to discourage it. Now, however, I am asking you to resign so that I may appoint Henry Wallace to the positions you hold.

Henry Wallace deserves almost any service he can satisfactorily perform. Although I have not always treated him with consideration, his loyalty to me personally and to the New Deal has never faltered. When I failed to back him up at Chicago and he lost the vice-presidential nomination, he generously put aside his disappointment and worked with the utmost devotion for the ticket, asking nothing in return.

But this is not the reason why I am asking him to be Secretary of Commerce. I am doing that because I believe he is uniquely qualified to direct that department in its tasks of developing and carrying out the economic policies I have recently outlined to the Congress. He is qualified not only by his administrative experience—and as Secretary of Agriculture in a most difficult period he proved his ability in that respect—but by his wide knowledge and imaginative understanding of the economic problems both of our own country and the world at large. I know it is fashionable to sneer at Henry as a dreamer, but to my mind he is a very practical dreamer, and I think that the thousands of farmers who have benefited by his hybrid-corn experiment will agree with me.

In my budget message to the Congress on January 10, I said: "The American people have learned during the war the measure of their productive capacity, and they will remember that experience in the peace to come. It is the responsibility of business enterprise to translate market opportunities into employment and production. It is the responsibility of the government to hold open the door of opportunity and assure sustained markets. Then, and then only, can free enterprise provide jobs."

If this responsibility is to be fulfilled, if these objectives are to be attained, we shall have to use the powers of the national government vigorously and imaginatively. We shall have to see that the war plants we have built are reconverted to active peace-time production and are not allowed to fall into the hands of giant monopolies which seek to maintain prices and profits by creating artificial scarcities. We shall have to foster and finance small business. We shall have to take positive steps to insure an adequate flow of purchasing power to workers and farmers, for we can only produce at capacity when these groups can enjoy maximum consumption.

Henry understands these needs and believes in the policies by which I hope to achieve them. Do you, Jesse? I think not. By experience and temperament you are unfitted to implement a program of this kind. In your direction of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiary or-

ganizations you have always shown a predilection for big business. In contracting for supplies of raw materials you have consistently erred on the side of caution. "Too little and too late" can be fatal in peace as well as in war. You are trained to believe that a conservative financial policy can never be risky. But let me assure you that prudence, as defined by bankers, may well prove the most dangerous sort of risk-taking in the years ahead. If we fail to provide jobs after the war, if we fall again into a state where unemployment becomes a chronic condition, we shall risk losing everything—our financial stability, our system of private enterprise, even our constitutional liberties. It is because Henry understands this danger and you do not that I am asking you to stand down in his favor.

Always sincerely,

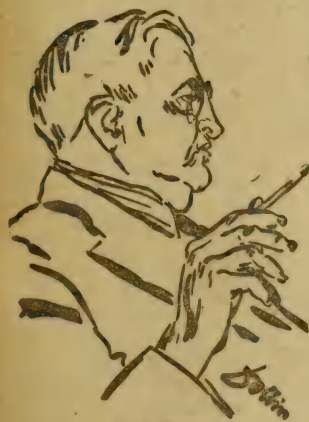
(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

## "Look Here Upon This Picture..."

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, January 28*

JESSE JONES, attended by an obsequious flunky, arrived twenty-five minutes late. Senator George, in a Southern drawl, had been reading what seemed an interminable list of the RFC's lending powers—publicly owned bridges . . . subscriptions to the preferred stocks of banks . . . insurance companies . . . mining loans. The great man's entrance inter-



Jesse Jones

rupted the monotonous and painfully dull recitation, and evoked a burst of applause from the crowded Senate caucus room. Except for a row of G. I.'s, one of them a coal-black little Negro, those who turned out to hear Jones at the first day's hearing before the Senate Commerce Committee did not look like enthusiasts for a century of the common man. There was a lady with a lorgnette, quite a number of Grant Woodish

faces, a sprinkling of upper-class females of the type known to the irreverent as battle axes, with lips turned disapprovingly down at the corners. Within the huge hearing room and in the long line waiting patiently along the marble stairs outside was evidence that the business-like RFC was relaxing in loyal half-holiday.

A covey of camera men, some standing, some kneeling, proceeded to shoot Jones from all angles. The Texan has an arrogant face devoid of sentiment or sentimentality, with

a stubborn money-lender's mouth. He chewed gum. George, who is obviously no demagogue, went on for twenty minutes longer, reading "by way of argument" his compilation of the RFC's loan authorizations, a breviary of state capitalism. This roll call of the powers Henry Wallace could, if confirmed, exercise over the whole domain of private enterprise was designed to create an atmosphere of quiet horror. Jones listened with obvious satisfaction, and when at the end of George's long summary Senator Pepper asked George a question, Jones rose in lordly unconcern and walked out of the hearing room. When Jones returned and was summoned to the stand, he unbent in a little joke his followers seemed vastly to appreciate. "I thought when I came in here," he told the committee, "what about the gate receipts?" The thought was in character.

The man chosen to run the Federal Loan Agency, Jones said in his prepared statement, should not be one "willing to jeopardize the country's future with untried ideas and idealistic schemes." "Have you," Bailey asked him helpfully, "ever used your powers as Loan Administrator and RFC chairman for the purpose of determining the economic character or the social character of this country?" "I certainly have not," was the answer. Jones pictured himself as just a little business man who had to keep on his toes to deal with the men who come to the RFC for loans. "They are awfully smart," he reflected, implying that somebody was smarter. "You know we are the sugar," he told the committee, "and there is where the flies are. Where the money is, that is where the moochers are, and the moochers have not all been in WPA. They are in business. Men come to us for money that are not entitled to it. . . . Unless a man is experienced in business, he is liable to make a lot of mistakes." Jones warned that the discretion given the RFC "could easily be abused either by inexperienced, visionary planning, or a disregard of the taxpayers' money."

Jones saw no need to be falsely modest or less than candid. The powers given him by Congress had caused him to lie awake nights with worry and to work twelve hours a day, seven days a week, for twelve years, ever since becoming head of the RFC. "I think it is too much authority," he said of



Henry A. Wallace

his two jobs as Federal Loan Administrator and Secretary of Commerce. Senator Bailey, chairman of the committee, intervened when Pepper wanted to know whether one man, "if he is competent," could not fill both jobs. Bailey angrily ruled the question "not pertinent. . . I do not think it is fair to Mr. Jones." But Jones saw no need to avoid an answer. "If you are trying to ask me if Henry Wallace is qualified for both jobs,"

he said, "I will say no." The answer was greeted with applause. "I do not believe," he confessed, "there is another man in the world that will do it except me." As for the men he had chosen to run the RFC, they were, he said proudly, "plodders—not smart, just plodders." Not much was heard about the RFC because it was run by "men experienced in business, by men who haven't any ideas about remaking the world." (Laughter and applause.)

The line began to form outside the caucus room at 8 a.m. the next morning to hear the man accused of having ideas about remaking the world. But this was a different crowd; there were fewer mink coats, more soldiers. It was a younger group, with many well-known New Dealers among them. Especially the old-timers from the Department of Agriculture. Mordecai Ezekiel was there and Louis Bean, and there were cheers when Wallace appeared at the door and made his way through the crowd, grinning. The camera men gave him a workover as complete as Jones's, and Vandenberg shouted from the committee table, "Get that 1948 pose." The sergeant-at-arms appealed for order, and the chairman warned against demonstrations. Wallace took his long prepared statement out of a bulging briefcase and began to read it, at first nervously, then more slowly as he gained confidence. His voice grew deeper, and he read with great firmness. Even the young camera men, whom nothing awes, squatted on the floor in front of the committee table, listening.

In personality, as in ideas, Wallace provided a sharp contrast with Jones. Wallace is fifty-six, Jones seventy-one; but it was more than the difference in age that made the lowan seem youthful by comparison. Wallace is awkward, still a bit the hayseed, not too agile in answering questions. He has a laugh that is almost a giggle. He is not clever. His statement lacked the professional touch of the public-relations counselor. It was sometimes eloquent, but it was also occasionally tedious. But as one listened and watched the man,

one felt that he spoke for the conscience of America, for all that is best in our country, its naive idealism, its irrepressible optimism. One felt that it was a historic occasion. He did not seek to placate the committee, to trim his sails, to gloss over his fundamental beliefs. He laid out his post-war full-employment program with courage, zest, and passionate sincerity. He has Jefferson's wide-ranging mind and Lincoln's homely human goodness, and the committee was impressed despite itself.

Except for Pepper, who fought a lonely battle in his behalf, no committee member present at the hearing was sympathetic to Wallace's ideas. The faces at the committee table might have been duplicated at any well-to-do business men's gathering. The composite impression was of big cigars and heavy jowls. It was not until one looked more closely that one began to discern individual features: Bailey's sickly-hued De Valera face, Vandenberg's heavy cheeks and high balding forehead, Brewster's almost eagle-like gauntness, Radcliffe's late Roman profile, Burton's small, swarthy, and saturnine face, O'Daniel's big round pumpkin of a head, little Bilbo hunched down in his chair. The fifteen-to-four vote for the George bill to strip the Secretaryship of Commerce of its lending powers and the fourteen-to-five vote against confirmation are indications of how hostile the committee was. The majority of its members would have liked a witch hunt, but somehow the hearing became a kind of economics seminar. Wallace's frankness, his good humor, his obvious honesty disarmed them. The quality of the man got across. They didn't know quite what to do with him.

At one point the committee seemed to be on the point of slipping into a familiar pattern. "I would like to call your attention," Senator O'Daniel said, "to a book supposed to be authored by you entitled 'Whose Constitution?' You have not changed your mind as to the ideas expressed in that book?" But when Wallace answered, "Probably not, Senator," O'Daniel did not pursue the matter farther. Bailey tried hard to get a firm hand on this strange creature but soon found himself involved in an academic discussion of equity financing. The best Brewster could do was a miniature stump speech on the injustice done the Maine potato some years back by the AAA. And Senator Tobey, who was good enough to praise Wallace's work at the Board of Economic Warfare, wondered plaintively where the money was "coming from to buy twice as many refrigerators and twice as many automobiles as we had in the past." Even Wallace's supposed ambition to put milk on Hottentot doorsteps was left to friendly elucidation by his champion, Senator Pepper. Wallace is a hard man to hate face to face, and the hearing must have disappointed the Jones supporters.

Wallace is far from being as inept a politician as he purports to be. By presenting his post-war program as an outgrowth of the President's "economic bill of rights" and a loyal attempt to fulfil Roosevelt's pledge of 60,000,000 jobs after the war, Wallace put both the White House and his Democratic Party opponents on the spot. The President must support it or seem insincere; the right-wing Democrats are maneuvered into the position of opposing the President when they oppose Wallace. Wallace, by his presentation, made the issue pro or anti F. D. R., pro or anti full employment. The program itself, for all the yowling of the rightist press, is

no more visionary than the similar stabilization achieved by Wallace in the sphere of agriculture before the war against a similarly hysterical opposition. Like the new Beveridge proposals in England, it offers the only possible hope of combining full employment with private enterprise, and in retrospect will appear genuinely conservative rather than radical.

Should Wallace lose, he will emerge with enhanced stature, a popular hero. His opponents will some day find it a costly victory. Should the White House fail to support him in the current fight, after the ignominious letter the President sent Jones, Wallace will replace Roosevelt as the leader

of progressivism in America. His forthrightness has put him ahead of the field for 1948. In that longer perspective he can afford to be philosophical now. He cannot hope to be confirmed as both Secretary of Commerce and Federal Loan Administrator, but a compromise on the former job is still possible. The President may facilitate it by a strategic retreat in the form of an executive order anticipating the George bill and separating the two offices. Given a decently enlightened appointment to the Federal Loan Agency, we can look toward the post-war period with some confidence. To have Wallace in the Cabinet and Jones out would be worth almost any compromise.

## The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

**A**FTER two weeks of incredible advances on the eastern front, it was still impossible to say whether the Red Army was achieving the primary objective of its greatest offensive—the destruction of Germany's fighting strength in the field. As this is written, on Sunday, the advance toward Berlin still continues, although there are indications that it may be slowing down. Already that advance has been great enough to demonstrate the Red Army's success in achieving what I termed last week its secondary objective—the capture of ground. If the killing of German soldiers has proceeded at the same rate, then the Red Army is very near victory. If it has not—as seems likely—then the European war will still be long and hard. For the achievement of secondary objectives, no matter in how stunning a fashion, is never decisive. Germany will be defeated decisively, not by the occupation of territory, but only by the destruction of its capacity for further armed resistance.

The measure of that destruction is impossible to assess at this distance. A Russian communiqué late last week totaled up 295,000 Germans killed and 86,000 captured since the start of the offensive. The figures are probably marked up; even so, the proportion between killed and captured is suggestive. The index of a real rout lies in the number of prisoners taken: the lines break, units are cut off from one another and internally disorganized, small bodies of troops and vehicles rush to the rear, and in the confusion the pursuing force rounds up tens of thousands of prisoners. This has undoubtedly happened on a considerable scale; but the present action is being conducted on a vast scale, and a vast rout would produce hundreds of thousands of prisoners. The proportion would be more like four prisoners to one killed than one prisoner to four killed as the figures indicate in this case.

What these figures suggest, therefore, is that the Germans are still fighting, taking orders, and dying very well. It looks as if the German high command ordered an all-out defense of the whole East Prussia-Vistula line, fought hard there until the Russians broke through in strength on several sectors, and then ordered fairly large-scale delaying actions while withdrawing the bulk of the German forces rapidly to

the west. A major effort has been made to hold key communication centers against the general tide of the Soviet advance, and it is conceivable that the high command hoped to draw the Russians into a great trap in western Poland, snapping it shut with counter-offensives out of the East Prussian and Silesian bastions.

This hope—which could never have been a rosy one—was shattered by the familiar Soviet strategy of alternating offensives on all sectors of the front. The extension of offensive activity to include a pincers operation against East Prussia and a combined drive south and west into Silesia not only made this the greatest land offensive of history but forestalled any German attempt to take the central drive across Poland in flank.

Reading over that paragraph, I am struck by the inadequacy of the phrase "offensive activity." That little pincers against East Prussia involved the boldest strategy, the most aggressive tactical handling of troops, and some truly amazing feats of logistics in keeping a rapid advance supplied. Rokossovsky, who started from his position north of Warsaw to advance westward, swung north through the rugged Masurian Lakes defenses all the way to the Bay of Danzig; Chermiakhovsky ground westward through another part of the same defensive system toward Königsberg.

This same boldness has characterized the entire offensive, especially as regards the fortified communication centers which the Germans held hard in an effort to slow the Russian advance—Torun, Posen, Kalisz, Krakow, and so on. In each case the Russian advance appeared to slow before the cities; then the cities appeared as the spearpoints of German salients thrust into the advancing Russian lines; then the line closed behind the cities and the advance continued, with the garrisons left for mopping up by subsequent waves of Russian troops who could handle the matter in their own time.

So in two weeks the Red Army advanced up to 200 miles, overran more than 40,000 square miles of territory, reached and probably crossed the defensive barrier of the Oder River at several points, cut East Prussia off from the rest of Germany, removed Silesia from the list of Germany's industrial assets, and rendered Germany's most important eastern de-

fenses incoherent. Pretty soon people will say that the Russians are getting too powerful for comfort.

A good deal of the Russian power derives from the flexibility of the Red Army's organizational structure, especially its tactical and supply doctrine. Everything that has wheels is employed to support an advance. Ingenuity and resourcefulness keynote all sorts of local operations, and commanders in the lower grades are given much leeway in making decisions on the spot and carrying them through with whatever means come to hand. A river crossing, for instance, doesn't wait on the arrival of engineer-corps troops with folding boats and bridging equipment, as in the American and British armies—the Russians utilize local resources, including bundles of faggots, barn doors, and farmers' punts. The comparative simplicity of equipment and of the Russian soldier's individual needs makes supply problems far less important in the calculations of staff officers. Russian observers were amazed when they saw the care we lavished on air-conditioning our tanks. Presumably they are equally amazed by the diet, cloth-

ing, and personal equipment of our troops. We pay a price for being able to boast that we have the best-equipped army in the world: a complicated supply system can become a burden, especially in pursuit.

Yet even though the Russian standard of living makes the Russian supply problem easier than that of the western Allies, a relative breakdown of the Russian lines of communication will probably cause a halt in the Russian advance somewhere short of Berlin. It will be something more than coincidence that the supply stoppage will occur just where German resistance stiffens. The German knows his enemy, and in this case as in others will probably elect to stand where he knows the leading Russian elements will be feeling the strain of shortened ammunition and gasoline rations, as they move beyond comfortable range of railheads and forward supply depots. Then will come a pause while the Russians regroup for the next blow—a blow which will almost certainly be compounded and perhaps made decisive by a general offensive from the west.

## The Politics of World Security

BY GRAYSON KIRK

WHILE the coming months may bring victory to the United Nations on the battlefields of Europe, they are likely to bring a series of crises on the political front. The decisions which will be made during this time will go far toward determining whether the states which are now bound together to some extent by the menace of a common foe will be able to project their war-time collaboration into the post-hostilities period when that common bond no longer exists. Of all these decisions, none is more central—and more supremely important—than that which will determine the character and role of the future organization which is to be set up to maintain international peace and security. A major blunder in this field might well have disastrous and irretrievable consequences. Since the time is short, it is imperative to make a candid and searching examination of the foundations upon which future security organization must rest if it is to fulfil the role to be assigned to it.

At the moment—and despite the misgivings aroused in this country by the Polish boundary question and by British policy in Greece—the United States is experiencing an unprecedented wave of enthusiasm in favor of international security organization. Leaders of both parties and various influential private groups have gone on record as favoring the general outlines of organization which were hammered out at Dumbarton Oaks last summer, and only a few diehards have dared to continue to advocate what is generally termed an isolationist program. Indeed, it is probably not too much to say that American opinion has seized upon the principle of international organization as the great panacea for future peace.

No sane man can deny the general truth of the statement that effective organization of the world would do more than any alternative program to insure a fair prospect of

peace for future generations. The difficulty is, however, that a war-weary world may fail to ponder adequately the obstacles which must be overcome, and the price which must be paid, before such an organization could confidently be expected to fulfil the hopes and aspirations that are certain to be fixed upon it. Without decrying for a moment the validity of the goal which has been set, or the general principle adopted for its achievement, we shall be on far safer ground if we do not allow our hopes to lead us to believe that the millennium will be at hand as soon as we have created a streamlined version of the League of Nations.

The dangers of over-optimism can be well illustrated by some of the official pronouncements of recent months. Thus, when Secretary Hull came back from Moscow a year ago he reported to Congress that "as the provisions of the four-nation declaration are carried into effect, there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests." The Connally resolution adopted by the Senate November 4, 1943, stated that the United States would "join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world."

These statements—and many others of the same kind—seem to be based on the view that it is possible to create an organization which, without interfering with the sovereignty of its members, will be able to guarantee world peace against any and all threats which may arise. No extensive demonstration is required to show that this is a counsel of perfection rather than a hard-headed appraisal by responsible statesmen. The international organization projected at Dum-

barton Oaks cannot guarantee peace to the world; it can only create conditions which will favor progressive development toward that goal. Unless this lesson is learned well in advance—and remembered—we run the risk of expecting too much, and too soon, and the result of disappointment might be a reaction of cynicism which would sweep away all possibility of achieving the modest gains which such an organization can insure.

Absolute security could be achieved only by the creation of a supra-national organization which would subordinate the present sovereign states substantially to the level of the component states of the American union. The central organization would need to have a monopoly of all military power in excess of that which the members would need for preservation of their domestic peace. Only by this transference of preponderant power to the central organization could there be a sure guaranty that belligerent tendencies on the part of any member could be curbed with a minimum of delay and difficulty. And even then, the lessons of the American Civil War would need to be remembered.

No such drastic scrapping of the present state system is contemplated in the existing proposals, and it is favored as an active policy only by those organizations and groups which have allowed their wholly praiseworthy aspirations to blind them to any sense of present or prospective realities. In essence, therefore, the new international organization necessarily will resemble the League of Nations in that it will be a consultative agency for the organized collaboration of sovereign states.

The consequence of this conclusion must be examined in the light of the distribution of world power which will exist in the foreseeable future. Modern technology has produced the new concept of total war. It has maximized the power which greater states can bring to bear in support of their policies, and it has minimized the resistance which the smaller states can muster against them. For good or ill, a few power centers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—will possess a concentration of strength unprecedented in the history of the modern world. If they maintain a united front, it is difficult to see how any other power coalition could be developed anywhere which would dare to challenge them.

It follows, therefore, that the new organization for security must rest upon that basis of great-power collaboration. If this exists, then these powers, acting through the machinery and procedures of the organization, will be amply able to assure the peace of the world. If it does not exist, then the organization will fail as dismally and as surely as did the League of Nations. In other words, this concentration of power is such that, in the event of a quarrel among the great states themselves, the organization, as such, would be unable effectively to coerce the great-power miscreant by the threat or actual employment of force. The result of such an unhappy situation would not be police action by the organization for the disciplining of a member but a major war in which the first result would be the complete destruction and collapse of the organization.

This conclusion should not necessarily be a cause of alarm or dismay. It is merely an appraisal of things as they are, and it places the whole problem of international organiza-

tion in a better perspective. It frees the solution from some of the impedimenta of excessive sentimentalism and sterile legalism. Also, it points to several courses of action which in the long run may be more fruitful of results than an attempt to force the new world into the narrow grooves of past organizational thinking.

The first—and in many respects the most basic—conclusion is that the new organization, whatever its precise procedural arrangements, will not provide an alternative to international politics. On the contrary, its effectiveness as a security instrument will rest squarely on the political ability of the great states to harmonize their respective policies sufficiently to prevent a deadlock. To this end the organization will powerfully contribute because it will provide an instrumentality for the regular and continuous collaboration of these governments. By providing a common meeting point and a green baize table around which the representatives of these states will regularly gather, it should be able to favor the development of mutual understanding and the dissipation of unfounded suspicions and fears.

The objection may be made that the discussion thus far has pointed in the direction of an organization which would be an agency whereby the greatest states would impose their domination upon their lesser colleagues. In answer it may be said that if this—and nothing more—is true, then the organization will soon break down because it will rest on a principle strongly opposed by important sections of public opinion in some if not all of these states. The corollary of the exercise of great power inside a world organization must be, in the long run, the acceptance of responsibility for states which are weaker, and the imposition of a self-restraint which no external agency can impose. But the point is that while the development of this sense of responsibility is essentially a political process, the mere existence of an organization, which will rest on the basis of a formalization of these obligations, will contribute toward its progressive growth. It is in this, quite as much as anything else, that the hope of a peaceful future lies.

If this political basis for the maintenance of future security is accepted, then the maintenance of friendly collaboration becomes an overriding compulsion on all the governments and peoples concerned. There must be an acceptance of the view that comparatively little has been accomplished merely by the elaboration of an ingenious mechanism which cannot be self-operating. Also, there must be a realization that if serious breaches between these powers occur as a result of conflicting policies over the war settlements, they will not easily be repaired by the organization.

As seen from this point of view, the much-mooted questions of voting arrangements in the proposed Security Council lose much of their controversial character. From a strictly legal point of view the ability of a great power to block action by the council with respect to a dispute to which it is a party may be objectionable, but if the organization rests on the basis of great-power solidarity for all effective action, then either the decision taken, and the resulting action, will be one in which all will concur, or no decision will be taken. A dispute to which a great power is a party will not be settled through formal voting arrangements.

In this sense the unrestricted veto can perhaps be defended as offering a presumption of solidarity which would not be provided by its absence. In any event, it is not a matter of sufficient importance to warrant any of the great states in jeopardizing the creation of the organization merely in order to make its view prevail.

A better perspective is provided also with respect to the assumed conflict between national security arrangements and those associated with the international organization. It is undeniable that each major state will insist upon having its own house in order before it undertakes important responsibilities to the community hall. This conclusion is open to serious objection only if one assumes that the new organization will at once be able to assure peace to all. But since this assumption is scarcely realistic, then it is understandable that these powers, which cannot be protected automatically by the organization, will wish to have a reasonable sense of national security as a prerequisite to everything else. This will be as true for the United States in the Pacific as for Russia in its political arrangements with the neighboring states of Eastern Europe, or for Britain in safeguarding its

imperial channels of communication. It is important, however, that so far as possible these arrangements be made on the basis of mutual understanding of the respective positions of the other powers concerned, and with full consideration for the interests of all other states affected. In other words, these developments must be undertaken and regarded as elements contributing to the future peace, and not as obstacles to it. If they are regarded by other states, large or small, as steps toward future aggrandizement rather than as measures for the protection of the status quo, the post-war structure will have been dealt a mortal blow.

Since the hope for a peaceful future lies far more in the spirit of peoples than in mechanical arrangements, it will be dangerous if excessive attention to the technical details of organization and procedure blinds men of good-will to the fact that international politics—even the much-maligned politics of power—will continue to be the dominating characteristic of a world of sovereign states. The important thing is to direct power into the channels of responsibility. In this lies the safety, not only of the peoples of the smaller states, but of all peoples everywhere.

## The Polish Land Reform

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

*Moscow, January 25 (by Cable)*

IN THE name of the National Council of Poland and in conformity with the decisions of the Peasants' Committee of Radzyn County I tender you this title deed to the land." A stocky, middle-aged peasant in a sheepskin jacket stepped forward to the stage, which was decorated with the red-and-white flag of Poland, and received a paper from Vice-Minister of Agriculture Bienick. Scattered applause came from more than a thousand men and women in sheepskins and in heavy shawls huddled in the freezing hall with its bomb-smashed windows. Some faces were rapt, some grinning, some wistful, but most were as solemn as if in church.

This was land reform in action in rural liberated Poland. All estates of more than 125 acres—in Poland these are regular manors worked by many farm hands—were being confiscated and parceled out among the peasants.

The land situation in Eastern Europe has long been notorious. President Bierut of the provisional government says that before the war two-thirds of Poland's farm lands were owned by 16,000 landlords and the remaining one-third by 4,000,000 peasants. I won't insist on these figures, for Polish statistics are complicated, but everybody agreed that land reforms were needed. The question was how and when.

The National Committee of Liberation decided to carry out the land reform immediately. It placed the procedure under triple control—county agents appointed by the government, peasant committees elected from the villages, and workers' brigades volunteering from the cities.

I visited a typical estate in Podzamcze during the land division. It contained over two thousand acres, nearly half of them arable land, the rest woods. The aged landowner had

died during the war, leaving a young widow who was not living on the estate but in a city home. The estate was being divided among fifty-seven farm hands who had previously worked on it and the peasants of three villages.

A peasants' committee consisting of two peasants from each village and two farm hands of the estate worked for a week under a subchairman from the township checking two hundred applicants for the land. Stanislaw, a farm hand with five children, was given eight acres. Wiernici, with eight dependents, got twelve. Janowski, with only two, got eight acres because his son was a volunteer in the Polish army.

There were long debates over doubtful cases. One peasant declared he possessed only two acres, but his wife was rumored to have ten in another county. An old man admitted to but one acre, but he had had twenty-five which he had turned over to his four sons, who were farming it together.

The chief disputes were between the peasants and the farm hands. The farm hands said, "Our fathers and grandfathers worked this estate and we expect twelve full acres before anyone else." The peasants argued that that wouldn't leave anything for the needy among them. An endless debate threatened, but the chairman of the workers' brigade—a restless mechanic—arranged a compromise.

This complicated checking of claims is only the first step. Next come complaints, and then a review by the provincial land departments. Cooperatives are formed to handle the indivisible estate property, such as tractors, flour mills, barns. Finally a big formal meeting is held and the title deeds are conveyed amid flags, bands, the national anthem, and Polish soldiers saluting.

By such processes 800,000 acres formerly belonging to

# No Vatican Plan for Italy?

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

CARRYING on a controversy from the United States with a paper published in Vatican City is rather difficult, for mail is slow and one cannot rely blindly upon summary information from American correspondents about what a paper says in Rome. Therefore I must discuss now, in January, 1945, something which broke in Rome in November, 1944. But where Vatican policies are concerned one must be as patient as the Vatican. Patience usually pays.

On May 19, 1943, the *New York Times* carried a report from Berne by Daniel T. Brigham, whose relations with the Vatican legation in that city were exceedingly cordial. Mr. Brigham said he had learned from a "well-informed Vatican source" that a "plan" had been "elaborated in a special message from Pope Pius to Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York, at present in the Middle East." The plan "was said to have been taken to Istanbul, Turkey, by air yesterday, N. . . . by Monsignor Emmanuele Clarizio, a Vatican representative, who is understood to be awaiting an answer." The plan aimed to make possible Italian "voluntary collaboration in the ousting of the Fascist regime" and "an end at once." It provided that "in the cadres of the Italian regional prefects, who for the purpose of civil administration would not be considered to have been active supporters and would in their turn be subject to the tests of an Allied Commission sitting in Rome, a ten-year period of political metamorphosis would be immediately introduced. During this period civil administration would be handed back to the people by certain well-defined stages. The Fascist Party as such would be immediately disbanded." A provision was made in this first plan, Mr. Brigham continued, "for the arrest or handing over to the Allies of any fascist leaders."

In *The Nation* of August 7, 1943, I pointed out that the prefects were the backbone of the Fascist regime, and that the Amgot plan announced in July and the Vatican plan announced in May were as alike as "two rotten eggs." Amgot had borrowed even the distinction between "active" and "inactive" Fascists from the Vatican plan, and then had gone one step farther and admitted into the American-British fold Fascists who had been "active" up to the moment of defeat. In August, 1943, Archbishop Spellman was in New York. He kept silent.

One year later, after the Allies had occupied Rome, a journalistic campaign was launched from that city to persuade the American public that a five-year Anglo-Saxon occupation was indispensable in Italy to forestall communism. In *The Nation* of August 19, 1944, I noted that the 1943 Vatican plan, taking a longer view, had asked for a ten-year occupation. Through a typographical error, the date "May 19, 1943"—the date of the *New York Times* dispatch from Berne—appeared in *The Nation* as "May 11, 1944."

When my article arrived in Italy, the news of the Vatican's ten-year occupation plan caused such a stir that the *Osservatore Romano* of September 19, 1944, found it necessary to say that "on May 11, 1944," no plan for the reconstruction of Italy had been formulated by the Vatican. "We are authorized to state," it said, "that this fantastic information lacks any basis whatsoever."

I wrote at once to the *Osservatore Romano* asking whether its statement meant that no Vatican plan existed "on May 11, 1944," or that the plan described in the *New York Times* on May 19, 1943, had never existed. "If the *Osservatore Romano* is kind enough to state that the Vatican plan 'never existed,'" I wrote, "it is to be hoped that Archbishop Spellman will tell us why the information given by the *New York Times* was contradicted neither in May nor in August, 1943. The fact, if true, was as important in 1943 as in 1944. If it has deserved an official contradiction by the Vatican under the date 'May 11, 1944,' it deserved to be contradicted by the New York Archbishopric in both May and August, 1943."

The answer of the *Osservatore Romano*, published early in November, was that "a plan of the Holy See for the reconstruction of Italy did not exist either in 1943 or in 1944, or ever." It should be noted that the Vatican paper's pronouncement lacked official sanction, that it did not use the solemn formula "we are authorized to state." Further, the Vatican paper was careful not to explain why Archbishop Spellman played 'possum in August, 1943. And finally, by asserting that no Vatican plan had existed in 1943 or in 1944 or "ever," the Vatican paper discredited its whole statement.

Was there really no Vatican plan for Italy? Does the Vatican make plans for all the countries of the world except Italy?

As I said above, a few weeks after Mr. Brigham had reported the Vatican plan for Italy, Amgot announced a plan that was a replica of it. Then, as Amgot planned, the Fascist regime was ousted by "the Italians," that is, by a palace conspiracy in which men like Federzoni, who had always enjoyed the favor of the Vatican, had a hand; the unconditional surrender took place; an Allied Commission was set up and is now sitting in Rome, protecting Fascist prefects and other high civil and military officers from any attempt to purge them. And that Allied Commission is handing back the civil administration step by step to "the people," that is, to the prefects chosen by the Royal Government. In May, 1943, when he reported the Vatican plan for Italy, was the Berne correspondent of the *New York Times* a prophet or was he a newspaperman who gathered his material from informed sources?

On May 12, 1943, the French journalist Pertinax, who is not a man to fabricate news and who was on good terms

In this sense the unrestricted veto can perhaps be defended ■■ offering a presumption of solidarity which would not be provided by its absence. In any event, it is not a matter of sufficient importance to warrant any of the great states in jeopardizing the creation of the organization merely in order to make its view prevail.

A better perspective is provided also with respect to the assumed conflict between national security arrangements and those associated with the international organization. It is undeniable that each major state will insist upon having its own house in order before it undertakes important responsibilities to the community hall. This conclusion is open to serious objection only if one assumes that the new organization will at once be able to assure peace to all. But since this assumption is scarcely realistic, then it is understandable that these powers, which cannot be protected automatically by the organization, will wish to have a reasonable sense of national security as a prerequisite to everything else. This will be as true for the United States in the Pacific as for Russia in its political arrangements with the neighboring states of Eastern Europe, or for Britain in safeguarding its

imperial channels of communication. It is important, however, that so far as possible these arrangements be made on the basis of mutual understanding of the respective positions of the other powers concerned, and with full consideration for the interests of all other states affected. In other words, these developments must be undertaken and regarded as elements contributing to the future peace, and not as obstacles to it. If they are regarded by other states, large or small, as steps toward future aggrandizement rather than as measures for the protection of the status quo, the post-war structure will have been dealt a mortal blow.

Since the hope for a peaceful future lies far more in the spirit of peoples than in mechanical arrangements, it will be dangerous if excessive attention to the technical details of organization and procedure blinds men of good-will to the fact that international politics—even the much-maligned politics of power—will continue to be the dominating characteristic of ■ world of sovereign states. The important thing is to direct power into the channels of responsibility. In this lies the safety, not only of the peoples of the smaller states, but of all peoples everywhere.

## The Polish Land Reform

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

*Moscow, January 25 (by Cable)*

IN THE name of the National Council of Poland and in conformity with the decisions of the Peasants' Committee of Radzyn County I tender you this title deed to the land." A stocky, middle-aged peasant in a sheepskin jacket stepped forward to the stage, which was decorated with the red-and-white flag of Poland, and received ■ paper from Vice-Minister of Agriculture Bienick. Scattered applause came from more than ■ thousand men and women in sheepskins and in heavy shawls huddled in the freezing hall with its bomb-smashed windows. Some faces were rapt, some grinning, some wistful, but most were ■ solemn as if in church.

This was land reform in action in rural liberated Poland. All estates of more than 125 acres—in Poland these are regular manors worked by many farm hands—were being confiscated and parceled out among the peasants.

The land situation in Eastern Europe has long been notorious. President Bierut of the provisional government says that before the war two-thirds of Poland's farm lands were owned by 16,000 landlords and the remaining one-third by 4,000,000 peasants. I won't insist on these figures, for Polish statistics are complicated, but everybody agreed that land reforms were needed. The question was how and when.

The National Committee of Liberation decided to carry out the land reform immediately. It placed the procedure under triple control—county agents appointed by the government, peasant committees elected from the villages, and workers' brigades volunteering from the cities.

I visited a typical estate in Podsamche during the land division. It contained over two thousand acres, nearly half of them arable land, the rest woods. The aged landowner had

died during the war, leaving a young widow who was not living on the estate but in a city home. The estate was being divided among fifty-seven farm hands who had previously worked on it and the peasants of three villages.

A peasants' committee consisting of two peasants from each village and two farm hands of the estate worked for a week under ■ subchairman from the township checking two hundred applicants for the land. Stanislaw, a farm hand with five children, was given eight acres. Wiernici, with eight dependents, got twelve. Janowski, with only two, got eight acres because his son was a volunteer in the Polish army.

There were long debates over doubtful cases. One peasant declared he possessed only two acres, but his wife was rumored to have ten in another county. An old man admitted to but one acre, but he had had twenty-five which he had turned over to his four sons, who were farming it together.

The chief disputes were between the peasants and the farm hands. The farm hands said, "Our fathers and grandfathers worked this estate and we expect twelve full acres before anyone else." The peasants argued that that wouldn't leave anything for the needy among them. An endless debate threatened, but the chairman of the workers' brigade—a restless mechanic—arranged ■ compromise.

This complicated checking of claims is only the first step. Next come complaints, and then a review by the provincial land departments. Cooperatives are formed to handle the indivisible estate property, such as tractors, flour mills, barns. Finally a big formal meeting is held and the title deeds are conveyed amid flags, bands, the national anthem, and Polish soldiers saluting.

By such processes 800,000 acres formerly belonging to

## No Vatican Plan for Italy?

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

CARRYING on a controversy from the United States with a paper published in Vatican City is rather difficult, for mail is slow and one cannot rely blindly upon summary information from American correspondents about what a paper says in Rome. Therefore I must discuss now, in January, 1945, something which broke in Rome in November, 1944. But where Vatican policies are concerned one must be as patient as the Vatican. Patience usually pays.

On May 19, 1943, the *New York Times* carried a report from Berne by Daniel T. Brigham, whose relations with the Vatican legation in that city were exceedingly cordial. Mr. Brigham said he had learned from a "well-informed Vatican source" that a "plan" had been "elaborated in a special message from Pope Pius to Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York, at present in the Middle East." The plan "was said to have been taken to Istanbul, Turkey, by air yesterday, May 17, by Monsignor Emmanuele Clarizio, a Vatican representative, who is understood to be awaiting an answer." The plan aimed to make possible Italian "voluntary collaboration in the ousting of the Fascist regime" and "an armistice at once." It provided that "in the cadres of the present Italian regional prefects, who for the purpose of civil administration would not be considered to have been active party supporters and would in their turn be subject to the orders of an Allied Commission sitting in Rome, a ten-year plan of political metamorphosis would be immediately introduced. During this period civil administration would be handed back to the people by certain well-defined stages. The Fascist Party as such would be immediately disbanded." No provision was made in this first plan, Mr. Brigham continued, "for the arrest or handing over to the Allies of any Fascist leaders."

In *The Nation* of August 7, 1943, I pointed out that the prefects were the backbone of the Fascist regime, and that the Amgot plan announced in July and the Vatican plan announced in May were as alike as "two rotten eggs." Amgot had borrowed even the distinction between "active" and "inactive" Fascists from the Vatican plan, and then had gone one step farther and admitted into the American-British fold Fascists who had been "active" up to the moment of defeat. In August, 1943, Archbishop Spellman was in New York. He kept silent.

One year later, after the Allies had occupied Rome, a journalistic campaign was launched from that city to persuade the American public that a five-year Anglo-Saxon occupation was indispensable in Italy to forestall communism. In *The Nation* of August 19, 1944, I noted that the 1943 Vatican plan, taking a longer view, had asked for a ten-year occupation. Through a typographical error, the date "May 19, 1943"—the date of the *New York Times* dispatch from Berne—appeared in *The Nation* as "May 11, 1944."

When my article arrived in Italy, the news of the Vatican's ten-year occupation plan caused such a stir that the *Osservatore Romano* of September 19, 1944, found it necessary to say that "on May 11, 1944," no plan for the reconstruction of Italy had been formulated by the Vatican. "We are authorized to state," it said, "that this fantastic information lacks any basis whatsoever."

I wrote at once to the *Osservatore Romano* asking whether its statement meant that no Vatican plan existed "on May 11, 1944," or that the plan described in the *New York Times* on May 19, 1943, had never existed. "If the *Osservatore Romano* is kind enough to state that the Vatican plan 'never existed,'" I wrote, "it is to be hoped that Archbishop Spellman will tell us why the information given by the *New York Times* was contradicted neither in May nor in August, 1943. The fact, if true, was as important in 1943 as in 1944. If it has deserved an official contradiction by the Vatican under the date 'May 11, 1944,' it deserved to be contradicted by the New York Archbishopric in both May and August, 1943."

The answer of the *Osservatore Romano*, published early in November, was that "a plan of the Holy See for the reconstruction of Italy did not exist either in 1943 or in 1944, or ever." It should be noted that the Vatican paper's pronouncement lacked official sanction, that it did not use the solemn formula "we are authorized to state." Further, the Vatican paper was careful not to explain why Archbishop Spellman played possum in August, 1943. And finally, by asserting that no Vatican plan had existed in 1943 or in 1944 or "ever," the Vatican paper discredited its whole statement.

Was there really no Vatican plan for Italy? Does the Vatican make plans for all the countries of the world except Italy?

As I said above, a few weeks after Mr. Brigham had reported the Vatican plan for Italy, Amgot announced a plan that was a replica of it. Then, as Amgot planned, the Fascist regime was ousted by "the Italians," that is, by a palace conspiracy in which men like Federzoni, who had always enjoyed the favor of the Vatican, had a hand; the unconditional surrender took place; an Allied Commission was set up and is now sitting in Rome, protecting Fascist prefects and other high civil and military officers from any attempt to purge them. And that Allied Commission is handing back the civil administration step by step to "the people," that is, to the prefects chosen by the Royal Government. In May, 1943, when he reported the Vatican plan for Italy, was the Berne correspondent of the *New York Times* a prophet or was he a newspaperman who gathered his material from informed sources?

On May 12, 1943, the French journalist Pertinax, who is not a man to fabricate news and who was on good terms

with the Vatican delegation in Washington, stated that "the Vatican is deeply concerned with the social upheavals that, in the peninsula, are likely to be the outcome of military defeat beyond the sea and of unlimited destruction by air raids at home." On May 18 the *New York Times* broke the news from Berne, although in the form of an "unconfirmed report," that "the Vatican had informed the British and American governments that an Italian collapse now would have disastrous results unless Italy was neutralized at once or immediately occupied by Allied armies." The *Times* used these headlines: "Mussolini Appeal to Pope Reported"; "Italian Leaders Said to Have Asked Pontiff to Use Good Offices with the Allies"; "Vatican Said to Have Warned London and Washington of Danger in Collapse." The cordial relations that exist between the *New York Times* and the New York Archbishopric are well known. On June 13, 1943, the Pope personally addressed a gathering of Italian workers and advised them to shrink from revolution. Was there no plan in the mind of Pius XII when he made that address?

On March 30, 1943, Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, warned the Italians that they should "remember that the pledge of national unity is the monarchy of the House of Savoy." And behold, in May, 1944, "special investigators" of the American army intercepted messengers near the lines in southern Italy and opened a Vatican mail pouch. In it they found documentary evidence that the Vatican was engaged in aggressive if highly secret machinations for the House of Savoy. The leaders of the party which calls itself "Christian Democratic" are working hand in glove with the monarchist party, and some of them were Vatican employees up to yesterday. Was there never a Vatican plan for Italy?

Last July a controversy broke out between monarchists and republicans over whether a Constituent Assembly should be summoned at the end of the war to decide upon the form of government for Italy. The *Osservatore Romano* took up the cudgels for the monarchists and called for a plebiscite instead of a Constituent Assembly. In Silone's novel "Bread and Wine" the horse that always nods while walking is christened "Plebiscito" by the peasants. In November the Lieutenant General of the Realm came out for the plebiscite. No Vatican plan for Italy?

In August Churchill had four or five meetings with Pius XII in Rome. Did Pius XII ask Churchill to announce some plan for Italy since he, Pius XII, had never had one?

As long as Mussolini was in power, the Vatican tried to rescue him from ruin. Since his collapse, the Vatican has been trying to rescue the Royal House, the conservative social classes, and the Concordat of February, 1929. This is the Vatican plan for Italy. To be sure, the Vatican does not want to take responsibility for the execution of its plan. The so-called Christian Democratic Party takes that responsibility. But this game deceives no one in Italy.

As long as American relief to Italy is handled through Vatican agencies, the Italians will silently bow to necessity. But Vatican City does not produce wheat, clothes, shoes, or raw materials. When the five-year or ten-year occupation has come to an end and people can no longer be controlled by "food as a weapon" and similar tricks, the Vatican will learn that its sowing of a monarchical wind can reap only an anti-clerical whirlwind.

## Dangerous Experts

BY PACIFICUS

PERHAPS the most dangerous development in the field of Far Eastern post-war policy planning is the growing influence of an Anglo-American team of shortsighted foreign-service conservatives. If their ideas prevail, the process of purging Japan of its militarist and imperialist elements and helping a new, democratic Japan to emerge will be set back for many years. The results may even go beyond those of the disastrous British policy in Greece and produce not only civil war in Japan but conflict among the United Nations.

The two officials referred to are Eugene Dooman and Sir Paul Butler. Mr. Dooman was counselor of the American embassy in Tokyo at the time of Pearl Harbor and was primarily responsible for the execrable mistake in judgment which minimized the threat to the United States represented by Tojo's appointment in October, 1941. When Joseph Clark Grew was director of the State Department's Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Mr. Dooman had the title of Special Assistant, although many in the department remarked that the relationship between the two paralleled that of Edgar Bergen to Charlie McCarthy. Now that Mr. Grew has been promoted, Mr. Dooman seems slated to emerge as the Robert Murphy of American policy toward Japan. According to Drew Pearson, he has been placed in charge of all State Department relations with the army and navy civil-affairs sections. He has been touring civil-affairs schools in the United States indoctrinating the future occupation officers with his own inaccurate interpretation of what makes Japan tick. If American public opinion permits his further elevation to the position of political adviser to the occupation authorities, the results may well be disastrous.

Mr. Dooman not only believes in retaining the emperor system, minus some of the more militaristic forms of emperor-worship, but also thinks that the only elements we can rely on in Japan are the business leaders, court-circle aristocrats, and bureaucrats. In a word, he supports the retention of the present ruling groups with the exception of the military extremists. Mr. Dooman will not concede that other groups have any capacity for leadership or that it might be possible to involve Communists or other labor and peasant leaders in the post-war administration of Japan. In short, having lived almost half of his life among upper-class Japanese, Mr. Dooman shares many of their reactions.

Sir Paul Butler is a British counterpart of Mr. Dooman. He too served extensively in the foreign service in Japan. He is now adviser to the Foreign Office on Far Eastern matters. When he came to this country to attend the International conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held last month at Hot Springs, Virginia, he apparently brought with him a manuscript entitled "Japan in Defeat," a study prepared under his direction at Chatham House, the quasi-official foreign-affairs organization in London. Those who have seen his manuscript or who heard him speak at the Hot Springs conference report that the policy he enunciates for Japan makes Churchill's Greek policy seem enlightened. He apparently goes so far as to support the retention of "moderate" militarists in the post-war Japanese government.

It was generally assumed at the conference that Sir Paul was presenting either an official British view or an official British trial balloon. It is important to note, however, that his position was opposed by the great majority of those present, including virtually the entire American delegation, although Sir Paul was able to gloat over the support he received from a young subordinate of Mr. Dooman's.

If the policies of these minor Neville Chamberlains are put into effect, American and British influence will be found in support of the discredited imperialist ruling groups of Japan. Russia, however, if it participates in the war against Japan, is likely to support Susumu Okano and his Japanese People's Emancipation League, now growing stronger at Yenan. It is obvious that the situation contains the seeds of civil war and international conflict.

What is required is a United Nations agreement to support a wide coalition of Communists, industrialists whose interests lie in peaceful trade, and all those in between who can agree on the necessity for purging Japan of its military-fascist ideology, economy, and government. To achieve and execute such an agreement in good faith, it will be necessary to render ineffective all officials whose narrow conservatism would lead them to risk civil war and international conflict rather than support a regime dedicated to political and economic progress which might develop a quasi-socialist character.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AS THIS is written, the battle for Upper Silesia is being fought. If the Reich loses it, there can be no doubt about the consequences: in a few weeks at the most all further resistance will inevitably collapse. For this second most important industrial region in Germany has become, with the progressive destruction of the Ruhr, the most important. Probably not an item of its production can be spared. Loss of its coal would certainly be fatal. According to recent reports, coal shipments from Upper Silesia in 1943 rose to the unprecedented height of 90,000,000 tons, that is, 36 per cent of the total amount produced in Germany. In the following year, 1944, as the damage to the Ruhr increased, the percentage of Silesia's contribution must have mounted. Without this source of energy the Reich could not possibly fight on for any length of time.

Even if the front is stabilized once more, before Silesia is overrun, the Reich, in the opinion of this writer, will get but a brief reprieve. However the military situation develops, the coal scarcity is bound to become a catastrophe. The mere fact that Silesia has become a war area reduces coal shipments to a fraction of what they were. And things had reached a point where they could not be allowed to grow worse.

Of the hundreds of witnesses to these conditions only a few need be cited. (The point is not the suffering of the Germans but their ability to continue the war.) The sub-prefect of Lauenburg announced on December 31:

All coal consumers, including public offices, industrial firms, and the like, must exercise the utmost economy in heating, for they will have to get along with considerably

smaller quantities than had been anticipated. Households must heat only one room and turn off all other radiators.

The magazine *Das Reich* declared on January 7 that "unforeseen factors" had suddenly made the precarious coal situation even more precarious, and not only for private consumers but for industry. The causes given were the "absolutely necessary conscription of miners for the armed forces or for work on fortifications, the unexpected use of rolling stock for the transportation of troops, ammunition, and food, and the damage done to the rail network and occasionally also to the railroad shops by the incessant air raids." The school vacation, which would normally end on January 3, was extended to January 15 on account of the lack of coal, and then to January 31, for the same reason. On January 11 the Stockholm *Aftonbladet* reported that "in the past few weeks millions of city households have been unable to obtain any coal at all. . . . Many cafes and restaurants have stopped heating entirely; in Berlin only the Hotel Adlon is adequately warm."

Similar limitations are of course placed on the use of gas. For example, in Dresden, the capital of Saxony, the authorities announced that "special circumstances" compelled them "once more to reduce gas pressure. Gas will therefore burn poorly or not at all. In districts served by the East Saxon Gas Company . . . the use of gas will have to stop completely." Such was the situation when Upper Silesia was still unthreatened and its production intact.

It is true that coal is a special case; for other commodities the curve of supply does not descend so steeply. It is going down, however, at a rate which is accelerating from week to week. "A serious food crisis is developing in Germany because of the breakdown of transportation and distribution," declared the *Aftonbladet* on January 10. Food trains are being wrecked every day between stations and at stations. Some stand on sidings for weeks. Enormous quantities of food spoil on these trains and on others which wait in vain to be unloaded. Especially during the recent severe cold spell vast quantities of potatoes were lost by freezing.

New restrictions, general or local, are continually being imposed. Soldiers on furlough used to receive a number of extra ration points as a "gift from the Führer to soldiers on leave." At the beginning of January it was announced that these special food cards would no longer be given out and that retailers should not honor them if presented.

The German News Bureau (D. N. B.) broadcast on January 17 that "milk deliveries to the distributors have declined still farther in most parts of the Reich" and that the situation was "made worse by transport difficulties." It was therefore "not always possible" to give consumers their full ration, reduced as that ration was. In the Rhineland the full ration of flour and bread was for some weeks unobtainable, but the public was assured that the unused points would be honored later. They were canceled, however, in the middle of January. "Winter fruits," such as apples and pears, have disappeared almost completely. According to the Berlin *Zwölf Uhr Blatt* of January 12, they will be given out only to children, expectant or nursing mothers, and sick people. The maximum monthly allotment will be two kilos (four and a half pounds) to pregnant or ill adults and one kilo to children—about one mouthful a day.

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## THE LITTLE MONEY

BY JACQUES BARZUN

FROM the deplorable financial status of the academic man in this land of plenty, some have argued that teachers should organize themselves into unions and demand the standard of living they think they are entitled to. This might be a practicable way if it could ever be determined what leverage teachers can employ and who their employers are. I feel a strong corporate sense binding me to my colleagues, and once upon a time I joined a so-called union to see what it could do. It could obviously help teachers in public schools and other tax-supported institutions by lobbying at the legislature in the approved way. But the members of an endowed university are in a peculiar position: they do not work for themselves, nor directly for their clients—the students; nor for the administrative heads, who are mere agents, nor for the trustees, who do not run a profit-making concern. The university teacher clearly works for the public. But he cannot strike, expostulate, bargain, or picket. The fact that colleges are of so many different kinds, and run on so many different financial plans, obscures the common truths in confusion. Nevertheless, the profession is by and large under the control of public opinion, and it is before the public that teachers must present their claims.

What is needed is, then, not a union in the ordinary sense, but a guild—of which one or two approximations already exist—whose chief object should be to establish and maintain intelligent and dignified public relations. It should endeavor to tell the people what teachers are for, what they do and need, and why it seems best to support them more liberally than hitherto. This would have a double advantage: the first, a raising of the dignity of the profession; the second, an indirect training of the population in matters upon which they pass judgment whether they know it or not.

When one considers that almost every adult necessarily comes in contact with education by being a parent, a taxpayer, a member of a school board, a reader of books and periodicals, a library and museum visitor, or a radio listener, one can see the political need for closing the rift between the laity and the teaching profession. Parent-teacher associations cannot do it, or at least have not done it, for reasons too numerous to go into. But an association of teachers of all ranks and specialties, serving the interests of teachers before the public just as a medical association does, might in time improve a multitude of conditions, of which not the least is the reallocation of funds for the sake of a freer, richer, and more irresistible instruction.

A suggestion more ambitious still, but one which I find attractive and just in principle, would be to organize every college or university into a genuine company of scholars, the proceeds of whose work should be shared among themselves on a basis to be worked out equitably. Individual initiative could be encouraged by reserving a suitable portion of earnings and royalties to the author, while the rest would be

credited to a fund for annual distribution among the group.\* In most cases the university press could be the main agency for marketing the products of scholarship, both local and national. A healthy regional competition could arise and a somewhat stouter direction be thereby given to research. Whatever may seem utopian about this proposal—which has been made at various times and places—is really not so. Strict individualism in scholarship is an illusion. Scholars already engage in many cooperative ventures whose profits go into the General Fund; publishing a set of source- and textbooks is a case in point. The knowledge of twenty people goes into the work, and returns seldom accrue to the doers. Conversely the "authors" draw upon the brains and experience of their colleagues as well as upon the facilities, the books, and the time that belong strictly speaking to the community. A redistribution of joint annual earnings would be simply a clearer business arrangement.

Far from desiring a slovenly pooling of thine and mine, I should like to see at work throughout academic life a sharper sense of business values. Too many persons, inside and outside the profession, act as if a teacher's time or thought were a free commodity. It is flattering to be considered on the same plane as sunlight, but any guild of scholars should set its face against this belief and train its membership to put a proper price on their own services. I do not urge this to inaugurate monopoly gouging, but as a safeguard for quality and conditions of work, including self-respect.

As things now stand abuses are rife. Within the profession, nothing is more common than the request for free lectures, free concerts, even the free gift of books which one has written. Except when this type of charity has a clear excuse, all such requests should be steadfastly refused, with a precise explanation of the reason why. One college I know used to cry poor according to a set form, so as to obtain cheap the most interesting outside lecturers; yet it always had enough funds for the elaborate entertainment of trustees, parents, and graduating classes, as well as for expensive printing on all occasions. This amounts to the cynical and unethical practice of paying for luxuries by bilking the butcher. Choosing may be hard, but a college had better find out whether it loves wisdom better than tea cakes, for one student absent-mindedly wrote on a paper, "You cannot serve God and Gammon at the same time."

Outside the profession all sorts of persons, clubs, and commercial firms have learned the same begging habit for obtaining professional services gratis or at a nominal fee. One wealthy and powerful publisher wishing an expert opinion on a manuscript intimated that since the house examined so many books, it could only pay a few dollars to have each one judged. Does the head of the firm speak to his doctor or lawyer in that graceful cadging way? The reverse of this

\* President Hutchins's proposal, akin to this, has much to recommend it. He would raise all salaries, abolish intermediate ranks, appropriate all royalties, and grant two months' extra leave for "producing." My sole objection is to the reduction of the normal vacation to a single month, and to its extension only for the sake of turning out work. I am certain that teaching would again suffer. Three to four months free, without imposed obligations, is a strict minimum for all teachers.

attempted graft is of course the distribution of free books, and teachers should have enough moral fiber to decline such gifts—which they ultimately pay for in the price of other books—so as to have a clear conscience when putting a price on their opinion as experts. Another well-dressed mendicant said to me: "This is a book you'd read anyhow. Read it for us in manuscript and we'll give you a copy—if we publish it." The mixed appeal to the gambling instinct, the love of bribery, and the urge for self-depreciation reaches here its perfection.

If the corporate business spirit has a proper role in our society—and it seems to be built into our very laws—the man of knowledge has a clear duty to insist on due remuneration. It is not because it only takes him a few minutes to give out information that therefore the information has cost him nothing. It is not because someone else's purpose is "educational" that therefore he must fulfil it free. As a distinguished violinist said, "I will gladly play without fee to your students—if you will refund to them the afternoon's tuition." And an author who was being "reasoned with" on the ground that his giving a judgment on an anthology would really mean a pleasant evening's reading cut the begging short with, "Sorry, my education's been too expensive."

The teacher and thinker must constantly bear in mind the special conditions that define his craft. He cannot count as aids to his advancement the pain and fear that favor the doctor or the apprehension of loss and disgrace that favor the lawyer. He has on his side only mankind's desire for light—the light that gives all other things their shape; and this, though a strong motive, is easily obscured by more immediate demands. The teacher must consequently sustain it most steadfastly in the very persons who neglect or forget it most easily. He must do this not for their good merely, though that is a real reason, but for his good wherever it is identifiable with the good of his calling. Like any other man, a teacher may be selfish and mistake private ends with public, but this possibility must not keep him from upholding the public ends he represents, even if these ends are expressed—as they are bound to be—in money. Without money, intellect is crippled, art starves, and science stagnates. If the field marshal is not ashamed to admit that money is the sinews of war, the teacher should feel no qualms in proclaiming that "alma mater" means first of all the nourishing mother.

[This article, like its predecessor, *Distrust of Brains*, is taken from the author's forthcoming book, "Teacher in America," which will be published by Atlantic-Little, Brown later this month.]

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I MET A FRIEND in Eighth Street and we repaired to a diner for a cup of coffee. He's writing a book, he had had a good morning, and he was jubilant. We talked about writing and its hazards. I should describe writers as a happy breed of men who are usually unhappy. The writer is either worried about something he has written or about something he's writing. If he isn't working at anything he's worried

about that. He has his moments, of course, but they are not too frequent, and he knows very well that within a few hours he may be wondering what he ever saw in that paragraph. And one of the sad things about the whole process is that when he's jubilant he can foresee that he will shortly be discouraged but when he's discouraged he can't imagine being jubilant again. The outsider may well wonder why anyone persists in such a vocation. The insider knows that it's a compulsion, a sweet sorrow, that can't easily be exorcised.

IN MANY CASES it should be exorcised, but the tendency is all in the other direction. The desire to write is constantly taken for the capacity to write. This is one of the results, I suppose, of widespread literacy. The fact that words and sentences are the units of literature as well as of literacy obscures the difficulty and the talent and the hard work involved in creating a work of art which happens to be a book. Relatively few people feel that anybody could compose a symphony or paint a picture, let alone a good symphony or a good picture. A great many people feel that anybody could write a book. This circumstance has led to a great deal of useless suffering on the part of would-be writers who don't even know that writing is a craft. And, further to confuse the issue, it has led to the production of many chunks of printed paper which somebody is always willing to call books. So many of them and such bad ones that the authentic writer, in his down moments, may well decide that there is no point in adding his own drop to the flood.

The authentic writer, curiously enough, is more likely to feel that way than the non-writers of non-books. For him the answer is contained in a remark of Henry James. In one of his sketches of Venice James wonders if there is not a certain impudence in writing about a subject so much written about. Happily he proceeds, nevertheless, because, he says, "I hold any writer sufficiently justified who is himself in love with his theme." But one must really be in love with one's theme. And have a theme.

LATELY I've been getting more pleasure from music than from books. I wouldn't be surprised if Mr. Haggin's dissertation on "Music for the Man Who Enjoys 'Hamlet'" has had something to do with it. And I think it is partly because the language of music seems wonderfully fresh and pure and unhackneyed in a world up to its neck in words.

I'm very tired of words, especially public words. I sometimes wish that all public talking, in print or out, could be stopped for a week—on the radio, in newspapers, in halls—and then turned on only once a week. I'm sure the quality of the talk would be improved. There is something depressing about the compulsion to talk out loud every day of the year whether you have anything to say or not. And though I avoid columnists, radio commentators, and public speakers as I would the plague, the knowledge that they are going on unceasingly day in and day out is depressing enough.

From all this the miraculous and beautiful economy of Mozart and Beethoven and Schubert and Haydn is a blessed relief. And they really have something to say.

A WEEK OR SO AGO I received an irresistible invitation which began as follows: *Ad symposium platonium, sed voluptatibus epicureis non alienum, convocant vos.* It was an

Italianate affaire, gay and charming. The food was delicious and the "symposium" was very pleasant. Among other things I heard an amusing story about Gaetano Salvemini. He is reported to have told a young Italian American of his acquaintance, "Stop being an intellectual. Be a wop! Be a wop!" Salvemini is one of the great characters of our day. Anyone who spends an hour with him comes away with a sense of having had an experience; and I've noticed that such people when they speak of him involuntarily turn up the corners of their mouths in an unconscious reflection of his own Dionysian smile. He is technically an intellectual, but he's a "wop" too of the most delightful sort. In his politics he is what is known as uncompromising, but that is an extremely dull word for the beautiful gusto, the joyous intelligence, the gleaming integrity, with which he sails into arrogant imperialists, timid souls, and slithering politicians.

The last time I saw him he had just had news from his home town in Italy, where the people had danced and sung in the streets when Mussolini fell. He had been greatly amused and touched to hear that he, Salvemini, was a hero there. So much so that the townspeople were convinced that they had not been bombed because Salvemini had spoken to Roosevelt! It's too bad Roosevelt isn't more sensitive to the advice of Salvemini.

## THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE

by Paul F. Lazarsfeld - Bernard Berelson - Hazel Gaudet

- ✓ EVERY four years we are exposed to a period of political propaganda—what does it all amount to?
- ✓ AT WHAT time in a presidential campaign do most voters make up their minds?
- ✓ ARE campaigns really necessary?
- ✓ ALL THESE questions and many more are answered in *The People's Choice*. "Certainly of interest to serious students of political behavior."—*New York Times*. \$3.00

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

### STARTLING

It is startling when you stop to think about it.  
Not a single principle of making decisions proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks conference is right.

WILLIAM CROCKER ■ Box 211 ■ PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

AFTER I HAD SAID what I thought of "Cannery Row" I reflected on the charge sometimes made that critics write nasty reviews of good books because they are jealous of the authors or have a generic compulsion to denounce and belittle. I think the charge is psychologically unsound, for according to my own experience and observation one's normal reactions to a book one likes are quite the opposite of jealousy and bad will. And I'm not speaking of the classics. My anger over "Cannery Row" was the obverse of my pleasure over, say, "The Leaning Tower." I wouldn't be caught dead writing "Cannery Row." I should be very glad to have written "The Leaning Tower"—but my feeling toward its author, in spite of the fact that she's another woman, is more like affection than anything else.

I should certainly call my feelings about both books personal. One's reactions to books and writers are personal and are bound to be because the stuff of art—emotion and idea—is very close to where one lives. It is one thing to be "objective" about emotions and ideas with which one is not sympathetic. Justice Holmes remarks in one of his letters that "to be civilized is to be potentially master of all possible ideas, and that means that one has got beyond being shocked, although one preserves one's own moral and aesthetic preferences." The critic, likewise, should be potentially master of all possible ideas and emotions. But I wouldn't put much faith in a critic who isn't shocked by the falsification of emotion or idea.

I'M ALSO SHOCKED by books in which characters are reduced to less than human status. Albert Jay Nock, in his autobiography, made a statement to the effect that he had felt more comfortable since he had decided that most human beings aren't human. That is one way of compensating for the inadequacy we all feel in coping with the world we live in. It is not a very admirable way; and it is not a creative way. For the novelist it is peculiarly self-defeating, no matter how many best-sellers it may yield. For him it is a case simply of fouling his own nest. Human beings are both his end and his means. In so far as he denies them their quality of being human he deprives them of significance either as instruments of self-expression or of communication with the human beings who are his readers. He might better write about the curious and amusing behavior of fleas or frogs—which has its own quite different interest.

Some weeks ago in the *New Yorker* Edmund Wilson said with what seemed to me astounding complacency that such books as Caldwell's "God's Little Acre" and "Tragic Ground" are no longer attacked as they once were because "we are prepared, as our grandfathers were not, to study human behavior on the animal level." (I had evidence of this the other day when by chance I came upon a radio program which was a horrible caricature of "Tobacco Road"—and all the more horrible for being "clean" in the radio sense of the word.)

I'm not the least bit complacent about this tendency in fiction—though I grant that the study of human behavior on the animal level may have its uses in science. But I doubt that it has much of a future in fiction for the simple reason that human beings as animals soon cease to be interesting, just as any monstrosity eventually becomes boring.

## AMERICA'S PLAN TO FREE ALL COLONIES

Churchill blusters, but other highly placed Britons nod agreement as Washington plans a postwar world in which no nation "owns" a single colony! Does the plan make sense? Is the end of imperialism really in sight . . . can we bring freedom to the world's 600,000,000 subject people . . . what obligation is America ready to assume in the new scheme of things? "America's Plan for the Colonial World" is an authoritative, illuminating document from the pen of an insider—a man whose connections with European governments demand anonymity. Read it in **THE AMERICAN MERCURY** for February.



## WHO WILL GOVERN POLAND?

The first nation to war against the Nazis has become a major stumbling block for Russia and the Western Powers. Is there more than meets the eye behind Russian recognition of the "Lublin Government" and our refusal to extend recognition? Does Russia really want a puppet Poland? What does the record of Russian relations with the Polish Underground indicate? William Henry Chamberlin, noted student of Russian history, documents his thought-provoking conclusions in "Some Truths About Poland."

## THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for February—OUT NOW

What will you turn to first in this month's **MERCURY**? *Pegler: Tough Guy Columnist* is a profile in acid of a writer who doesn't let his police-court reporter's mind stop him from posing as an oracle on national and world affairs. *Life in Spain Today* is a graphic description of surface glitter and inner sordidness in a land seething with intrigue. In *A Mercury Survey of Opinion Leaders* publicist Edward L. Bernays makes ten important predictions for postwar America, based on a survey of leaders whose views have correctly foreshadowed popular opinion. *Ship Workers in the Northwest* unveils a shocking picture of workers loafing at the very time frantic advertisements appeal for more ship workers to bolster lagging production. *Hope for Alcoholics* is the encouraging story of New York's experiment with alcoholics—a treatment that seems actually to work . . . Seven other arresting articles, essays and sketches enrich the pages of the February **MERCURY**—plus such regular features as *Down To Earth* by noted naturalist-writer Alan Devoe, *The Theatre* by George Jean Nathan, Fiction, Poetry, Books, Cartoon, Open Forum.



## How Important Are Mercury Articles?

Within its own domain the Library Poster carries the prestige and authority of a Dun & Bradstreet report. Each month the Poster lists the ten best current magazine articles published in America, selected by a jury of three outstanding librarians—Rollin A. Sawyer of the New York Public Library, Charles H. Compton of the St. Louis Public Library, and Dr. Luther H. Evans of the Library of Congress. From August to December 1944 thousands of articles in hundreds of magazines were checked. The jury chose the best 50 . . . and 11 of them were **MERCURY** articles! Here indeed is evidence of the importance of **MERCURY** content . . . explanation for **THE MERCURY**'s rise to an all-time high in circulation . . . reason for its reputation as "the magazine of opinion that makes things happen."



*Lawrence E. Spivack* PUBLISHER

I've just read "Tragic Ground." And in fairness to Mr. Caldwell it must be said that his latest book is not merely an account of the subhuman characteristics of Tobacco Road. Like "Trouble in July" it grants them humanity by putting them in a social context which explains their predicament. But it is not nearly so good as "Trouble in July" in this or any other respect. As story it lacks the drama and suspense of the earlier book, and it is quite devoid of any sense of tragedy. In some ways it seems, indeed, like a mere mechanical repetition of "Trouble in July."

Caldwell's venture into the Russian scene led me to say that he had better stick to God's little acre. But "Tragic Ground" makes me feel that he has exhausted that soil. The characters it yields are so uncomplicated, their behavior and especially their sexual behavior, their humor, and their way of speaking are so familiar and predictable by now that they have become tiresome.

SEVERAL PEOPLE have spoken of my note on Tintoretto's "A Doge in Prayer Before the Redeemer" in a way which made me feel as if I had uttered a password which admitted me to their own intense pleasure in some work of art. And one friend out west writes that she had "that same experience at the Metropolitan. It was on a Saturday night during a symphony concert and I stood in front of one of the big Egyptian Pharaohs—granite. There was a sign saying 'Do not touch,' but I did. I will never forget it."

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## BRIEFER COMMENT

### The Philosophy of Logic

IT BECOMES more and more obvious that the science of formal logic is an independent discipline whose progress depends on men able and willing to devote themselves to it as a profession. Nevertheless, it remains for the philosopher to examine the method and presuppositions of logic very much as he would examine physics, economics, or history. It is the philosophy of logic that Professor Cohen treats in most of the studies in "A Preface to Logic" (Henry Holt, \$2.50). What is formal logic? what are propositions? what is implication? what are concepts? Such questions illustrate his concern—one which is fully justified yet different from the more technical and equally justified concern of symbolic logicians.

Readers of his "Reason and Nature" will find it rather easy to predict most of Professor Cohen's answers, and those who were convinced by that *specimen eruditionis* will feast upon this one. But those who weren't will continue to ask him what he means by "possible" when he says that logic is the science of all possible being, and whether he can avoid the vicious circle of defining the possible in terms of logic. They will find the correlation of 87 per cent between the membership of the International Machinists' Union and the death rate of the state of Hyderabad again offered in proof of the difference between statistical and causal connection. But they will continue to press for a clearer answer when they are told (again) that causation involves a "thread of identity" between cause and effect. Those who suspected a bit of shadow-boxing in his early attack on Bacon will see a new sparring partner in Carnap, some of whose views may well be criticized but who never says—as Cohen says he does, on page 57—that "unverified statements are meaningless." Surely a philosophical grammarian (*pace* Peirce) should distinguish between "unverified" and "unverifiable."

And yet, in spite of all this, many will come away with great respect for a thinker who has survived several waves of obscurantism and many muddled attacks on the method of science. Professor Cohen is no fair-weather friend of reason, but still thinks of logic as an indispensable element of liberal civilization and free thought. We find ourselves reading a learned man who, after having served City College so long and so well, has dedicated this book to it and its students. They will appreciate this moving gesture and will always remember him as their greatest teacher.

MORTON G. WHITE

### George (Apley) Wharton Pepper

GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER is an old dear, and his autobiography, "Philadelphia Lawyer" (J. B. Lippincott, \$3.75), is completely disarming. The ex-Senator, like Miniver Cheevy, was born too late. Instead of coming into this confusing world in 1867 in the Walnut Street home, the Gentleman from Philadelphia might well have found an eighteenth-century setting more congenial. He would then have been a leader of the Pennsylvania Federalist junto, and one can easily picture him tearing up copies of that rabble-

rouser Duane's *Aurora* until such time as the stage from New York would bring Mr. Hamilton's *Evening Post*, in which undoubtedly "Mad Tom" Jefferson would be skinned alive.

About the man there is the shining integrity of a Chippendale piece setting him off from his fellow-survivors of the Hamilton system, such as Nicholas Murray Butler or the present Secretary of War. He is, above all things, a good man, whose first act as Senator was to vote against the unseating of the ineffable Truman H. Newberry of Michigan. (He tells us that to this day he gets "angry" whenever he thinks of the injustice done to the man whose devoted friends contributed \$195,000 for the primary nomination.)

Pretty soon Teapot Dome blew off. "The record of President Harding was smirched," says the author gravely, "as is always the case when a too-trusting executive is betrayed by a subordinate: but I have yet to see the slightest bit of evidence that he knew or suspected what was going on"! (Exclamation mark ours.) No one should miss pages 203 to 206, the section headed I Liked Them Both, in which Senator Pepper gives us his estimates of Presidents Harding and Coolidge, not omitting the usual sling at "that man." It is a priceless picture of the Conservative mind.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

## Do Ideas Make Literature?

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS has done well to reissue Mary M. Colum's seven-year-old "From These Roots: the Ideas That Have Made Modern Literature" (\$2.50). Suave and unacademic, Mrs. Colum's book is a much-needed survey of dominant ideas in and about Western literature since Lessing. The thesis of the book is that modern literary ideas were laid down by Lessing and Herder, confirmed and extended by Wordsworth, Coleridge, De Staël, Sainte-Beuve, and Taine, and exhausted by later generations. Today, Mrs. Colum concludes, a new Lessing is needed "to achieve some liberating ideas" and "to make some clear recognizable boundaries between the various kinds of writing."

Full of interesting *obiter dicta*, and by and large a very useful book, "From These Roots" is especially welcome in these days for its sound correlations of English, American, French, German, and Russian (unfortunately not Scandinavian) literary opinion; by reminding us of forgotten facts Mrs. Colum alters many of our opinions of both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Unhappily, her account of recent generations is patchy and capricious. Considerations of space would excuse a certain superficiality, but they do not excuse, for instance, her cavalier treatment of Marxism or her failure to mention I. A. Richards and the best critics of today. Since Mrs. Colum is at odds with "the new critics" as to what criticism is, she might at least have paid them the compliment of a refutation. Had she paid them even the compliment of reading their work she might, I think, have come to view more skeptically the major premise of her book, to wit, that literature is made by ideas; and the ease with which she assumes this and other things makes some of Mrs. Colum's writing seem inadequate. But all this is to complain of what Mrs. Colum has *not* done. What she *has* done is good.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

## Russian Economics

A MORE APPROPRIATE TITLE for J. F. Normano's "The Spirit of Russian Economics" (John Day, \$2) would have been "Foreign Influences in Russian Social Thought" or something to that effect. Even the most Russian of Russia's ideological movements, Slavophilism, was heavily indebted to German philosophy. There certainly is throughout this useful little book an unreconciled, and possibly irreconcilable, dichotomy between the author's factual report of the influence of foreign ideas and his conclusions. Another writer, working with the same material, could easily have concluded that Russian economic thought has been altogether devoid of any originality, and that even such adjustment of foreign dogmas to Russian conditions as was attempted was pedantic and academic.

The author surveys the influence of British Smithianism, French physiocratic thought and Saint-Simonism, German cameralism, historicism, *Katheder-Sozialismus*, Marxism, and other foreign economic ideas in nineteenth-century Russia. Readily imported, these ideas were equally readily discarded because they failed, in the long run, to satisfy Russia's needs.

While Normano is probably right in saying that Slavophilism served Russian industry as a defense against European competition, his statement that the economic motive of the Russian Revolution "was the necessity to fight not primarily Western capitalism as a whole but its nearest and most dangerous position: German penetration," is not only historically untrue but also theoretical nonsense. It is contradicted by the Allied intervention against Bolshevism, by the close cooperation between Germany and Russia in the twenties, and by the writings of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin.

HEINZ EULAU

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## Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

REBECCA," now current at the Barrymore Theater, is not by any reasonable definition of the term a play. It is, to be sure, divided into three acts of two scenes each, and dialogue is spoken by actors in costume who move about a stage. But such a composition is not really a play, not really even a bad play, unless some attempt has been made to tell a story in some fashion capable of making it both intelligible and interesting in its own right. No such attempt has here been made.

By all this I do not mean merely to assert in some unnecessarily elaborate fashion that Miss Daphne Du Maurier is an incompetent dramatist. From the records of her publisher it is evident that she has some kind of competence as a writer of prose fiction, and for all I know, she might be capable of writing a competent play if she should ever try. What I do mean to say is that this confused and hurried jumble of incidents in which the antecedents of the actions, the motives of the performers, and the intentions of the author are usually equally unclear, is a jumble which would never have been thrown together in just this way by any dramatist, however incompetent, who was free to shape his story as he told it. If there had never been a novel of the same name, no author could conceivably have desired to write this script, and no producer into whose hands such a script fell would dream of producing it if he did not also know that some other work of which this was supposed to be some sort of approximation was already in existence.

Improbable as to many it will no doubt appear, I have not read "Rebecca" as a novel, or seen it as a movie, or heard it on the radio. I am, therefore, in no position to say what merits the story may possibly exhibit in some telling other than that with which I am familiar, and I must confine myself to the remark that I can only suppose the original to have been a novel which ought to have been written by Mrs. Henry Wood and entitled "The Mistress of Manderley; or Lord de Winter's Terrible Secret." If, for some reasons which I find it impossible to imagine, this judgment upon the original work is unjust, the injustice is totally irrelevant to the alleged play under consideration. The best judge of

any dramatization is inevitably one who is innocent of all knowledge of its original source, since only such a judge can be sure that his memory of facts or effects is not making him suppose that he is getting from the play something actually not there at all, and I solemnly assure any prospective spectators who happen to be as ignorant as I am that from the goings on at the Barrymore they cannot possibly get anything except a confused impression of some very lurid doings which seem to involve a man who murders his wife because she is a bit of a nymphomaniac and then takes up with a timid halfwit who helps him fool the coroner. I can also assure him that for the most part the acting is, if anything, a little worse than the script would inevitably force it to be. Of the leading performers Diana Barrymore probably deserves the highest praise, which in this case must consist in the statement that she detracts little or nothing from an impossible role. Florence Reed, as the sinister servant, acts sinister without making it very clear what she is being sinister about. Bramwell Fletcher, bouncing about the stage in a wispy jaunty fashion, gives what must be one of the most unconvincing portraits of a grand seigneur ever seen on any stage. Oddly enough, two supporting players—namely, George Baxter as the nymphomaniac's lover-in-chief and Reginald Mason as a county official—give excellent performances.

By contrast with "Rebecca" almost anything which makes an attempt to stand on its own legs is bound to seem worthy of a certain praise. Unfortunately, however, the only other productions upon which I have opportunity to comment here both impose a pretty severe strain upon the good-will with which I approach them. "Good Night Ladies" (Royale Theater) is an old Hogwood farce remade for the war-time trade and become little more than an excuse for parading a group of young ladies in various approximations to the nude. Several of them look very well that way, but anyone thinking of going to see for himself should be warned that he will be surprised at one thing—namely, the jokes which persons of mature years and apparently urban background have never heard before. "A Lady Says Yes" (Broadhurst Theater) remains a strictly Grade B musical show despite the agreeable presence of Carole Landis. The rather painful plot which seems to concern itself somehow with the dream of a man who is having his nose remade is no doubt ac-

counted for by the fact that the author is said to be a successful plastic surgeon who is further alleged to have helped out financially with the production.

## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

THE title "Sunday Dinner for a Soldier" suggests to me a movie that could be made in a dozen or a thousand versions, all of them good; but the version that has been made is not one of them. The family which stages the dinner lives on a houseboat near Tarpon Springs, Florida. The nominal head of the family is Charles Winninger with white whiskers; everybody calls him Grandfeathers. The actual head is Anne Baxter; she is wondering whether or not to marry a rich young man who can't understand why she dances all alone (to the music of a large invisible orchestra and chorus) in the sand-founded ballroom of a derelict hotel. Other members of the family are a pretty little sister who loves a hen named Miss Easter, and two little brothers, one of whom says of a flower, "It stinks swell." These are represented as nice people, but very poor and, in their poverty, ever so whimsical and lucky. John Hodiak, the soldier who turns up for Sunday dinner, comes of nice people too, in a social and money sense, but his parents were divorced when he was twelve and he ran away when he was fourteen and worked in factories; so he too enjoys the advantages of all the classes and suffers the disadvantages of none. One of the ads for the film says of his romance with Miss Baxter, "Their eyes met! Their lips questioned! Their arms answered!" and though both players try to be reasonable about it, that is not much of an oversimplification.

I sat through the picture in a misery of embarrassment, which intensifies as I try to write about it. I feel embarrassment rather than simple anger because most of the people who worked on the show appear to have loved it, believed in it, and had great hopes for its originality and worthiness. The confused but genuine sweetness of their intention is as visible through all the mawkish formulas, and as disturbing, as a drowned corpse never quite surfacing. I cannot bear to say in detail why I found the film so distasteful. To do so would be like spending a self-controlled day with an

innocently awful family, then sneering at all that was painful to you but dear to them.

"Shanghai Drama" was the last movie G. W. Pabst made in France before he went over to the Nazis. I understand that it was heavily censored by the French (including this American print), but it is hard for me to imagine that that can have made much difference. Shot by shot, some of it is interesting and nostalgically satisfying; even at his best Pabst is heavy as lead, but even at his worst he is also gifted. But the story—White Russians forced to work for Black Dragon agents—is like Malraux redone for the pulps. The worst we can do can hardly match the Europeans when they take their trash seriously.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

WEBSTER AITKEN'S series of three piano recitals at Town Hall is in part retrospective: at the first he played Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations, which he played at his debut recital in New York ten years ago. I happened to be present at that debut, not because of any knowledge or expectation concerning Aitken's playing, but because of an interest in the infrequently heard "Diabelli" Variations. But the performance I heard led me to describe the recital as "one of the most notable events of this or any season; for it presented . . . a young man who is already a matured pianist, musician, and artist." And later, urging *Nation* readers to hear him, I wrote: "What is remarkable about him is not so much his rich endowment of technique and musical feeling as his integration of these resources, and behind this the inner integration of experience and emotion. This—astonishing in one so young—manifests itself both in his choice of music to play and in the way he plays it, and lifts him in both respects out of the group of gifted young American pianists to a place among a handful of living artists . . . [It] causes Aitken's mind to be attracted by such gigantic musical matters as Beethoven's 'Diabelli' Variations or the 'Goldberg' Variations of Bach; he plays one of these works in public because of what it means to him and out of a desire to communicate this to other people; and the resources he brings to his task are evident only in the coherence and power of the work as he plays it, the unobtrusive adequacy with

which its every formidable technical requirement is satisfied."

The ten years have further matured him, so that today he is able to impart even greater coherence and power to the "Diabelli" Variations. But even more impressive for me, at his recent recital, was his playing of a smaller, less immediately imposing work—Mozart's extraordinary Rondo K. 511 in A minor. The grace of the flow of melody, the strength of its phraseological articulation, the gradual building-up of tension to the last powerful statement, the unflawed beauty of the sound in which all this was achieved—these made the impact of this quiet, unemphatic piece, in the end, overwhelming; and in their quiet, subtle way they provided an overwhelming demonstration of the powers of a great musician and a master of the piano.

Victor's February list is devoted chiefly to recordings by Marian Anderson, Rachmaninov, Morini, and Primrose of the little pieces of sticky candy that such musicians feed their concert, radio, and phonograph audiences, and that don't call for discussion here. In addition it offers a set (986; \$4.50) of Brahms's Sonata Opus 78 for violin and piano—a characteristic Brahms product, with its saccharine themes and their aridly synthetic involvements to produce large structure. Making it worse is the tremulous tone and phrasing of Yehudi Menuhin, with the piano part reduced to a faint murmur possibly by the recording engineers but probably by Hepzibah herself, who persisted in deferring

to the brother whom she far surpassed. And on a single disc (11-8729; \$1) is a good performance by Boulton with the Hallé Orchestra of Liadov's "Kikimora," a very slight piece in the style of Rimsky-Korsakov.

Continental Record Company has issued under the title "Encore!" a set of three 10-inch discs with the pianist Andor Földes's performances of a number of small pieces: three of Brahms's Waltzes Opus 39, Liszt's "Valse oubliée," Chopin's C sharp minor Mazurka and C major Prelude, Debussy's "Maid with the Flaxen Hair," Gershwin's Prelude in B flat, arrangements of Prokofiev's March from "The Love of Three Oranges" and Shostakovich's Polka from "The Golden Age," and also a Fantastic Dance by Shostakovich. Some of the playing that Földes did with Szigeti was good enough; but I recall writing about my dissatisfaction with his playing in Szigeti's Mozart sonata series at the Y. M. H. A.; and his solo performances in this set I find heavy-handed, mannered, and sentimental.

In Early Issues of *The Nation*  
Puritanism and Democracy  
By Ralph Barton Perry  
Reviewed by Sidney Hook

Verse Chronicle  
Some Young Poets and a New Genre  
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## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### Dr. Magnes and Palestine

Dear Sirs: In your issue of December 23 you published a letter from Dr. Judah L. Magnes giving his views on the Palestine situation as a resident of that country. I have lived in Palestine for some twenty-four years and have had extensive dealings and close contact with Jews and Arabs in the practice of my profession as a lawyer and as adviser to the Jewish Agency for Palestine. I believe the views expressed here are shared by the overwhelming majority of Jews in Palestine.

The problem confronting the Jews is not, as Dr. Magnes suggests, how to give the Jews the chance for a larger immigration. It is how to insure to every Jew who needs or wishes to go to Palestine the right to do so, how to put an end to the national homelessness of the Jewish people. Zionists believe this can be done only by enabling the Jews to develop their national life in a country of their own. They consider that the Jews have the same right as all other peoples to live as a nation in the land which was their cradle, the land which owes its place in history to the Jews.

If one were to accept Dr. Magnes's proposition that Jewish immigration into Palestine should be arbitrarily restricted to 500,000 additional Jews, one would at once be confronted with the question which Arabs might put, why as many as 500,000, or that which the Jews would put, why only 500,000?

Dr. Magnes commits another error of approach when he bases his case on the need to allay the "fear" of the Arabs. Whether that "fear" is real or a political pretext for opposing legitimate Jewish aspirations, it should not be permitted to interfere with a just decision upon the Jewish claim. If we are to be kept from attaining our rightful goal because the Arabs fear, or say they fear, the consequences, they need only allege that fear and the Jews would lose their right to reconstitute Palestine as their homeland. That would be neither reasonable nor morally justifiable. Would Dr. Magnes suggest that the Arabs be prohibited from achieving independence in Syria or the Lebanon if the Jews allege, as they well might, that they fear in such a case that the Syrians and Lebanese might wish at some future date to attack the Jews? I venture to doubt it. Dr. Magnes's conviction that the Jew-

ish people can be won over to a proposal for "bi-nationalism" of the type he indicates is without a shred of justification. He knows, or should know, that the vast majority, indeed all but a negligible percentage of the Jews in Palestine, are most definitely opposed to such a scheme. He knows that at the American Jewish Conference held in New York last year, representative of virtually the entire Jewish community of the United States, a resolution was enthusiastically adopted by some 480 delegates out of a total of 500 favoring the opposite of what he suggests—namely, the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. How in the face of these facts Dr. Magnes ventures to express his pious but chimerical hope that the Jews would agree to his bi-nationalism compromise is a riddle I cannot solve.

The attitude of the Arabs is no different. I invite Dr. Magnes to furnish evidence that a single one of the numerous Arab political parties has ever given the slightest justification for such a belief. The fact is, the Arabs are sufficiently intelligent to understand that you cannot artificially keep the number of Jews and Arabs equal.

Dr. Magnes also fails to point out that the question is not one between the Jews of Palestine and the Arabs of Palestine, but one between the Jewish people and the Arab people. The Arabs have six independent countries in which they are free to live their national life as they please—Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. These countries are one hundred times the size of Palestine. Are the Jews not to have the right to one little country where they too will be free to live their national life as they think right?

Dr. Magnes speaks of political parity. Those who share his opinion have been challenged to explain how a state will function in which Jews and Arabs have an equal voice and equal voting power. Clearly it will be faced by a stalemate from the very first day of its existence and will be unable to carry on.

Dr. Magnes is so concerned about Arab "fears" that he goes on to suggest that there be created a larger union of Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and the Lebanon. Why two other Arab states, Syria and the Lebanon, should be expected to join such a union to allay the "fears" of Arabs in Palestine is another

riddle. One would have thought that states usually take such steps only because they consider them to be in their own interest. This is but another instance of the hopelessly unrealistic nature of Dr. Magnes's proposal, which is made in complete disregard of the fact that repeatedly during the last few months the Lebanese government, through its Prime Minister, categorically declared that the Lebanon would not entertain any proposal to enter a federation which would in any way impair its complete independence and full sovereignty.

The effect of Dr. Magnes's proposal should at least be clear. He can envisage the existence of independent Arab states. They already exist. But he apparently cannot contemplate the existence again of a Jewish state. To the Jewish people he counsels the abandonment of all hope to live again as a people. They are to remain the one people discriminated against. They are to be a pariah among the nations. It is to this inferior, second-grade status that Dr. Magnes would have his readers believe the Jews of Palestine will agree. I am afraid Dr. Magnes fails to understand the spirit and mind of the Jews of Palestine despite his twenty-two years of residence in the country. If there were any danger of a Jewish revolt in Palestine, it would be against precisely the scheme Dr. Magnes is advocating, a scheme which would bar Palestine to the entry of Jews and condemn the Jewish people forever to inferior status by preventing them from achieving national independence in their ancient homeland. To such a fate the Jews cannot possibly be expected to submit. BERNARD JOSEPH  
New York, December 28

### Notes on the "Digest"

Dear Sirs: I wish to correct a few misinterpretations that happened to appear in Fulton Oursler's reply to your editorial on the *Reader's Digest*.

First, let me, as a member of the Magazines Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English which made the report Mr. Oursler referred to, reassure him that the Executive Committee did not reject our report but voted to continue the study for another year after we on the committee agreed to it. This may be corroborated by consulting the accounts of the convention published in the *Chicago Sun*, the *New York Times*, *PM*, *Variety*, *Tide*, *Newsweek*, and many other papers during the week of November 23, 1944.

Second, as to Mr. Oursler's statistics on "cooperative planning," let me quote the statistics I compiled in an article I wrote on the *Reader's Digest* for the *English Journal* (June, 1943) entitled *The Rainbow*. For the year 1942, out of a total of 411 articles, 70 were "undigested," or a percentage of 17. The percentage ranged from a low of 12 per cent in May and August to a high of 25 in November.

Third, in that same article, I asked the question our committee asked the *Reader's Digest* to answer, to no avail: Is the *Reader's Digest* still a digest? The figures say no. We maintain that the *Digest* is a journal of opinion, comparable to *The Nation*, and not the falsely claimed champion "of both sides" as it claims. *The Nation* does not hesitate to admit that it is biased in favor of liberalism. If the *Digest* has a bias—and we think it has—why doesn't it come right out and say so? We are willing to settle for just that alone. Does the *Digest* have the courage to do it?

SAMUEL BECKOFF

Long Island City, N. Y., January 10

### Yugoslav Relief Ship

Dear Sirs: For the last three years the Yugoslav people have made a disproportionate and unusual contribution to the victory of the United Nations. They have done it practically without aid from anybody—in fact, in the face of persistent unwillingness in the United States and Britain to recognize that contribution.

Perhaps thousands of American soldiers who fought in Africa and Sicily or who are still fighting in Italy are alive today partly because Tito's Yugoslav Liberation Army and partisan detachments, using weapons captured from the enemy, were keeping large German forces pinned down in Yugoslavia away from the fronts on which our men are fighting.

The Yugoslavs did this at an almost unimaginable sacrifice. Nearly two million of their best men and women, girls and boys, have perished in the struggle. This is as if the United States had lost fifteen million of its finest people.

Now, those who have managed to survive these three terrible years face death or the bitterest hardship for lack of the most elementary supplies. Over 70 per cent of their national wealth has been destroyed. Their houses, their cities, their fields have been devastated or stripped, and seven million people, more than half of them children, are

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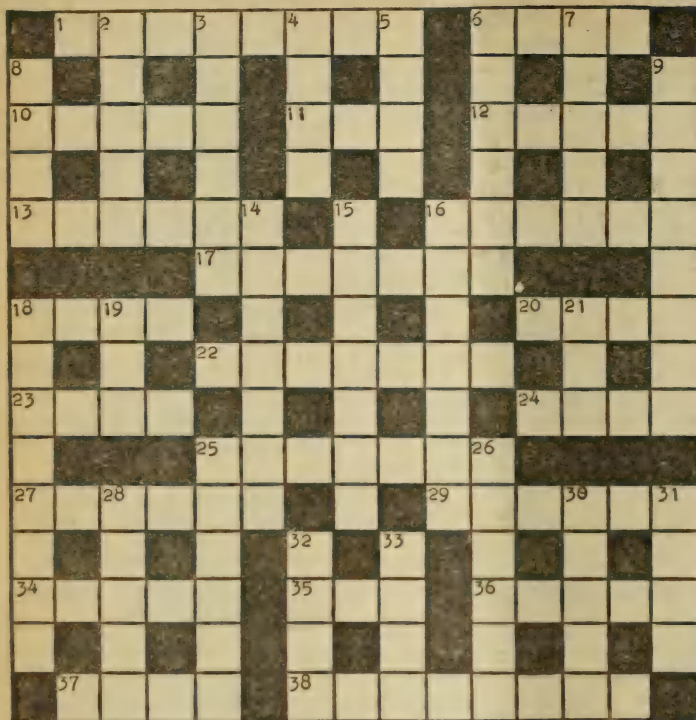
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 101

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 "I will take my ----- oath on it" (*Don Quixote*)
- 6 No amount of pull will help you if the door has this on it
- 10 Cop it in the eye
- 11 Shy in company
- 12 This comic is Gilbertian
- 13 Profited by giving Ned an ear
- 16 Pussy-footed
- 17 He illustrated the "Alice" stories
- 18 The bird inside wants out, and the bird outside wants in
- 20 Downpour in the Ukraine
- 22 Where even the briskest walker adopts a shuffling step at last
- 23 Grit
- 24 Back room
- 25 Politely called "puree" (two words, 3 and 4)
- 27 Completely put out, a nightbird goes to bed
- 29 Cobbler's work, this
- 34 Confess (two words, 3 and 2)
- 85 Single, but not all alone
- 86 Lifeless
- 87 We are, or used to be
- 88 All that is left when grandmother has learned her lesson

## DOWN

- 1 Extreme. Transpose the last two letters to make it more extreme
- 8 Steamship, or part of its cargo
- 4 The common run
- 5 Wagers
- 6 Lost Pa in a government department!
- 7 Herds in a scrap

- 8 One of the things that "gyred and gimble in the wabe" (*Jabberwocky*)
- 9 An English capitalist?
- 14 Removed from high office
- 15 Resigns (anag.)
- 16 You and I impersonated by Peggy —the flighty creature!
- 18 This accounts for how the money goes (two words, 4 and 4)
- 19 Sure thing
- 21 "It was a mighty while ---" (Ben Jonson)
- 25 Yours may be your parents or your nation
- 26 One requires a lot of this to shine in society
- 28 Flinch
- 30 Attainable, perhaps, but rarely attained
- 31 Character in *The Mikado* who stops just short of being rude (hyphen, 2-2)
- 32 Drink like a fish
- 33 Ice usually precedes this

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 100

ACROSS:—1 COBALT; 6 STUPOR; 13 OAT-CAKE; 11 RETURN; 12 ANDREW; 13 EGOISTS; 14 ORES; 17 STIR; 19 NUNNERIES; 21 FIEND; 23 INEPT; 25 AROUND; 26 AERIAL; 27 EIGHT; 29 GIBED; 31 ALIENATED; 34 LAIR; 36 RIPE; 37 EMANATE; 38 CURARI; 40 ELOPED; 41 STREETS; 42 SLEUTH; 43 EARTHY.  
DOWN:—1 CARTON; 2 BATTEN; 3 LORE; 4 TANGERINE; 5 SKATE; 6 TENS; 7 PIRATE; 8 REWARD; 10 CHINEE; 15 RU-MANIA; 16 SNOOKER; 17 SIMILAR; 18 IN-SLEEP; 20 INDIA; 21 SPAHL; 24 TETE-A-TETE; 28 GLANCE; 29 GLACIS; 30 BIERCE; 32 TIPPET; 33 DEADLY; 35 SMITH; 37 ERST; 38 ELSA.

without clothing and blankets. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children will starve or freeze to death this winter if supplies do not reach them soon.

To help meet their critical need, plans have been made to send a relief ship to Yugoslavia loaded with used warm clothing, tinned foods, and medical supplies. The American Committee for the Yugoslav Relief Ship at 58 Park Avenue, New York, has been formed by the War Relief Fund of Americans of South Slavic Descent to conduct the emergency drive to fill the ship.

This is an appeal to your readers to go through their trunks and closets and attics and pick out their used but still serviceable clothing of all sorts and sizes and any blankets and quilts they can spare. If they send the articles at once to the committee, it is highly probable that their contributions will warm someone in liberated Yugoslavia this winter.

I beg your readers to bring this appeal to the attention of others in their neighborhood, to people in their office, shop, school, library, club, or church. It may be, for instance, that some clothing merchant or manufacturer has overstocks of unsalable garments and other articles. All such goods will be deeply welcome in Yugoslavia.

Neighborhood, school, church, or shop collecting committees might be started. Volunteer help of all kinds is needed.

Clothing may be brought to our headquarters, American Committee for the Yugoslav Relief Ship, 58 Park Avenue, New York (LExington 2-2708), or may be mailed to our warehouse, 161 Perry Street.  
LOUIS ADAMIC  
New York, December 18

## CONTRIBUTORS

GRAYSON KIRK is professor of government at Columbia University.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG has been a sympathetic reporter on Russia since 1921.

DOROTHY B. JONES was formerly head of the Film Reviewing and Analysis Section of the OWI. The opinions expressed in her article, however, are her own.

MILBURN P. AKERS is political editor of the Chicago *Sun*.

JACQUES BARZUN is an associate professor of history at Columbia University.

MORTON G. WHITE is an instructor in philosophy at Columbia University.

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

COINCIDENT WITH THE RUSSIAN SWEEP AND ON the eve of the Big Three meeting, it is reported that our fliers are beginning to shower the Germans with pamphlets spelling out the meaning of "unconditional surrender." There is no naming terms, but a distinction is clearly drawn between "individual Germans who had nothing to do with the crimes committed by the war criminals" and the war criminals themselves. "It is the wish of the Allies," say the pamphlets, "to give the German people the possibility for normal peaceful development as members of the European family of nations."

★

BUT SUCH IS NOT THE WISH OF ADOLF HITLER. In his Third Reich anniversary speech Hitler denounced the false promise of the decadent democracies, pointed a trembling finger at "the horrid fate that is now taking shape in the east," and exhorted his war-harrowed people to strengthen the heart and steel the nerves "in the holy determination to wield the sword . . . until final victory crowns our efforts." He pictured the menacing wave of "Jewish Asiatic Bolshevism," which unless checked by superhuman effort would engulf not only Germany but the whole European continent and England as well. Perhaps Hitler was directing his remarks not only to the Berliners watching the brightening glare in the eastern skies and the refugees crowding the roads from Breslau and Stettin. Perhaps he was also thinking of more isolated Russophobes gazing out across the broad expanses of Lake Michigan and a few others with a view of the Potomac. The Vansittartites must have had some satisfaction in seeing the frenzied captain trying to herd the whole German shipload—passengers and Nazi crew—into a single leaky lifeboat: now it is salvation or damnation for all.

★

WILL THIS RADICAL PAN-GERMANISM BE ANY more convincing when urged by the fanatic of Berchtesgaden than when argued more suavely by the English lord or his American counterparts? The German mass held together by propaganda, terror, war, and desperation is beginning to separate itself out into constituent parts. There is probably toughness yet in morale. There is certainly fighting strength which will yet be demonstrated on all fronts. But the cracks are beginning to appear. The craven are beginning to look for a hiding place—twice Hitler spoke of the cowards and the infamous ones. The foreign workers, such as the Russians in Oppeln, carry on more effective sabotage. The renewed activity of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow and of its counterpart in France is undoubtedly having an influence in encouraging Germans who have never been

sympathetic with the Nazis. Prisoners report that even the stout-hearted Wehrmacht fighters have lost all hope of matching the increasing odds against them. The iron-disciplined fanatics of the S. S. will hold the longest. But even their nerve will crack when they find that the desperation and hatred born of fear in the hearts of the German people is no longer directed toward the enemy "from the steppes of Asia" but towards their own leaders who have led them through twelve years of tinsel glory and hopeless suffering into this ghoulis twilight. The funeral march of *Götterdämmerung* has begun. \*

THERE MUST BE NO COMPROMISE IN OUR STAND on the punishment of war criminals. Already two good men have been lost to the United Nations War Crimes Commission because they insisted that neither the political status of the criminal nor the nationality of his victims should protect him from justice. If the hundreds of thousands of helpless German Jews—men, women, and little children—and the courageous anti-Nazi Germans who have fallen victim to Nazi torture and cruelty are not avenged, then one main objective of this war will remain unfulfilled. There has been a sinister tendency on the part of both the State Department and the British Foreign Office to eliminate from the war its ideological essence and reduce it to a mere clash of military powers. Under such an interpretation the sadists who carried through the shocking brutalities in Poland will be run to earth but the master minds who designed the crime of Nazism itself will go free. If this is a peoples' war and not just a war of states and governments, now is the time for the people to speak. Their pressure has already forced statements from Richard K. Law for the Foreign Office and Joseph Grew for the State Department, although it has not put back on the War Crimes Commission Sir Cecil Hurst and Herbert C. Pell. The pressure of the people must continue to act on and through their representatives and their governments, and must even be felt at the Big Three conference. The danger of leniency with Nazis is revealed in the warning article of Alfred Kantorowicz in the present issue. As a first step to a free world the forgers and perpetrators of Nazi crimes must be brought to justice.

✱

THE CURRENT CONDITION OF ITALY IS A POOR advertisement for Anglo-American statesmanship. Not only are cold, hunger, and disease rampant, but reports from all parts of the liberated area speak of a wave of crime and juvenile delinquency. Herbert L. Matthews has recently cabled the New York Times from Sicily: "Eighteen months after its liberation this island is half-starved, wretched, and rebellious, a prey to grave civil disorders." According to this source, the troubles range from brigandage to draft riots to "virtual insurrections." An uprising in Ragusa and Agrigento provinces early this year ended with at least thirty-six dead and eighty-five wounded. Reports like this remind us that the necessity for preventing anarchy was one excuse for following the principle of continuity in Italy, for upholding the Royal House, and for maintaining in office local Fascist functionaries unless their reputations were especially malodorous. The promises of law and order must now seem as ironical to the Italians as the promises of food.

IN SICILY ONE CAUSE OF UNREST AND POSSIBLY a cause of disorder is the separatist movement, whose leaders are seeking to have the island made an independent, sovereign state, after which they would be willing to federate with Italy. Mr. Matthews reports that this movement cuts across all party lines. Its supporters claim that ever since the Risorgimento they have been exploited and neglected by the government at Rome, which has hindered industrial development and done little or nothing to relieve agricultural distress. However, it is noteworthy that the "financial backbone of separatism and its chief leadership" are supplied by the big landlords. Since one of the most vital needs of Sicily is a subdivision of the big estates, this group may well be moved by the fear that some future left-wing Italian government will move to expropriate them, along with the landlords of the mainland. With "independence" the island would almost inevitably come under British influence, and British governments are notoriously tender of landed interests. Mr. Matthews does not mention this point or, perhaps because of the censorship, the strongly held belief of many Italians that the British have given aid and encouragement to the separatists. But the analogy he draws between the separatists and the Moslem League in India, with its demand for Pakistan, is suggestive.

✱

THE LIBERATION OF MANILA HAS SYMBOLIC AS well as military importance. It is the first great city recaptured from the Japanese, and the enthusiastic welcome given to our forces is good evidence that politically our Eastern enemy has been building on sand. Strategically, the taking of Manila cuts the Japanese garrison in two and opens up the possibility of a return of the American navy to the Cavite base, though this move may be delayed by a Japanese death-stand on Corregidor. But in any case American possession of the major Luzon airfield virtually completes the isolation of the vast Japanese holdings in the South Pacific. Although the enemy is attempting to counterbalance the loss of sea communications by obtaining a land route across China, his possession of a land link between Canton and Hankow by no means assures a dependable system of communication. A railway still has to be built; and even if it can be completed before an American landing on the China coast it will be subject to constant attack by the Fourteenth Air Force and Chinese guerrillas. Meanwhile, the opening of the Ledo-Burma road promises to have an immediate effect in strengthening Chinese resistance and in making it possible to build up a stronger American air force. Most encouraging of all is the report of a projected reorganization of the Chinese army along lines that have long been advocated by General Stilwell and other American military authorities. Under the plan one-third of the ragged, ill-nourished conscript army is to be demobilized; the rest is to be reorganized and given a considerable increase in pay. This will have the triple advantage of increasing the number of men available for food production and war work, reducing by some millions the number who must be fed by the government, and increasing the efficiency of the remaining Chinese troops. The significance of this move is best expressed in General Stilwell's own words when he declared that "the Chinese soldier, if fed, clothed, and trained, is as good a soldier as anyone can ask for."

**STEPS FOR STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE International Labor Organization** in the post-war period received top priority at the meeting of its Governing Board which has just terminated in London. A constitutional change was adopted which will permit the I. L. O., formerly linked loosely with the League of Nations, to cooperate closely with the new security organization provided for at Dumbarton Oaks while retaining its present functions. After a bitter dispute in which the employer delegates were overruled, the Governing Board voted to establish seven international industrial committees on a tripartite basis, with government as well as employer and worker representatives. These industrial committees are intended to serve as international collective-bargaining agencies which will stabilize wages and working conditions in the basic industries. A foretaste of the problem of dealing with the defeated countries was provided when the representatives of France and Yugoslavia successfully opposed Italy's petition for readmission into the I. L. O. A plea that Russia be invited once again to participate in the organization was also sidetracked. Yet it is evident that if effective international labor standards are to be created and enforced, all nations, particularly the low-standard ones, must be included.

✱

**OUR PUBLIC OFFICIALS SHOW AN INFINITE** capacity for tying themselves up into legalistic knots in dealing with the enemy, whether it be in connection with punishing war crimes or the handling of alien property. The Department of Justice has been persuaded by the Office of the Alien Property Custodian to pay almost \$700,000 to a group of former I. G. Farben employees in this country rather than contest their suits for recovery of stock seized after Pearl Harbor. The stock was acquired either just before or just after the outbreak of the European war under circumstances designed to keep I. G. Farben subsidiaries in this country in hands friendly to the Germans. Our Washington editor, I. F. Stone, in an article called *Fumbling with I. G. Farben*, recently called attention to this situation and to the unusual career of one Ernest K. Halbach, president of General Dyestuffs when it was exclusive sales agent in this country for I. G. Farben and securely under German control. Halbach is under indictment for conspiracy with I. G. Farben and his bank accounts are blocked by the Treasury, but he has been drawing \$82,000 a year as "consultant" to his old company since the Alien Property Custodian took it over, and he will now be paid \$557,550 for the stock taken from him after the war began. The government's decision to settle rather than fight seems all the stranger since in the only one of these I. G. Farben subsidiary cases to reach the courts the government won the first round.

✱

**REPEAL OF THE POLL TAX IN GEORGIA RANKS** as one of the most encouraging developments in recent weeks on the domestic front. It is an event, however, which can be interpreted two ways. Conservatives are already pointing to the repeal as conclusive evidence that the South will handle the problem satisfactorily if it is not subjected to pressure by "outside agitators." Yet the fact remains that Georgia's action came at a time when the pressure for federal legislation outlawing the poll tax is greater than it has been at any other period since the Civil War. No one is likely to insist on

federal legislation if all the poll-tax states will voluntarily rescind their discriminatory restrictions on voting. But as these states have had many years in which to abolish their restrictions by their own initiative and have failed to act, it would seem obvious that greater pressure is necessary. The need for a federal law is further pointed up by the situation in Tennessee, where a bill outlawing the tax was invalidated by the state Supreme Court and the legislature has refused to pass a new bill designed to by-pass the objections of the court.

## A New Foreign Policy?

**R**USHING across Europe, the comet-like Harry Hopkins left a glittering wake of speculation before he vanished behind the overcast of censorship which hides the deliberations of the Big Three. Possibly before this issue of *The Nation* appears, that overcast will be lifted and an expectant world given some inkling of the agenda and conclusions of the conference. Meanwhile, it may be instructive to examine some clues to the nature of the program which the President is laying before Churchill and Stalin.

From Washington, London, Paris, and Rome have come reports which suggest a new and firmer American policy in Europe. We have, if these reports are to be trusted, abandoned the idea that war can be conducted purely on a military level with all political questions thrust aside until the guns stop firing. In an interview in Rome, Mr. Hopkins is reported to have said that the Administration now realized that conditions in the liberated countries could not be left out of account in military planning. He added as a personal opinion—but would he have voiced it if it was at variance with those of his chief?—that the swing to the left among the European nations was to the interests of the United States, provided it did not go to the extremes of totalitarianism. In an account of the same interview Anne O'Hare McCormick quoted Hopkins as saying that American motives for participation in European affairs were not so closely connected with immediate national interests as were those of the British and the Russians, illustrated by their concern for security in the Mediterranean and in Eastern Europe respectively. Our concern, rather, was for "a good peace" based on the ideals for which we had fought.

In the view of some observers, all this means that President Roosevelt, strengthened by the assurance of Senatorial support, is going to talk turkey to both Churchill and Stalin. He will tell them that British and Russian demands for security must not stand in the way of the kind of settlement that will give the United States security against the outbreak of a third world war in Europe. Moreover, it is believed, he will emphasize the fact that Americans are not taking part in the liberation of Europe in order to enthrone new dictatorships and will insist on joint machinery to insure that the Italians and the Greeks actually have a free hand to choose their future form of government. According to Jon Kimche of Reuters, the message the President sent Churchill via Hopkins contained a flat veto of all "totalitarian governments in Europe whether of right or left," and included in this description the present setups in Lublin and Belgrade.

We confess to some skepticism about these reports in the

absence of corroborative evidence. Surely, if the Administration were going to take a rigid stand against totalitarianism, it would not overlook Franco. Moreover, the deference our diplomats, official and unofficial, show to the Vatican does not seem to us to be consistent with a strong stand for European democracy. It is true that the Pope has recently spoken favorably of democracy, but his notion of democracy is a decidedly esoteric one, and we cannot forget that he has condemned only those fascist regimes which have actively interfered with the political or property rights of the church. Yet the Administration continues to treat the Vatican as an important temporal power; indeed, as one of the United Nations, not, perhaps, quite on a par with the Big Three but as worthy of consultation as France.

Assuming, however, that these suspicions are groundless, what are the arguments and the bargaining counters that Mr. Roosevelt can employ in overcoming the fears and ambitions of Britain and Russia? Reports from several quarters declare that he proposes to use America's economic position as a club. Russia and Britain, not to mention smaller European powers, will need generous American credit for reconstruction. This country, the President may say, is prepared to offer the necessary loans but only if the political settlement of Europe is such as to minimize the risks. How effective this argument will prove we do not know. Historically, the Soviets have always looked askance at loans with political strings attached, and the British are already torn between the desire to speed reconstruction and the fear of economic dependence on the United States.

In these circumstances the second means of persuasion, which Mr. Roosevelt is supposed to have up his sleeve, may prove more effective. This is support for the principle of a tough peace for Germany coupled with a definite American undertaking to enforce it by means of the Vandenberg or some similar plan. Reports from several different sources agree that the so-called Morgenthau plan, with some modifications, represents the policy for post-war Germany which the President has adopted. It would include the partial dismemberment of the Reich, with Silesia going to Poland and control of the Ruhr and Rhineland passing to some kind of international commission. These steps alone would deprive Germany of a major part of its heavy industry, but its war-making capacity would be further reduced by the physical removal of chemical, machine, and other plants to neighboring countries which have suffered from German occupation. In addition, Mr. Roosevelt, it is said, is ready to back the use of German labor on a large scale to make good the devastation in countries invaded by Germany.

On paper such schemes have the quality of rough justice. Germany's victims have the right to demand that their economic needs take precedence, that their standard of living should be restored to normal before that of the Germans. But while giving the utmost consideration to their claims we have to take into account the ultimate consequences of such drastic peace terms. Could a Germany deprived of its wealthiest provinces and strictly limited in its economic activities exist at all as a political entity? Could any kind of native government be found for it, and, if not, what kind of military rule would the Allies be able to provide and for how long? These are but a few of the questions to which

the Morgenthau plan gives rise. Perhaps the Big Three will provide some answers. Until we have them, the plan appears as an impractical but far from harmless blueprint.

## Still Too Much Brass Hat

WE HOPE the Senate Military Affairs Committee will not let itself be stampeded into passing the May-Bailey work-or-fight bill without full hearings, and we hope that the committee will amend the bill to increase the powers of the War Manpower Commission and the Office of War Mobilization. The angry statement made by Senator Edwin C. Johnson (Democrat, Colorado) serves to call attention to the fact that the War Department still seems intent on going its own high-handed way in the handling of man-power. *The Nation* has called attention time and again to the fact that man-power cannot be isolated from the rest of the war-production picture and that much current difficulty goes back to the stubborn unwillingness of army-navy procurement services to cooperate with civilian war agencies in a coordinated program. Judging from Senator Johnson's outburst, that attitude of mind still dominates the War Department.

The House turned down the Voorhis bill to handle labor shortages by giving greater power to the War Manpower Commission. This approach seems to us the one best designed to combine compulsion with efficiency. But the work-or-fight measure as passed by the House did provide that the basic certificates for compulsory mobilization of man-power should be issued by the Director of War Mobilization "after consultation with the appropriate representatives of management, labor, agriculture, and government" and after finding that voluntary recruitment had failed. This means full utilization of the democratic and cooperative community mechanisms already established by the War Manpower Commission in war production centers. And this provision was based on the written recommendation agreed upon by the War Department and the other agencies concerned with man-power.

Senator Johnson declared that after the committee had accepted this recommendation by a vote of seven-to-two, a high War Department spokesman privately telephoned several members of the Senate committee to urge them to substitute a "compromise amendment" placing greater powers in the hands of Selective Service boards and relegating the Office of War Mobilization and other civilian agencies to mere advisory roles. Johnson called this "dirty double-crossing," which it is, if true, and the committee has held up the bill. It seems to be clear to everyone but the brass hats that the local draft boards are not equipped to handle the complicated and delicate problems of labor mobilization; they have made a mess of the simpler problem of occupational deferments. The army-navy procurement services prefer to leave compulsory powers with Selective Service because it is under military influence, if not domination, and has no authority to go into related phases of the war-production problem.

To explain what we mean we call attention to the order issued on January 26 by J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board. This order seems to embody the first agreement among army, navy, War Manpower Commission, and War Production Board on a very old, obvious, and ele-

mentary problem. The problem is for the army and navy not to place new contracts in tight labor areas without regard to the man-power and facilities available. Some time ago Production Urgency Committees were set up to establish employment ceilings and labor priorities designed to channel labor into places where it was most urgently needed and to bring some order into the placing of new contracts. The January 26 order provides that no new prime contracts are to be placed in tight labor areas without the approval of the Production Urgency Committee when the new contracts would require an increase in labor above the Manpower Commission ceilings. Such an order should have been made months ago.

*The Nation* has long urged Congress to adopt some such comprehensive measure for coordinating industrial and labor mobilization as was embodied in the Kilgore-Pepper-Tolan

bill. It believes some measures of compulsion in the labor field necessary, but it believes these will prove most effective in the framework of a planned war economy. The army-navy procurement services have always preferred the hit-or-miss approach, have always resented any suggestion that they cooperate with civilian war-production agencies. Senator Johnson's outburst indicates that this is still the prevailing spirit. If a work-or-fight law is enforced in that way, on the premise that war-production tangles can be solved merely by ordering workers around, we are headed for trouble. The Senate Military Affairs Committee can prevent that trouble by passing a work-or-fight bill which would operate within the framework of the Office of War Mobilization and not at the mercy of impatient military martinets and uninformed and subservient local draft boards.

## Zhukov's Gamble

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE Russian advance continued to make extraordinary progress last week. Having covered three hundred miles in three weeks, the Red Army brought the war almost to Berlin—and Germany a big step closer to defeat.

German resistance hardened during the week, especially on the southern flank of the great Russian salient pointed toward Berlin, where Marshal Konev made but little progress into Silesia. It hardened less successfully on the northern flank, where Marshal Rokossovsky occupied most of East Prussia and pushed a shoulder into Pomerania, cutting the Danzig-Berlin communication lines. In the central and most threatened sector of the front German resistance settled itself only on the approaches to Küstrin and Frankfurt, after Marshal Zhukov had rolled up near the Oder on a twenty-mile front. As I write (Monday), late reports indicate that the Russians are drawing up around these two traditional eastern bastions of the German capital, which form with the Oder the last major obstacles short of the city itself. Berlin is less than forty miles away.

The last forty miles may well prove to be the hardest. The two fortress cities and the river line are not the only things standing between Zhukov and the greatest single prize of the war against Germany. It must be assumed that the German high command has gathered a fairly respectable force for this desperate and vital battle for Berlin, by moving up the last of Germany's strategic reserves, some divisions from the western front, and newly trained units of the *Volkssturm*, whose members can fire machine-guns from pillboxes despite their late and hasty indoctrination. It must also be presumed that something more than a vacuum lies between the Oder and Berlin. It has been apparent for two years, ever since Stalingrad, that this area would one day have to be defended, and undoubtedly it is laced with tank traps, mine fields, barbed-wire entanglements, and mutually supporting strong points. It is also one of the most heavily built-up areas in the world—which means street-to-street and finally house-to-house fighting, although the flatness of the

German plain and the lack of natural obstacles might permit broad flanking sweeps to cut off Berlin's communications.

Perhaps even more important is the present contour line of the Russian front, from Elbing on the Baltic to Katowice in Polish Silesia—an enormous sickle, through which Zhukov's hammer is pounding at Berlin. The shape of the sickle and the position of the hammer, neatly symbolic of Russian power though they may be, are enough to give a traditional staff officer the heebie-jeebies. Against an enemy with any considerable power still at his disposal, Zhukov would obviously be putting his head into a sack. His farthest spearpoint is three hundred miles from its jumping-off place; the base of the Russian salient is some six hundred miles long; the spearpoint is only twenty miles wide, with the sides of the salient sloping in steeply to form this exceptionally narrow and exposed position. The southern slope of the salient follows the general line of the Oder, which may be a barrier to German pressure as well as to Russian crossing; the northern slope follows the less formidable line of the railway from Berlin to Danzig, which can be crossed at will except in so far as the crossing is interdicted by fire from one side or the other.

Into this seeming cul-de-sac Zhukov's supply lines run from the far side of the Vistula, three hundred miles away. The direct line is blocked at a crucial spot by the continued resistance of the German garrison in Poznan, which may come to play as important a part in eastern-front affairs as the hopelessly besieged German garrisons in the French Atlantic ports played in western-front affairs. Whether, in the face of these difficulties, the Russians can continue their already extraordinary supply performance remains to be seen. One would judge not, but one has learned not to apply ordinary judgments to the Red Army.

The hardened resistance at the Oder and the dangerous shape of the Russian line do suggest that Soviet strategy will call for redoubled efforts by Rokossovsky and Konev to relieve Zhukov's exposed and essentially unsound position.

It would be entirely in keeping with past Soviet strategy for Zhukov to regroup while his friends to right and left rolled up the German flanks, cutting through Pomerania to Stettin and over the southern Oder through German Silesia to Liegnitz and Görlitz.

Whether Soviet strategy follows its traditional pattern or Marshal Zhukov ignores his dangers and drives on to Berlin, it is obvious that the Germans are in the direst straits. Refugees clog the roads from the east, eliciting the tearful remarks of German radio commentators; with what must have

been hundreds of thousands of these wretches in the streets, Berlin received its most concentrated bombing of the war on Saturday from the United States Eighth Air Force. Goebbels was reported charged with the defense of Berlin, with Hitler scheduled for the crags of Berchtesgaden. The coldest winter, the greatest fuel and food shortages, the gravest military threat of the war: this is Germany on the twelfth anniversary of Hitler's rise to power. It seems unlikely that the Reich will last thirteen years, much less the thousand promised for it by the megalomaniac corporal.

## Wallace: Second Round

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, February 4*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S attitude in the battle over the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce is far from clear. Last Sunday night I was informed by two separate sources in close touch with Wallace and with Senator Pepper, who has been leading the fight for him, that confirmation could be expected within a few days. I was given to understand that a compromise had been reached under which the President would issue an executive order separating the Federal Loan Agency from the Department of Commerce. It was believed that this would satisfy enough of Wallace's opponents to obtain a majority for him, as I feel sure it would have at that time. The cheerful confidence of the Wallace forces began to evaporate when Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday passed with no such message from the President.

On Thursday morning the *Washington Post* reported that as the Senate "squared off for round one, Barkley lacked any word from the President." The *Post* said it had been "four days since he [Barkley] advised Mr. Roosevelt to separate loan functions from the Commerce Department by executive order, and to green-light the George bill doing the same thing." When the Senate met that day, it was only one vote that prevented passage of the Bailey motion to take up the Wallace appointment before the George bill. I have encountered no one who does not think Wallace would have been beaten if the nomination had come before the Senate ahead of the bill. The forty-three-to-forty-one vote against the Bailey motion was an even narrower escape than it seemed to be. Senator Taft had voted "nay" only so that he could move for reconsideration, and on that motion Wallace might have been defeated. Fortunately Senator Bailey, with the help of Vice-President Truman, obtained the floor, shutting off the Taft motion to reconsider and moving instead to postpone the consideration of the Wallace nomination for thirty days.

Senator Barkley not only asked a postponement of thirty days but agreed that he would move for an extension if the George bill had not been passed by the House and signed by the President at that time. He thus pledged himself to hold up any vote on the Wallace nomination until the George bill was law. It was only in the course of speaking on this motion to postpone that he finally brought forward the long-awaited

message from the President. The majority leader said he had "just received" it, "through the White House," and later indicated to the press that he meant this literally and had not had the message when the Bailey motion came up.

It has been a favorite last-ditch device of the President's to head off legislation he did not want with an executive order designed to take the steam out of the forces behind the legislation. This was the tactic he used to prevent passage of the Kilgore-Pepper-Tolan bill for an Office of War Mobilization two years ago. But in this case there was no executive order, only a promise to approve the George bill when passed. The message was not direct from the President but in a letter from Judge Samuel M. Rosenman to Senator Barkley. Had the message come earlier, it might have been used to win immediate confirmation of Wallace on the President's promise to approve the George bill. Timed as it was, the message was of little value, since Barkley had to agree to postpone a vote on the nomination until the George bill had actually been passed and signed. This, as is already becoming clear, only gives Wallace's enemies more time in which to work out new ways to block his confirmation.

Censorship regulations designed to protect the person of the President prevent full discussion of the message. "As we all know," Senator Barkley said, "the President is on the verge of a very important conference." The foreign press and radio report that he is abroad. It may be that some difficulty in communication, whether technical or precautionary, explains the belated character of the President's message. This might conceivably have something to do with the absence of the expected executive order. But the incident stirs misgivings, coming as it does after Mr. Roosevelt's rather cheap letter to Jesse Jones, with its ignoble attempt to duck responsibility by implying that he "had to do something for Henry." The parallelism with the Chicago brush-off is strong. I hope it is unjustified.

In my opinion, and I hope I am wrong, it will be harder to obtain Wallace's confirmation after the President returns from that "important conference" to which Senator Barkley referred. An "important conference" at this time is likely to result in some long-postponed territorial settlements in the East, and if Mr. Roosevelt has to win conservative support for a new Polish boundary, he will be in no position politically to ram the Wallace appointment down the Senate's throat.

Conversely, there will be new arguments for withdrawing the nomination in the hands of Wallace's enemies and rivals in the Administration.

The anti-Wallace forces are shifting their strategy. The George bill, which was put forward to hurt Wallace, proved to be based on an overestimate of his strength in the Senate. It is the only thing which can now save him. As Arthur Krock observed sadly in the *New York Times* today, "the only way to have assured Mr. Wallace's rejection was to have made his full appointment an open-and-shut question. . . . Though this knowledge came soon, it came too late to be applied by the all-out opposition." But some minds run in similar channels, and even as those words were being written by Krock, Rankin of Mississippi was announcing that he would move to send the George bill back to committee in the House and to keep it there until the Senate had voted on the Wallace nomination. This means a fight in the House between Rankin, who hates Wallace, and Rayburn, who hates Jesse Jones. And it will be a fight between two Southern Democrats for the votes of Southern Democrats. If Rankin wins, he will be the boss of the House, leader of a victorious rightist coalition.

With the Wallace nomination, progressives have embarked on a political battle equaled in importance only by that for a stable United Nations peace. More is at stake here than

who shall be Secretary of Commerce or what shall happen to Henry A. Wallace. The stability and prosperity and political health of post-war America hang upon the outcome, for this is but the beginning of the long fight for full employment. That fight may easily be lost and only with difficulty won. Even if Wallace is confirmed—and he can be—the victory will only be a starter. The next step will be the choice of a Federal Loan Administrator, and after that we may expect every concrete proposal to stir bitter opposition in Congress.

It seems obvious that a lengthy political campaign of this kind cannot finally be won by last-minute frantic flurries, a wave of telegrams, and a burst of lobbying. It can only be won if the leaders of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and N. C.-P. A. C. are determined to carry on their political activities on a more than hand-to-mouth basis, if they are prepared to get out to the grass roots and through patient organizational and educational work, without frenzy or rancor, explain the meaning of full employment and the methods by which it may be obtained. Victory will not be won by blaming "reaction" or Rankin, or by election threats against Congressmen. The basis of Wallace's difficulties in Congress is the fact that the full-employment issue is as yet imperfectly understood by the people of this country. When they understand the issue and are aroused enough to demand action on it, Congress will be no obstacle. There lies the P. A. C.'s job and ours.

## *Britain's Economic Dunkirk*

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

TO WHAT extent has Britain's economic structure been undermined by the war? Will the price of victory prove to be permanent impoverishment? Has John Bull, as some allege, been bankrupted by his efforts, and, if so, what sort of composition will he attempt to make with his creditors? By lifting the statistical blackout the White Paper on the war effort of the United Kingdom has made possible at least a partial answer to those questions.

Some American commentators have asserted that Britain will be in a better economic position than the United States after the war because the growth in its national debt has been relatively smaller. But the size of a country's internal debt has no bearing on its capacity to produce real wealth; that is only affected to the extent that war destroys or consumes the actual means of production. For modern war is necessarily on a pay-as-you-go basis. Today's battles cannot be fought with weapons produced tomorrow. Consequently the economic demands of war can only be met by increasing current production and reducing current consumption, in other words, by sweat and abstinence now. No draft on future consumption is involved apart from what is necessary to replace expended capital assets. And so far as this country is concerned, it appears that, on balance, its wealth-producing equipment has increased during the war, and its ability to supply the needs of its citizens is greater than before.

All European countries have, on the other hand, suffered some degree of capital deterioration. The most obvious form

of such wastage is the sheer destruction incidental to battle or resulting from deliberate attempts to deny facilities to the enemy—scorched-earth tactics. Less obvious, but in the case of Britain not less important, is what is called "disinvestment," which arises from failure to maintain existing capital assets at full efficiency because the necessary man-power and materials have been diverted to war production. Another form of disinvestment is the liquidation of foreign assets in order to pay for urgently needed war goods from overseas.

The destructiveness of modern warfare is beyond description; in a country which has the misfortune to become a stubbornly contested battlefield, it can be almost total. I have been told on good authority that in Italy, from the toe of the peninsula to the River Arno, only 6 per cent of the capital equipment, including railroads and public utilities, remains intact. In large parts of Russia the devastation is even more complete; homes, farms, factories, power stations, schools lie in ruins after being burned and blasted, first by the retreating Red Army and again by the retreating Germans. In Holland the very soil is being washed away or poisoned with salt water by the strategic flooding practiced by friend and foe. The loss of the means of production in these and other countries obviously implies a fall in the standard of living to a subsistence level. For a long time their peoples will have to devote all their surplus energies to the task of rebuilding their productive and social capital; they will be forced to choose bridges before butter.

Britain has been a battlefield throughout a large part of the war and remains a battlefield today, but the physical damage it has suffered, while severe, is not on this horrifying scale. The White Paper provides the information that up to September 30, 1944, 202,000 houses had been destroyed or damaged beyond repair, 255,000 more had been rendered uninhabitable, and 4,073,000 were damaged but remained inhabitable. If we estimate the cost of reconstruction at an average of \$2,000 for houses in the first category, at \$800 for those in the second, and at \$200 for those in the third, we arrive at a total bill for residential property of \$1,420,000,000. No details at all are available of the damage received in air raids by industrial and commercial property, churches, public buildings, schools, hospitals, and so on, but in London alone it is clearly very considerable. Making a rough guess, I would say that a figure of \$600,000,000 for replacement costs would be far from excessive, bringing the over-all total to around \$2,000,000,000.

During the war the only maintenance and repair work that can be carried out in Britain on buildings, machinery, and other forms of capital equipment is that which is essential to the war effort. Consequently a large amount of normal depreciation is not being made good, and the plant of the country, as a whole, has deteriorated. In 1940 this disinvestment was more than counterbalanced by new investment, but according to the White Paper, in the three years 1941 to 1943 there was a net disinvestment of almost \$1,600,000,000. Assuming a figure for 1944 equal to that of 1943, a total of \$2,100,000,000 would be reached. Unfortunately, it is not clear just what kinds of capital are covered by the estimate in the White Paper which refers to "private net disinvestment at home." This may or may not include depreciation suffered by residential property. Certainly it does not include what may be called intangible disinvestment.

The most important form of this is, perhaps, loss of education due to the war, since trained intelligence is any country's primary capital equipment. The necessity for evacuating millions of children from the cities has led to disruption of the primary schools; the urgent need of man-power has sent numbers of young people of teen age into the factories, depriving them of secondary education; service in the armed forces has prevented or interrupted higher education for many. To the extent that these losses are made good, a draft on future production is necessarily involved, since these young people must be maintained by the working population while they acquire the skills and knowledge without which their future usefulness to the community will be impaired.

Leaving aside such immeasurable losses, we have as the result of enemy action and internal disinvestment an estimated total reduction in capital of some \$4,100,000,000 or a little more than £1,000,000,000. Imposing as this sum is, it is not too formidable in relation to the British national income, which in 1943 amounted to £8,172,000,000. If Britain maintains full employment after the war, the whole loss can be made good within a few years, allowing at the same time for a considerable improvement on the standard of consumption prevailing during the war. According to Sir William Beveridge, the full utilization of British resources in 1938, by raising the employment rate from the actual 87.1 per cent to the 97 per cent which he believes possible,

would have added £500,000,000 to the national income, or about £650,000,000 in terms of the higher current prices.\*

The problem of compensating external disinvestment is much more difficult to tackle since its solution depends in part on the policies of other countries. The income from Britain's Victorian heritage of foreign investments has long played a vital part in the maintenance of its trade balance. These investments were both widely diffused geographically and very diverse in character. They included large amounts of American stocks and bonds, government obligations of the dominions, colonies, and foreign countries, the direct ownership of mines, plantations, and industrial establishments in all parts of the world. Prior to 1914 the interest and profits arising from these assets were still largely being reinvested abroad, but the need for foreign exchange, particularly dollars, in the early years of the First World War caused the liquidation of a part of Britain's foreign holdings. And after the war a falling off in British exports made it necessary to draw on the income from the remainder in order to meet the bill for imported goods. In fact, in the thirties the trade balance could only be maintained in some years by a draft on capital account—that is to say, by external disinvestment.

There was therefore a very close connection between Britain's foreign investments and its standard of living. Without the inflow of income from abroad it would not have been possible to pay for a large part of the foodstuffs and manufactured goods which came to the British consumer from overseas. The British housewife would have found smaller supplies of Argentine and Australian meat in the stores; her family might have had to go without South African and Spanish fruit, Danish bacon, French cheeses. Movie fans would have had to be content with fewer American films, smokers with less tobacco, drinkers with reduced quantities of wine. In some cases the deficiency might have been partially compensated by increased home production, but only at an increased cost. There would have been no way of avoiding a decrease in total consumption and hence a lower standard of living.

Britain's imports (less reexports) in the three pre-war years 1936-38 averaged £866,000,000. They were paid for as follows:

Exports .....	£478,000,000
Shipping services .....	105,000,000
Financial services .....	40,000,000
Income on foreign investments .....	203,000,000
Deficit .....	40,000,000
Total .....	£866,000,000

It will be seen that actual exports of goods covered little more than half the cost of imports: the remainder had to be provided by what is known as "invisible exports."

According to the White Paper, overseas assets amounting to £1,065,000,000 have been sold since the present war started, mainly for the purpose of paying for war materials. As a consequence, it has been estimated that Britain's income from this source has shrunk by at least 50 per cent. A still further reduction may occur as the result of technological changes brought about by the war—say, the permanent displacement of natural rubber, in which much British money has been invested, by synthetics.

\* "Full Employment in a Free Society," page 139 (English Edition).

In addition, Britain has borrowed, apart from Lend-Lease, from countries supplying it with goods and services, such as Argentina, India, Egypt, and Portugal. Unable to make payment by exporting goods of its own manufacture—for which the raw materials and man-power could not be spared—it has given these countries I. O. U.'s to the tune of £2,300,000,000. According to Lord Keynes, by the end of the war the total of these frozen sterling credits is likely to approach £3,000,000,000. Eventually this debt will have to be refunded and liquidated. Let us assume that, provisionally at least, interest and amortization are fixed at no more than 5 per cent per annum. This would mean an additional £150,000,000 annually on the debit side of Britain's international accounts.

On the credit side, as can be noted from the table above, income from shipping is an important item. But this too is expected to diminish in the years immediately after the war. Up to the end of 1943 Britain had lost in the course of the war 2,921 ocean-going vessels of 11,643,000 gross tons out of a pre-war merchant fleet totaling 17,500,000 gross tons. An intensified shipbuilding program plus purchases from abroad has made possible, however, the replacement of a considerable part of this loss; so that by the end of 1943 the tonnage on the United Kingdom and colonial registers was only 29 per cent less than before the war. On the other hand, the enormous growth of the United States merchant fleet suggests increased competition for freights in the immediate post-war years and a probable decrease in Britain's share of the world carrying trade. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to estimate Britain's post-war net income from shipping at only two-thirds of the pre-war figure.

Assuming that pre-war average imports and exports are maintained, we can now construct a tentative post-war international balance sheet for Britain.

Dr.		Cr.	
Imports .....	£ 866,000,000	Exports .....	£ 478,000,000
Payments to foreign creditors	150,000,000	Shipping services	70,000,000
		Financial services	40,000,000
		Income from foreign investments	100,000,000
			£ 688,000,000
		Deficit .....	328,000,000
	£1,016,000,000		£1,016,000,000

It is possible that in the transitional period following the end of the war Britain might be willing to meet such a deficit by (a) liquidating part of its remaining foreign assets, or (b) incurring new debts—possibly via the international financial institutions envisaged in the Bretton Woods agreement. But it is certain that such a policy could be safely pursued only for a very limited period. Borrowing abroad for the creation of permanent income-producing assets is one thing; borrowing to pay for current consumption must tip the scales still more heavily against the debtor country and eventually lead to repudiation of the debt.

It follows that unless Britain is able to increase its income from exports and shipping by some 60 per cent, it must effect a drastic reduction in imports—a step which would imply the reorganization of its economy and a definite reduction in its standard of living. In fact, with a limited area of cultivatable land and with rather meager resources in raw materials, apart from coal, it is doubtful whether under these

circumstances Britain could continue to support anything like its present population.

Britain, in short, has suffered an economic Dunkirk in the course of the war. Can it recover and, if so, by what means? One thing is clear, recovery will not be automatic. Britain will be forced to budget its diminished resources and to plan its peace economy no less thoroughly than it has planned its war economy. In future articles I propose to discuss the nature of this planning both in its short-term and long-term aspects, and its bearing on American problems.

*[The first of a series of three articles.]*

## 25 Years Again "The Nation"

ONE OF THE FIRST ACTS of the Czechoslovak Republic was to create a Department of Social Welfare. The first report of the Minister, Dr. Karel Winter, issued at the end of December, is an encouraging account of progress and a suggestive indication of things yet to be done.—*February 7, 1920.*

THE LEADERS of the prohibition forces seem to be in a fair way to offset the success which they have recently won by bringing both prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment into contempt. . . . Such extraordinary rigor of enforcement . . . as is now contemplated is little likely to commend prohibition to thoughtful persons; on the contrary, it is almost certain to bring about a reaction which may go a long way toward nullifying the amendment and the laws under which the amendment is to be carried into effect.—*February 7, 1920.*

### "THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE."

By J. M. Keynes. . . . This is a very great book. If any answer can be made to the overwhelming indictment of the treaty that it contains, that answer has yet to be published. Mr. Keynes writes with a fulness of knowledge, an incisiveness of judgment, and a penetration into the ultimate causes of economic events that perhaps only half a dozen living economists might hope to rival.—*HAROLD J. LASKI, February 7, 1920.*

AS WAS TO BE EXPECTED, the failure of the United States to enter the League [of Nations] has deprived that organization of much of its importance, and it is unlikely that the League will do much more than mark time until the final decision of this country has been taken.—*February 14, 1920.*

LONDON, JANUARY 20. . . . The Coalition government declines in power, and Labor is the only rallying point of the malcontents. . . . Thus we stand in Great Britain today with a swiftly flowing current of rather indefinite opinion around us—a current, however, which carries the Labor Party far towards Parliamentary power.—*J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, February 28, 1920.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: T. S. Eliot, "Poems"; A. F. Kerensky, "The Prelude to Bolshevism"; Thorstein Veblen, "The Place of Science in Modern Civilization."

# The French and the Big Three

BY CHARLES A. MICAUD

**A** YEAR ago it was fashionable to affirm that France's crushing defeat had forever relegated it to the status of a second-rate power. Since then, however, a series of successes for French diplomacy has been crowned by a military alliance with Russia, and France is now ready to reenter the big league. Its recognition as a world power will have important repercussions on the balance of power within Europe and on the character of the world peace organization.

Two main principles are guiding the foreign policy of the Provisional Government of France: the first is the quest for security, particularly the elimination of the German menace; the other is the reestablishment of France's former power and prestige—the French people are in no mood to play second fiddle, a natural reaction after years of national humiliation.

Keeping in mind these two principles of French diplomacy, we can understand the full meaning of the Franco-Soviet treaty of alliance. First, it guarantees France against a resurgent Germany. The past two decades have proved that collective security is a myth unless enforced by *all* the leading countries; Frenchmen fear that those less directly threatened may again relax their vigilance. Whatever the attitude of Britain and America toward the Germany of 1960, the French want to make certain of an overwhelming superiority on the Continent, for they are convinced that the Germans will behave only if threatened with disaster. Had the Franco-Soviet pact of 1935 been made effective by staff conversations, had the German high command been convinced that the war must be fought on two fronts, France would have escaped its 1940 disaster.

But the present treaty with Russia is more than an instrument of security; it is also an instrument of power politics. Russia's desire to strengthen its own Continental position was France's opportunity to regain its freedom of action. Already disposing of a powerful friend in the East, the French government is encouraging competitive bidding for a valuable friendship. Nor is it surprising to see a still weak nation capitalizing on diplomatic opportunity. De Gaulle has already proved that he is a hard bargainer as well as a passionate nationalist.

This does not mean that France has shut the door on England and America, trusting that the Soviet alliance will give it full security. On his return from Moscow De Gaulle made it clear that his government was now intent upon strengthening the ties with the West. The Continental system would not be complete without the full participation of England: the Triple Entente is still better than a bi-lateral pact with a too powerful partner. Besides, France possesses a large colonial empire whose defense requires close collaboration with Britain and the United States. More important still, the French people are anxious not to sacrifice collective security on a world basis to a system of Continental alliances, which is considered a *pis-aller*. A committee has

already been established to reconcile the treaty with Russia with the Dumbarton Oaks projects. This is not an easy task.

Had the Big Three agreed 100 per cent on the coming peace organization, the Franco-Soviet pact would probably not have been signed. The Russians need a friendly voice at the next conference in order to tip the scale in their favor. More precisely, they expect France to back up their claim to a zone of security in Eastern Europe and its corollary, the right of veto at the council of the new League of Nations. The French diplomats—if invited—will be in a difficult position trying to bring about a compromise between the Russian thesis and the American concept of integral collective security. Their position will be complicated by the fact that they want to make the Big Three agree to France's own solution of the German problem. For to them the status of the Rhineland is the keystone not only of France's security on the Continent but of its position as a world power, and is closely related to the broader questions of the balance of power within Europe and the character of the world peace organization. That is why De Gaulle has consistently demanded that France participate in decisions concerning the future of Germany, why he forged his diplomatic weapon at Moscow. "France does not intend to finish the war without the assurance that French forces will be installed permanently from one end of the Rhine to the other," he declared bluntly on January 25. In a New Year's interview with the Paris correspondent of *Free World*, M. Georges Bidault first indorsed Russia's demands concerning the Curzon line, then emphasized his government's position on the Rhineland: "The territories that compose it, and one must add to them the Ruhr, will no longer be governed militarily, economically, administratively by Berlin."

Not only is the Rhine frontier strategically valuable, but the coal of the Saar and Ruhr basins would make France the first industrial and therefore first military power west of Russia. Already disposing of the richest iron-ore deposits in Europe, France would be in a position to build a heavy industry comparable to that of Germany before the war. Its production of steel, the best index of its "power," would be multiplied three times, with a corresponding decrease on the German side. Rather than ask for an outright annexation that would meet serious ethnical and political objections, the French government is likely to urge a special status for the Rhineland, leaving it politically independent but integrated within the French economy. The leading country in the West could then group the smaller nations into a powerful federation. As the hinge in the new Moscow-Paris-London axis, France would hold the balance of power in Europe, England's traditional role.

Admitting that such an ambitious scheme is being entertained by De Gaulle and receives the support of Stalin, still it has little chance of realization against the opposition of America and England. In spite of their desire to strengthen

France, the two English-speaking powers may well object to this one-sided solution of the German problem. For it would recreate the balance-of-power pattern for Europe without helping England to solve its own economic and strategic dilemma. Faced by the problems of post-war trade, and with insularity no longer an asset, Britain is eager to pool national resources in a Western bloc which would include the autonomous Rhineland.

Not only the statesmen of Belgium and Holland but those of France seemed to look favorably on the British idea of regionalism. De Gaulle alluded to it on several occasions. After the liberation of France his financial adviser, M. Istel, again took up the proposal in a well-documented address given at the Sorbonne. Even the angry reaction to Marshal Smuts's famous speech a year ago could not be interpreted as proof that French nationalism was too strong a barrier to union; De Gaulle's followers objected mostly to the cavalier tone of Smuts's proposal relegating France to the status of a second-rate power. To the Fighting French, then poor relations of their great allies, the advantages of the British plan were obvious. Here was a chance of reestablishing France in a position of prestige and power. Besides, its economic problems after the war would be similar to those of Britain. And to those problems planned economy was hardly a sufficient answer: it could not insure an expanding economy, adequate social security, and higher standards of living to

a country tailored on the eighteenth-century pattern. A division of labor with other nations was preferable to former attempts at self-sufficiency, which in practice amounted to a policy of agricultural preferment and an economy of scarcity.

The idea of a Western federation was thus maturing in European minds when, on the eve of their trip to Moscow, De Gaulle and Bidault officially denied that France had any intention of joining an exclusive Western European bloc. Many observers saw in these declarations the *coup de grâce* to the Franco-British regional plan.

It may be questioned, however, whether France, or even Russia, is definitively opposed to a Western European union. Russia's present veto is understandable in terms of its old fear of "capitalist aggression," a fear that dictated its foreign and even its domestic policy between the two world wars. Its unsuccessful attempts to organize collective security against Nazi Germany have not been forgotten, and the Soviet leaders want to make sure that the Munich spirit is dead. On the other hand, Moscow may well prefer to deal with two super-powers of approximately the same strength than with a sprawling Atlantic community in a position to build another *cordon sanitaire* all the way from China to Central Europe. If guaranties are given that the Western bloc is not a rival in arms but a friend, Russia may well agree to the principle of regionalism in the West which it is now sponsoring in the East. In this connection a



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leftist France offers perhaps greater guaranties than Britain, especially in view of Churchill's policy toward Greece, Belgium, and Italy. The Soviet government may want to ascertain that a strong and friendly France will vouch for the foreign policy of the Western federation. But in any case Stalin is not likely to modify his present attitude until the next elections in Britain and in France show which way the wind is turning and until tangible proofs are given of the pro-Russian orientation of the Western democracies.

As for France, its new eastward orientation is no proof that it has definitively abandoned the idea of a partnership with Britain in the West. At Moscow De Gaulle may even have attempted to convince Stalin that the new unit would not be directed against Russia. Rather than playing alone the part of a super-power, France may find it wise to share the burden with Britain. The heroic mood of today is not to last, and the French people will again prefer security to prestige. If the next general elections in Britain and in France confirm the present trend to the left, and if Russia no longer objects to the scheme, the demands for an integrated Western Europe will steadily increase. Those who fear that the proposal of a Western bloc is but a cloak for British imperialism will be reassured. They will see in an economic union the most practical way of destroying economic barriers within a large area and thus of increasing production and raising the standard of living. In a federation of social-democratic countries they will see a means of strengthening international confidence, the key to the whole problem of collective security.

Instead of pretending that complete confidence exists between the "peace-loving" nations, many Europeans are inclined to believe that it is still lacking, mainly because of the ideological conflict that overlaps the present struggle for national independence. According to them it is more urgent and practical to build up confidence than to insist on a special brand of automatic peace mechanism. They see in the phrase "security system" a useful instrument, but one that must progressively become more efficient and powerful, through mutual understanding and fruitful compromises.

The first step is to create a state of equilibrium between the great powers. A tri-polar system, and later a multi-polar one, is deemed preferable to the "ethical imperialism" of the Big Two—especially so since Western Europe would build an ideological bridge between Socialist Russia and capitalist America. Besides, the collective job of rehabilitation that must be undertaken would be greatly facilitated by regional planning. If the thorny economic and social questions are quickly solved within large areas, then agreements on a world scale are made possible: it will be easier for a few prosperous units to lay down rules of conduct and to stick to them than it would be for a large number of hungry rivals. Finally, regionalism can democratize and fortify the world organism for peace. The smaller states will soon realize that only their union in large federations can allow them to participate in the world government as active and responsible members. Some are already hoping that France and England will create a precedent in Western Europe.

## Strange Doings in California

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

*Los Angeles, January 30*

**P**OLITICALLY California is one of the liveliest states in the union—a state in which "anything can happen"; it has been the scene of some fantastic political shenanigans during the past fifteen years. Even seasoned political observers, however, were stunned by Governor Warren's message to the legislature on January 8. Boldly seizing the initiative, the Governor has proposed a liberal, if by no means comprehensive, social program. Among its items are a compulsory health-insurance bill, large plans for preventive medical care, the establishment of a school of industrial relations at the University of California, the creation of a commission of inquiry into race relations, and a liberalization of unemployment-insurance legislation, including—miracle of miracles!—an extension of unemployment-insurance benefits to agricultural workers. Since as late as 1942 persons who advocated the inclusion of agricultural workers in the unemployment-insurance program were automatically denounced as "Communists," a practice in which the Governor actively participated, it is small wonder that his message has been referred to as a "bombshell" that "rocked the legislature." Coupled with the Governor's sudden, and total, reversal of attitude on the Japanese evacuee question, his message is

important political news, and has been so interpreted in the West. To appreciate its effect one should realize that it came as a distinct surprise to most factions, including apparently his own stand-pat Republican backers, and is markedly at variance with his 1943 program and, indeed, with his entire political record to date.

Unquestionably the decisive factor in this sudden reversal was the November, 1944, election. There can be no doubt of the current liberal trend in California politics—the people gave President Roosevelt a plurality of 500,000—and Governor Warren apparently read the meaning of the election correctly. Prior to November he had given no hint of the kind of program he intended to sponsor, but between the election and January 8 he seems to have determined to make a bold bid for liberal support. His program shows evidence of hasty improvisation; the compulsory health-insurance legislation, for example, has not yet been drafted. It also indicates that the Governor, an ambitious man, is playing for national stakes. His message was quickly interpreted on the West Coast as a bid for reelection in 1946 as the necessary pre-condition to capturing the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1948.

Governor Warren's current appearance as a liberal repre-

sents, under the circumstances, the minimum change consistent with political survival. For the Governor is in an exceptional predicament. He was elected in 1942 as a Republican running on a "non-partisan" platform. The "non-partisan" character of the campaign was stressed for the simple reason that a sizable majority of the registered voters of California were then, and still are, members of the Democratic Party. He was elected, in fact, by a defection of Democratic votes. He is in the position, therefore, of being a Governor who represents a minority party, despite the fact that the Republicans control both houses of the legislature. To maintain this precarious position, it is necessary for him to hold the Old Guard Republican support, which has always been his, and at the same time to snare a good many Democratic votes. Agility is the prime requisite of a politician occupying such a position.

His January 8 message knocked the Democrats off balance, but that is not in itself a major accomplishment. For the Democratic Party in California represents to an extravagant degree the incongruous elements that make up the party nationally. In California the Democrats are not so much a political party as a loose federation of disparate groups. The party leadership in the legislature is divided, inept, and furtively reactionary. Its initial response to the Governor's message was characteristic—bitter complaints that he had "stolen" the Democrats' program. When the Democratic leaders had recovered from the shock, they proceeded to do precisely what the Governor wanted them to do: they announced that henceforth they would be the "economy bloc" in the legislature.

But if the Democrats were shocked, "all has not been peaches and cream on the Republican side of the legislature," to quote Chester G. Hanson, veteran political correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*. From the bewildered manner in which the Republicans behaved, it is apparent that they had no more warning of the new dispensation than their Democratic colleagues. It is extremely doubtful, in fact, whether even the Old Guard within the Republican Party received advance information; there is no evidence that they were consulted. The prevailing tone in the Republican press has been one of mild consternation mingled with cautionary admonitions. The *Los Angeles Times*, in commenting on the compulsory health-insurance program, declared there was much to be said on the matter "pro and con," pointed to "a wide diversity of opinion," and suggested "further study" of the proposal with postponement of actual consideration until after the war. If Governor Warren is on a hot spot, the Old Guard also occupies a rather embarrassing position. For Warren is their candidate—hand-picked, carefully trained, skillfully promoted. At this late hour there is no other candidate to whom they could turn if they should feel compelled to dump him. If they cannot support his program in its entirety, and they have given no indication that they intend to do so, still they can hardly afford to oppose it openly.

For the moment the Governor clearly holds the initiative. The only faction not caught off guard by his sudden putsch was the C. I. O., which constitutes the real spearhead of liberalism in California today. The C. I. O. has come forward with its own health-insurance plan without

waiting for the introduction of the Governor's bill. While indorsing the Governor's "commission of inquiry into race relations," it has quickly proposed legislation for the creation of a state Fair Employment Practices Committee. As between the two health-insurance plans, the C. I. O.'s is much the better. To finance his plan, the Governor has proposed a 3 per cent tax on wages and salaries, one-half to be paid by the workers, one-half by the employers. The C. I. O. plan contemplates comprehensive coverage of all individuals now protected by unemployment insurance through a 3 per cent tax divided as proposed by the Governor but with the state bearing all administrative costs. In the Governor's plan, physicians would be compensated on a fee system; in the C. I. O. plan, on a per capita basis. Thus the issue is between the C. I. O. (and P. A. C.) elements on the one hand and the Governor on the other rather than between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

To understand fully the Governor's position, it is necessary to consider one of the most peculiar political relationships in California—that between Governor Warren and Attorney General Robert W. Kenny. In a sense Bob Kenny is responsible for the Governor's successful career in state politics. When Earl Warren ran for Attorney General in 1938, he faced the likelihood of defeat, despite the fact that the Democratic nominee was not a strong candidate. The registration was overwhelmingly Democratic, more so than it is today, and the people were determined to oust the entire Republican machine. In this emergency Warren appealed to Kenny for support, setting forth in a letter in his own handwriting his undying devotion to civil liberties. Always inclined to be unpredictable where personalities are involved and often motivated by a remarkable generosity toward political opponents, Kenny proceeded to indorse Warren. It was really his action which tipped the scales, for even with the indorsement Warren was elected Attorney General by an extremely narrow margin.

Today Governor Warren is uneasily aware of the formidable Mr. Kenny, whose lengthening political shadow he sees whenever he looks guardedly over his shoulder. He fears that Robert W. Kenny can defeat him for the governorship in 1946. His position would be quite different were the Democrats without a strong candidate. But Bob Kenny is the ablest politician California has produced since the emergence of the Hiram Johnson of 1910—to be distinguished from the aged and embittered relic of isolationism who still survives in the Senate. In 1938 Warren was the only Republican elected to an important state office in California; in 1942 Kenney was the only Democrat elected. Just as Warren has been successful in wooing Democratic votes, so Kenny has shown a still more remarkable ability to draw strength from the Republican camp. Kenny's left flank is securely guarded, and he knows how to maneuver his right flank in an extremely dextrous fashion. Warren has a fairly secure right flank, considerable support in the center, and no support whatever on the left. The personal relationship between the two men is cordial, and they have cooperated effectively since Warren has been Governor, but the rivalry is intense if not overt. The older and more experienced politician, Governor Warren watches every move of his younger rival and has shown a surprising ability to imi-

tate, and in some cases to anticipate, Kenny's genuine liberalism. The nation is likely to hear a great deal more about these two personalities in the future. For the Governor hopes to be President in 1948; and liberal Democrats throughout the West hope, some day, to send Bob Kenny to the White House. Without showing his hand, Bob Kenny is setting the political pace for the Governor.

The burning question in California at this moment is whether Governor Warren really intends to fight for his twelve-point program of social legislation. On the face of things he has a good chance of getting most of it adopted. Nominally, the Republicans control both houses of the legislature—twenty-seven to thirteen in the Senate, forty-two to thirty-eight in the Assembly. They are enabled to maintain this nominal control, despite the dominant Democratic registration, by two things—the havoc wrought in party politics in California by the system of cross-filing permitted in the state and the fact that the Senate is a most undemocratic body. The populous County of Los Angeles, for example, has but one representative in the Senate. For the most part, the Senate is made up of grim-faced, tight-fisted "cow-country" reactionaries, some Democrats, some Republicans.

Owing to the war the state's finances are in such excellent condition that the Governor can actually project a reduction in state taxes while sponsoring a liberal social program. The real powers in the state capitol, however, are the lobbyists. The most opulent of these, Art Samish, has more influence in the legislature than, say, the state chairman of the Republican Party. And Art Samish has no politics; he has

clients. The situation is somewhat unique, therefore, in that a majority of the legislators are not directly responsive to pressure from their party or from the Governor or from the masses of the people. Despite this fact and despite the influence of the Samishes, the Governor could still control the situation if he were prepared to fight for his program, not merely by continuing to support it publicly but by "calling in the boys" and "turning on the heat."

Whether he intends to push the program to this extent will not be known until the legislature reconvenes after the coming recess. There are indications that the Governor's newly found, if limited liberalism is strictly *Ersatz* and that he has no intention of waging a last-ditch fight. On the other hand, if certain elements of the Old Guard have read the signs of the times as shrewdly as the Governor has, then it is conceivable that he might secure the adoption of the entire program, in which case it is equally conceivable that he might be reelected in 1946. If he is reelected in 1946, he will unquestionably be a leading contender for the Presidential nomination in 1948. He has opened his hand with some big cards, and the bets are in proportion to the stakes involved. It is worth noting, however, that his message did not present a comprehensive program. It largely ignored the question of federal-state relations, had little to say about the staggering post-war problems which California faces, and was generally silent about the war and the peace. In any case, a measure of national attention may well be fixed on Sacramento during the next few months, for the little drama being enacted there may be a pre-view of the 1948 campaign.

## Nazi Post-War Strategy

BY ALFRED KANTOROWICZ

**D**R. GOEBBELS has been carefully fostering the idea, by direct and indirect means, that Nazism will wage a long, desperate underground battle inside the Reich after the defeat of its armies in the field. In fact, many observers in this country take it quite for granted that Himmler is making minute preparations for transforming the Gestapo, the S. S., and the Hitler Youth into guerrilla bands which will resist Allied occupation forces from their hideouts in the mountains, the forests, and the big cities.

The Nazis, unfortunately, have no such intention. They will emerge from defeat—with false names and forged documents—as willing servants of the occupation authorities. They will be agreeable, polite, decent fellows who want nothing but to help the Allies in the complicated task of preventing riots, anarchy, chaos. By appearing to serve the Allied administration faithfully, they will become its trusted colleagues.

A partial analogy to what we may expect in Germany is found here in the German prisoner-of-war camps. Generally the Nazi prisoners make it their business to behave "correctly" toward the camp authorities and guards. They are clean, alert, well-disciplined, and everyone praises their willingness to cooperate in practical matters. Many sources report

that American military authorities have very little trouble with Nazi prisoners, and that they find it hard to believe that these pleasant boys are no different from the murderers of Maidanek. If disturbances occur in a camp, they are usually begun by anti-Nazis who insist upon arguing about political questions.

The Nazi prisoners of war know that there is little sense in making life miserable for the camp authorities. Their principal purpose is to keep their fellow-prisoners under control. Wherever opposition to Nazism appears in the ranks, it is mercilessly stamped out. Only after the *New York Times* told the story in January did people begin to realize the extent of the moral and physical terror to which the Nazis have been subjecting their fellow-prisoners—threats of reprisal after return to Germany, insinuations that exchanged prisoners would take back to Germany lists of all "insurgents" and that their families would be held as hostages, hangings, beatings, death.

The Nazis climbed to power by the ruthless suppression of "internal enemies," whom they called traitors, Jews, or Communists. Only after the Third Reich had succeeded in killing, imprisoning, or driving out all actual or potential defenders of democratic, socialist, and pacifist principles did it challenge

its weaker neighbors—and later the great powers of the world.

The Nazi leaders are men of icy mind and brutal will, political strategists of the first order. They know that once their armed forces have been finally crushed—whether by the fall of Berlin or the fall of Berchtesgaden—one period of German imperialist activity will have definitely ended. They cannot initiate a second phase by a desperate, obviously futile struggle against their conquerors. But long-range plans can be laid, and the primary condition for their success, just as it was before, will be the "human material" at hand. The chief concern, then, of the surviving Nazi leaders, Junkers, industrialists, and imperialists will be to hold and gradually tighten their grip on the German masses.

For a while, perhaps, a few underground gangs will operate amid the ruins of Germany, armed desperadoes, war criminals who have nothing more to lose. They will be a nuisance but not actually dangerous, for the real force of Nazi Germany will not be behind them. The real "resistance" will be planned by other leaders and carried out by the strategy of "cooperation." The people will be permitted, even encouraged, to ease the physical burdens of the occupation authorities. But any attempt at ideological communion will be obstructed and punished by death, through the "vehme," or secret courts.

These so-called "vehme" courts were a product of the political struggles in Germany after the First World War and were used by the Freikorps, the Black Reichswehr, and early S. A. gangs. "*Verräter verfallen der Vehme*"—"traitors will be punished by the vehme courts"—was a slogan by which all peace-loving and democratic-minded Germans were terrorized. For everyone was a "traitor" who desired a genuine understanding with Germany's former enemies or the consolidation of Germany's progressive elements. The world duly noted the assassination of the Catholic leader Mathias Erzberger and the democratic Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau, but it failed to recognize the significance of the many minor vehmic murders which inevitably broke the democratic backbone of the country. We shall see a re-emergence of these self-styled vehme courts in Germany on a far greater scale. It is for their administration that Himmler has trained tens of thousands of his most reliable, fanatical Nazis.

The Nazis hope that after five years have passed they will have achieved their first aim—the physical destruction and moral intimidation of anti-imperialist, anti-Nazi forces in Germany—and have regained their temporarily loosened hold on the German masses. They hope that by that time American and British troops will have gone home, assured of the cooperative attitude of the Germans. France, Belgium, and Holland, exhausted by the war and busy with their own reconstruction, will relax their vigilance. Then the German nationalists can again begin to prepare, step by step, the moral and material rearmament of the German people.

How far this Nazi strategy will succeed depends on two closely related factors—the degree of unity among the main Allies and the use the Allies make of anti-fascist forces within Germany. A policy of appeasement, a deal with the reactionary elements in the country, will amount to sponsorship of the Nazis' post-war dreams.

## In the Wind

A READER PASSES ON to us an article from the German propaganda magazine *Signal* for January 1, 1944, which has just reached him. The magazine was found on the body of a dead German soldier. The article is a translation of America, the Land of Promises, by Henry J. Taylor, in the September, 1943, issue of the *Reader's Digest*. Taylor's article consisted of excerpts from his book "Men in Motion." The *Reader's Digest* prefaced it with this editorial note: "America's policy of exaggerated internationalism is as dangerous, foolhardy, and destructive as narrow isolationism." *Signal* prefaced it thus: "In September, 1943, the *Reader's Digest* published excerpts from the book 'Men in Motion.' The author, Henry J. Taylor, was a correspondent in Africa, Palestine, and Syria for North American newspapers; his thoughts are of interest to us Europeans also. They show that *Signal's* analysis of American affairs has paralleled that of clear-thinking Americans themselves."

AN ASTROLOGIST ADVERTISES in the Carnegie Hall program booklet that she "is now specializing her practice in post-war rehabilitation cases and vocational guidance."

THE CHICAGO *SUN* REPORTS that "Dewey, an American of the Century," the official campaign biography published last year at \$2.50, is now on sale in Chicago at 10 cents a copy. The price in New York is 49 cents.

APPLICATION BLANKS for membership in the Gideons International, the organization that puts Bibles in hotel rooms, contain this note: "IMPORTANT: The object of the Gideons is to associate Christian business men (white) for service, and to carry to the world the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ." In answer to an inquiry N. F. Dewar, secretary, wrote, "We do not accept into our association any but those of the white race."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A new weapon in the Norwegians' war of nerves against the Nazis is the "telephone bomb." A stranger phones to a factory, business office, or public building and warns that the place is about to be blown up. There have been so many explosions that such warnings cannot be taken lightly. The disruptive effect is considerable. . . . The extreme youth of the new Nazi recruits in Denmark has given rise to this joke: "They say Hitler has asked for a forty-eight-hour armistice." "Why?" "Oh, they say he has two divisions that are going to be confirmed on Sunday." . . . Lieutenant General Kurt Dittmar, Nazi military commentator, explained the situation thus in a recent lecture in Bratislava: "We have taken our European task so seriously as to hold on to areas more than once solely out of regard for this or that ally or neutral state in order not to endanger them. Our European conscience was so strong that for the sake of our allies we undertook enterprises which were often beyond our strength."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## *When Does Morale Break?*

BY JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

THE hope that the European war would end in 1944 was based mainly on optimistic speculation about the state of German morale. Though no serious analyst, even when the Allied armies were advancing rapidly through France, expected that they could fight their way through to Berlin and Munich in a few weeks, many persons hoped that a collapse of German morale would open the road and spare the Allies the effort and the risks of further battles. Optimism was nurtured by various factors that were supposed to decrease Germany's will-to-resist—the great air raids against German cities and the threat of even more destructive bombings to come, Germany's terrific losses on the eastern front, the expulsion of the Wehrmacht from France, and the capitulation of Germany's last allies in Europe. The combined force of these developments, many believed, would reduce German morale to the breaking-point before the Allied armies reached the Rhine. It was thought that the Germans could not but realize that further fighting, especially on German soil, would merely mean senseless sacrifices on their part. Yet German morale did not break.

In 1944, and before, German morale was indeed very low, at least in the interior of the country. The events of June 20, whether these represented a genuine revolt or preventive action by Himmler, made it clear that even generals and staff officers, as well as civil servants in high positions and leaders of industry, no longer believed in the possibility of German victory. Nazi newspapers had for a long time reported almost daily that workers and middle-class men and women were being punished by Nazi courts for defeatist talk, spreading rumors, offending Nazi officials, helping foreign workers and prisoners of war, listening to foreign radio stations, refusing to work, and the like. There is much evidence that disillusionment, skepticism about propaganda, hatred for the regime, and longing for peace had spread through Germany as never before in a country at war. Even in 1918 Germany had not shown such defeatism. Nevertheless, there was no explosion.

When does morale break? In 1940 and 1941 the Germans expected to break British morale by the blitz. Today it is generally conceded that the blitz actually had the opposite effect. When the R. A. F. began to bomb German cities in earnest, many observers doubted Germany's ability to endure such attacks for long. As it turned out, German morale was able to withstand several years of strategic bombing.

It is certain that at some critical moments in the life of nations, when everything is at stake, a minor incident may become decisive. When the morale of a people has been brought close to the breaking-point, just a bit more of suffering and horror may cause the explosion. Who knows what would have happened to England in 1940 if the Ger-

mans at that time had been able to add the V-bombs of 1944 to the blitz of the Luftwaffe? Apparently human nature, given a little time, is able to adapt itself to seemingly unbearable conditions. People can get used to almost anything once the first shock is absorbed. In 1940, when France collapsed, weakness and treason gave the people no chance to become accustomed to the effects of Stukas and Panzers. The British had time to adjust themselves to the blitz; the Germans had time to get used to strategic bombing—and to many other things.

Private letters written to German soldiers as far back as 1942 by family, friends, and sweethearts are in the hands of the Allies. These letters deal mostly with the first great air raids over German cities and the hardships of the eastern front; they mirror the average German's first realization that the end of the war was still far off, that the outcome was uncertain. Reading these letters, one has difficulty in imagining greater sadness and disillusionment, a bleaker hopelessness. Through hundreds of pages runs the leitmotiv: there must be a change for the better very soon, because things are so bad that no change, or a change for the worse, is unimaginable. At the time these letters fell into Allied hands things had become much worse from the German point of view, but there was hardly any evidence that morale had deteriorated still further and none at all that it was "breaking." Goebbels's shrewd propaganda may have helped the people over the crisis, but propaganda could not change the reality they had to endure. One can only conclude that they grew accustomed to the reality.

Apparently morale does not break automatically when subject to a certain amount of strain. Sometimes, however, as history shows, poor morale acts as an infection and as such has decisive effects. At those times it spreads like a disease in all directions, from factories and market-places to government offices and police stations, from civilians to the armed forces, from the man in the street to the rulers in chancelleries and staff headquarters. Finally it paralyzes the instruments of power in the hands of these rulers, and they give up—as they did in Russia in 1917, in Austria and Germany in 1918, in Italy in 1943, in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary in 1944. The Nazi rulers, it is true, are not likely to be affected by their subjects' low morale. Their instruments of power—the Elite Guard, the Gestapo, Nazi officials of all ranks—are bound to them by the fear of having to share their leaders' fate in case of defeat. The leaders themselves have no doubt that their own lives will be lost if they cede power. They know very well that for them there is no way out.

Germany's morale held in 1944 because some essential condition of collapse was lacking. Some kind of spark is needed to cause the explosive transition from low morale to breaking morale. There must be incitement to action and

also the possibility of effective action. The front-line soldier whose morale sinks to a certain level can surrender to the enemy; he can escape from his difficulties by merely raising his arms. As a prisoner of war he will receive food, he will be allowed to sleep. The civilian in the interior cannot surrender: only by suicide can he put an instant end to his sufferings. The average German who has lost his belief in the Nazis, or who never had such belief, who is fed up with the war and longs for peace, has very little chance to act. Any attempt to change his situation would require him to become a hero—for one has to be a hero to disregard the power of the Gestapo, disobey and resist the Nazi rulers, and risk execution as a traitor. But exhaustion and hopelessness do not breed heroes en masse. Moreover, most Germans think correctly that they will all have to pay anyway for what the Nazis have done to other nations. No hopes such as were aroused in Germany in 1918 by the example of the Russian Revolution and the discussion of Woodrow Wilson's ideas neutralize German fears of things to come. We should not be surprised that German morale has not yet broken. Forceful underground movements have not developed in any country without some help from the outside. Not many men will risk their lives simply to hasten the defeat of their own armies and to deliver themselves up to the uncertain will of many victors. At any rate it seems that many Germans, low as their spirits have sunk, have chosen to wait. They may grumble, they may sometimes pray that the Lord and the United Nations hasten the end, but their depression of yesterday, today, and tomorrow does not influence events.

One day, nevertheless, German morale may break. It will certainly break if greater losses than Germany has already suffered destroy the physical power of the Nazi machine, if Gestapo and Black Guards become too tired and hopeless to do their duty and refuse to break up strikes and riots and to prevent the liberation of prisoners—even Gauleiters and Himmler's aides may become unable to carry on. Until then, however, we shall be in a safer and clearer position if we count exclusively upon victories in the field. German soldiers have an opportunity to surrender. German civilians do not.

## *Latin American Front*

**G**UATEMALA is the first Western Hemisphere country to sever relations with Franco Spain, and Cuba is reported about to become the second. Mexico has never recognized Franco. After its break with Spain, Guatemala announced that it would expel all Falange agents, including a number of Spanish "priests," under the same law that provided for the expulsion of Nazi agents after Pearl Harbor. . . . RECOGNITION of the Farrell-Perón regime in Argentina as a result of the Foreign Ministers' meeting at Mexico City on February 22 looms as a dread possibility to the democratic Argentine people, according to Gonzalez Iramain, former Socialist deputy and representative of Patria Libre, the Argentine pro-democratic organization. Gonzalez claims that if the other American countries refuse to recognize the present regime and apply economic sanctions, the Argentines themselves can reestablish a democratic government. The State

Department is said to be sending out unofficial preliminary feelers to find out what concessions Argentina might make to secure recognition. If the regime's intransigent mood holds through the coming Foreign Ministers' meeting and if, in consequence, a strong non-appeasement policy is adopted by the meeting, pro-democratic forces may score a real victory. . . . A CONTINENT-WIDE STRIKE called by the C. T. A. L. (Latin American Federation of Labor) for January 25 as a demonstration against Argentine dictatorship materialized in only eight countries. Between the no-strike pledge and the harsh anti-labor character of the governments in many of the countries for which the strike had been scheduled, its effectiveness as a show of labor strength was almost nullified. In Argentina proper the regime displayed its iron fist in a flimsy glove. Throughout the day all radio stations broadcast a new decree requiring employers to grant workers regular vacations, and at the same time the government took stern steps to prevent any possibility of a strike; despite these measures several minor demonstrations occurred. . . . AVRA M. WARREN, in his new post as director of the Office of American Republics, will probably add a few more nails to the coffin of the Good Neighbor policy. Known for his effective work in keeping Spanish Loyalist and French Popular Front refugees out of this country and in helping to secure recognition of the terroristic Bolivian regime, he can be counted on to insure our losing valuable friends and making important enemies—the people of Latin American countries, as opposed to their governments, are genuinely pro-democratic. . . . PERU'S UNDERGROUND Aprista Party staged its first national convention since 1931 in a secret meeting hall near Lima last month; 308 enemies of the dictatorship decided to "fight to establish a true democracy" by participating in the 1945 elections, changed their organization's name to the Peruvian People's Party, and adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the Catholic church, which is coming into its own in Latin America as elsewhere. . . . PUERTO RICO'S new Partido Popular, which won the elections last fall, has drafted a program by which the island can maintain economic balance while taking its first steps in political independence. The party proposes that the following measures be put into effect after independence: conversion of the sugar industry into public utilities, with profits limited to \$25,000 for each concern; continuation of the land-distribution policy—this has already resulted in the division of a number of former estates among 52,000 families; nationalization of power companies; creation of a development bank to encourage new industries and extend the activities of those already established; exemption from taxes of all real estate valued at less than \$1,000; establishment of minimum wages in all industries. Similar proposals might well be formulated by other territories, colonies, and protectorates hoping for independence. . . . IN TOTALITARIAN BRAZIL domestic mail is now censored, and it is difficult for persons in one section of the country to know what is going on in another. Vargas alone is cleverer than both members of the Farrell-Perón team. According to some reports, the presence of United States troops and bases in Brazil has created the impression that we will suppress any uprising against him, a fact that may endear the United States to Vargas, but hardly to his subject people.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE war has taken on a tempo that is hard to keep up with. A column written early enough to fit a weekly magazine's schedule may become old stuff before it appears in print. With that in mind, let us look at some of the incidents in the last act of the drama.

After the fall of a regime the succeeding government has always considered it extremely important to obtain the documents of the deposed government intact. The facts that emerge from the secret protocols, correspondence, and orders are usually invaluable from the material, the moral, and the historical point of view. The Nazis learned this in 1918, when the German Republic, and also the Allies, derived immense advantage from the records of the imperial German government. It could be assumed, therefore, that the Hitler gang would do everything imaginable to prevent their papers from falling into strange hands.

Panic about their documents developed first in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice—with good reason. Months ago the two ministries moved from Berlin to Breslau, which was supposed to be safe. As the Russians advanced toward Breslau and chaos broke loose in the city, the safety of these ministries' records was the first thing thought of. Their removal was accomplished by plane with proper haste. And it can be taken for granted that in all the eastern provinces immediately threatened, important local records—those of the Gauleiter, the Gestapo, and the like—have also been transported to a place of safety.

In Berlin steps were taken to save the official documents as soon as the military crisis became acute. The Swedish press carried reports of the caravans of trucks that were driven into the courtyards of the ministries still in Berlin, particularly the Reich Chancellery, and driven out piled high with more or less carefully packed maps and papers. Where was this precious stuff being taken? If the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Tidningen* is to be believed, it was all being carried off to the Bavarian Alps—or, to be more precise, to the vicinity of Hitler's eyrie, Berchtesgaden. It is rather odd that this correspondent's dispatch, as printed in the Stockholm newspaper on January 23, got through the Berlin telegraph office, since it contained statements which ordinarily no military censor would let pass. The possibility that the whole thing was a plant should not be excluded. On the other hand, in times of great confusion things happen which would be unthinkable in normal circumstances. The dispatch gave the following details:

The German government has decided to evacuate the important documents of all ministries to Berchtesgaden, where extensive fortifications are now practically finished. Experts say that the so-called Berchtesgaden fortress is impregnable. Ammunition, food, and medicine for several years have been stored in it. The greater part of all the Nazi Party's important documents are already there. The government officials will probably go to places near Munich.

I would advise the reader not to worry about the possibility that after the battle for Fortress Europe and then for Fortress Germany six more years will be needed to subdue Fortress Berchtesgaden. One can no longer take much stock

in the word "impregnable." It seems plausible, however, that the important papers of the Nazi regime will be concentrated in one spot where on the last day of the thousand-year Reich they can all be reduced to ashes in a colossal auto-da-fé. This bonfire, even if it is kindled in the majestic setting of the Alps, will not correspond perfectly to the *Götterdämmerung* fantasies of the Nazi neo-Wagnerians, but it may be the only part of them that comes true. And although more has been destroyed in the world than these papers, their burning—which there is no earthly way of preventing—will be a severe loss to the contemporary world and to posterity.

In the meantime we see no weakening of the leading Nazis' monstrous determination to exert all their remaining might to the end that the Reich, "like a torpedoed battleship, will sink beneath the waves with its batteries firing." And there is no sign that in their shrinking territory the Nazis will not successfully quell every large-scale defection and desertion, every revolution from above or below, every mutiny, separatist movement, or "capitulation à la 1918." The material situation grows worse, one may say hourly. On January 23 all the express trains in Germany and a considerable number of the local trains were halted for lack of coal. On the same day the *Völkische Beobachter* announced that the gas would be cut off in every home which had any other kind of stove—were it one handed down from great-grandmother's time—that could be used for cooking. To relieve the railroads, even the sending of letters by post was stopped. The disorganization of transportation is also reflected in a decree applying to the "thousand instances" of freight addressed to persons "who cannot be found"; cars loaded with goods without an owner block the rails and stations. But all this only spurs the people in power to invent new tricks to arouse the masses' fighting spirit. Himmler has ordered that recruits for the army shall be sworn in with a solemn new ceremony, which is described in the *Völkische Beobachter* of January 21:

Formerly the ceremony was conducted in a barracks yard as a purely military form. Henceforth it will symbolize the solidarity between the battle front and the home front, and will take place in public in the presence of the local armament workers. The machines will be stopped while the recruits swear the sacred oath to die for the Führer and the German Reich. The armament workers will then present some newly manufactured weapons to the company leader, and a band will play, "God, who made iron, wanted no slaves" (*"Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen liess, der wollte keine Knechte"*).

The campaign to make the population afraid to collaborate in any way with the enemy continues. For some time Germans have been told that a patriotic *Fehme* (secret court) in the occupied regions kills every traitor to the Fatherland. Many tales—all invented—of such secret murders in areas under Anglo-American control have been served up. On January 20 the radio and the newspapers circulated accounts of four new cases, giving names and places—one man executed by hanging, three by shooting.

The men killed by the *Fehme* were notorious characters who ingratiated themselves with the Americans by slandering and denouncing nationalist-minded German workmen. Together with a Jewish interpreter they held drinking bouts and blackmailed our countrymen. They have been warned, and now they have met the fate they deserved.

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Some Young Poets and a New Genre

OWING to the prosperity of the big publishers and the zeal of small subsidized concerns like New Directions and the Cummington Press, many young poets are now appearing in book form. To judge by the half-dozen I have lately read, the young Americans are not particularly original. In recent verse there is only one very arresting technical development—the descriptive satire, to which I shall return later on. For the rest, Hopkins, Yeats, Eliot, and Auden are still the great influences; and the impact of the seventeenth-century metaphysicals is more direct than ever. In addition to being involved in artifice and loaded with conceits like a baroque reredos, this verse often speaks the very idiom of the seventeenth-century masters, carrying archaism much farther than did even the generation of Eliot. In the work of the young Trappist monk Thomas Merton—an intense mind but a rather undistinguished stylist—the kinship is with Henry Vaughn, great seventeenth-century mystic and lover of children and nature. But John Donne is the metaphysical most commonly appropriated by the younger Americans. Sometimes, however, their poems, elaborated out of proportion to the emotional charge, suggest not Donne but Erasmus Darwin, as if our seventeenth century were slily turning into an eighteenth century.

Often like hail  
The branded hands of mad Corona flail:  
Covies of frightened meaning soar.

These young poets direct much energy to detail and seldom attempt operations on any scale; instead, it is lyrics, lyrics, lyrics. Perhaps it is the distressing state of the world which sentences them to this fragmentary utterance. In any case, among the volumes I am considering no single poem is as long as Eliot's early *Prufrock*, and none pretends to anything like its dramatic and speculative range. Most of the young continue, however, to subscribe to the expressionist doctrine which informs all modernist poetry and according to which poetic beauty consists in a style imitative of the complexities and surprises of the mind rather than in a style inspired by given standards of harmony and felicity. On the whole this doctrine is still fruitful in the practice of the younger poets; but there are exceptions. Occasionally someone will work hard for the expressive and produce only the gauche. In the pretentious infelicities of Eve Merriam, for example, modernist poetry achieves a rowdy burlesque of itself. Miss Merriam specializes in the poetry of the *physical*:

down to the muddy ground oh look at it tumbling:  
the idiot accident blobber-mouthed and fumbling!

Eyesocket leaps like egg,  
flops yellow-oozing down.

Neither male nor female any more;  
a girl you nestle in my house of hair,  
I climb your legs and bandy boyish war.

Considerable devotion to form is the rule among the younger poets, although again there are exceptions. The temperament of Tennessee Williams, for example, is fresh, adventurous, and Western; but lacking structure, lacking even the will to concentrate and organize his materials, he simply reads like a good foreign poet in an indifferent translation. In Jean Garrigue, on the other hand, an exceptional delicacy combines with a nice sense of architecture. Instead of merely stringing images together, as so many American poets have done since Whitman, Miss Garrigue understands the nearly lost art of writing sentences in verse. It is true that her attachment to Hopkins sometimes leads to irritating preciosities of syntax:

But nor sun purifies nor strengthens by air  
That warped delicacy!

Yet her straight writing is beautifully articulated:

Now upon this piteous year  
I sit in Denmark beside the quai  
And nothing that the fishers say  
Or the children carrying boats  
Can recall me from that place  
Where sense and wish departed me  
Whose very shores take on  
The whiteness of anon.

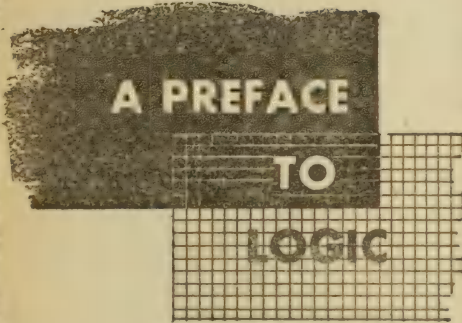
Indeed, what Miss Garrigue chiefly needs is a subject compelling enough to let color and light into the refined dimness of her poetic world. Her love poems are at present her best. When she is not writing of love she is, so far as I make out, not writing of much of anything; and she is then apt to occupy herself with tricks and fancies which impress me as trifling.

I come finally to the new development of which I spoke above, the descriptive satire. Of this form Karl Shapiro is the chief exponent, but Randall Jarrell, Robert Lowell, and John Frederick Nims work in it. The basic method is familiar: it consists in juxtaposing to the vulgar or terrible things of modern life the beauties or pieties of an older culture, often of an earlier stage of American culture. But this poetry of disappointed hopes and broken promises is now exploited with more fervor than it was even by Pound and Eliot. The subject, usually some very definite contemporary incident or phenomenon, is visualized with care at the same time that it is ransacked for its metaphorical possibilities and sardonic implications; and the verse, freighted with resounding language, tends toward a pomposity appropriate to the poem's mock-heroic intention.

And now the legion bones of Arlington  
Laid out in marble alphabets  
Stare on the great tombs of the capitol . . .

One of the earliest examples of the descriptive satire was Karl Shapiro's *Washington Cathedral*, in which a visitor to that structure, after gazing at the neo-Gothic wonders of the interior, steps outside to discover that "a red naked crane/Hangs over the unfinished transept,/a Cubist hen rivaling the Gothic School." The cathedral is thus seen to be only a

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—Morton G. White



"*deus ex machina*," its phony grandeurs typifying the "tons of fake magnificence" under which all modern Washington buries its great heroes and its great past. By comparison with the achievements of Yeats and Eliot, the descriptive satire is a small thing—it is modern poetry shrunk to mere genre—but in it the toughness and realism of the twenties, fortified in many cases by the political insight of later times, survive as they do in hardly any other form of contemporary writing.

The varied targets of Shapiro's satire were indicated in the title of his first book, "Person, Place, and Thing." It is by things that John Frederick Nims is chiefly attracted: the repulsive paraphernalia of an industrial city. These he likes to ridicule by presenting them as beautiful or holy or romantic; so that in each of his poems there takes place a kind of malign transformation scene which only leaves the things in question more gruesome than before. The illuminated signs of movie houses become "New stars rising, *Gem* and *Regent*"; their interiors are "spearmint heavens"; a penny arcade is a "pale and dusty palace under the El"; a magazine stand is a "grotto of our lacquered saints"; an El train is a ship in which

On nights of rain, the captain in the prow  
Dares in great dark the iron-charted flood,  
Follows a star of harbor green as mint,  
Skirting disaster's little eye of blood.  
Is fortunate yet, for sudden in the night  
Stations arrive like Indias of light.

This is charming, and much of Nims's work is equally ingenious, even though it seems finally to belong to the realm rather of fancy than of imagination. For just as, by comparison with Shapiro, Nims is too inflexible a metrist, so he is inferior in power of generalization; and his great peril is whimsy.

The most brilliant poet to emerge since Jarrell and Shapiro is Robert Lowell, who brings to satire the ethical ferocity and outraged idealism of a latter-day Bostonian turned Catholic. His poem Christmas Eve in the Time of War, which carries the subtitle, *A Capitalist Meditates by a Civil War Monument*, is a clear example of the kind of satire I have been discussing. For, as its title indicates, the symbol on which it builds its complicated structure of allusions—religious, political, historical—is a definite object in a definite time: a Civil War monument observed on a snowy Christmas Eve during the Second World War.

Stone generals

Perching upon a pillar of dead snow,  
Two cannon and a cairn of cannon balls,  
Livid in the unfinished marble, know  
How Christmas drunkards left them in the cold,  
While Christ the King is rocking on the mould.

But Lowell's work is not confined to this sort of satire. As Allen Tate observes in his introduction to Lowell's book, the poetry is of two types, one avowedly Catholic and a little theoretical, the other "richer in immediate experience . . . the references being personal and historical and the symbolism less willed and explicit." This seems in general to be true. Allusions to his ancestral Boston lend to one group of Lowell's poems striking concreteness; Boston is the "unreal city" of his private waste land. And if it is his luck to be sprung from a milieu so thick with ghosts and relics, it is

his virtue to have exploited the chance so passionately in his work. He is a poet of very high promise and distinction.

NOTE: Thomas Merton's work appears in "Thirty Poems," New Directions, \$1; Eve Merriam, Tennessee Williams, John Frederick Nims, and Jean Garrigue are published, together with a run-of-the-mill Latin American, Alejandro Carrion, in "Five Young American Poets, Third Series, 1944," New Directions, \$3; Robert Lowell's book is "Land of Unlikeness," the Cummings Press, \$3. F. W. DUPEE

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Open Secrets

THE INFORMATION contained in the 1,200 pages, of small type, of "The Secret History of the War," by Waverley Root (Scribner's, \$10), was not hitherto secret, and the two volumes bring one down only to the close of 1942. Besides a vast quantity of essential facts the author has felt compelled to provide an excess of cartilage and connective tissue. It is not secret history that the British soldier is ill at ease without his beer, and there is far too much conjecture and interpretation, together with prodigious amounts of gossip, much of it doubtless true. It is hardly important to know that shortly before his attack on Russia Hitler delivered a private three-hour speech to a blonde young opera singer of soft curves and different expectations. Sometimes the author includes his own suppressed dispatches at full length. Elsewhere he gives far too much description of public states of mind. The Pacific war is not treated at all.

But these things admitted, it must be said that the book is a useful one. It does contain a vast amount of absolutely essential information, much of which has been given little or no space in the daily press. Its valuable substance is, as it were, all that background material which the diligent, well-connected political journalist has brought to editorial conference rooms for his paper's guidance. Much of it might be called "off-the-record stuff." Here and there is a minor scoop. In other places one is surprised at a shrewd estimate or a keen analysis.

To sum up: Mr. Root has written a new kind of history of the first three and a half years of the European war. At one-third the size it could have been a remarkable book. It is now a useful but garrulous compendium of "inside facts" and knowing talk.

RALPH BATES

### William of Orange

WHEN WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE, assumed leadership of the Dutch revolt against the King of Spain, his legitimate overlord, he had no intention of founding a new state. He resisted the encroachments of Madrid upon the government at Brussels and claimed for the Netherlands Knights of the Golden Fleece, the highest nobility of the Low Countries, paramount influence over native affairs. The burghers, on the other hand, had reasons of their own for resenting Spanish rule. King Philip II, consistently pursuing the course steered by his ancestors, the Dukes of Burgundy, strove to unite the bewildering diversity of duchies,

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counties, and seigneuries that constituted the Netherlands into a closely knit, centralized state. But the Dutch people clung to their local and provincial rights and privileges. Their resistance was prompted by the wish to preserve medieval variety from being merged in uniformity. Native conservatism refused to accept the centralized administration imposed upon it by a foreign ruler. Popular resentment, however, would not have gathered the strength for successful resistance if it had not been fired by religious zeal. It was the inhuman persecution of heretics that turned political discontent into armed rebellion. Democratic Calvinism was the militant force that liberated the Netherlands. The Knights of the Golden Fleece, realizing that they had unchained forces that threatened their own power no less than that of the sovereign, abandoned the cause of the rebels and submitted again to the King of Spain. Prince William alone decided otherwise. And in that decision he showed his greatness. He stood by the Calvinist burghers, not because

he liked Geneva better than Rome, but because he knew that freedom for the Dutch people could be won only with the aid of the zealots of the Reformed religion. Their zeal would not grant to the Catholics the freedom of worship they claimed for themselves. Prince William championed tolerance toward all believers. But he had to abandon that counsel of perfection for the immediate need of Calvinist support. The proud Knight of the Golden Fleece, forsaken by his equals, was henceforth the rebel leader of despised heretics.

The story of Prince William's tragic life set forth in C. V. Wedgwood's volume "William the Silent" (Yale, \$3) is a moving tale of frustrated hopes and indomitable perseverance in spite of repeated failure. He knew himself as an instrument in the hands of divine providence. Under its guidance he accomplished miraculously the very reverse of what he set out to accomplish: the revolt that was started to preserve the medieval heritage of the Dutch resulted in the foundation of a modern state, which fifty years after his death aroused the admiration and envy of all Europe. His latest biographer combines sound learning with literary ability. She has written a beautiful book that will give comfort to those readers who despair of this age, which in so many respects resembles that of the Prince of Orange.

A. J. BARNOW

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### Organized Labor in China

FOR YEARS many people have lamented the lack of an authoritative book on Chinese labor. Because of the appalling scarcity of reliable information on the subject in English, researchers have been forced to avoid the topic. In "The Chinese Labor Movement" (John Day, \$2.75) Nym Wales successfully overcomes this handicap by drawing on hitherto unpublished material which she obtained in interviews with veteran Chinese labor leaders on her visit to Yenan. As a result we have for the first time the full story of the rise of a militant Chinese labor movement between 1922 and 1927 to a peak of three million members, which was followed by the Shanghai massacre of April 12, 1927, and the subsequent suppression and elimination of all free trade unionism in China. Members of American labor unions will find the discussion of the Chinese Association of Labor particularly instructive in view of the \$1,250,000 which they intrusted to this organization in 1943 and 1944 in the belief that they were helping Chinese labor. Miss Wales quotes official Chinese documents to show that the Chinese Association of Labor is a cultural and welfare rather than a trade-union organization and that the "unions" which make up its membership were largely organized by the Kuomintang under strict government control. Most of these "unions" operate in public enterprises, and under the law they have the right neither to strike nor to bargain collectively. In contrast, Miss Wales finds the beginnings of a genuine democratic workers' movement in the 1,350 Chinese industrial cooperatives and in the "free" labor unions of the guerrilla areas. While the story of all of these developments is necessarily fragmentary, students of China and anyone who is interested in the struggle of labor will find this little book extremely useful.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

## The Other Germany Again

IF MANY DELIGHT to shock us with reports of proto-Nazis at all points in the history of German culture, there are also more generous souls to remind us of "the other Germany." Two of the latest reminders are Heine's "Germany, a Winter's Tale," in a new English version by Herman Salinger (L. B. Fischer, \$2.75), and "Against the Current: the Life of Karl Heinzen," by Carl Wittke (Chicago, \$3.75).

Heine writes of a trip to Hamburg which was one of the few interruptions of his long exile in Paris; he denounces Prussianism, and so the poem, written in 1844, is topical a hundred years later. Despite Hermann Kesten's passionate introduction one is not convinced that such topicality goes very deep, and Mr. Salinger himself was so embarrassed by Heine's preface that he put it at the back of the book; but these things need not detain us here. More pertinent is the fact that Heine found it possible stridently to denounce Prussianism, yet to praise the other Germany. For the new version Mr. Salinger has composed honest, crisp, colloquial verses. Those who cannot read German will get the impression that Heine was almost a poet. What translation of Heine gives a better impression?

Professor Wittke's project was a simpler and less ambiguous undertaking. His life of the great German American Karl Heinzen (1809-80) is appropriately solid and business-like. To read it made me realize how excessively my knowledge of German socialism a hundred years ago was limited to what Marx and the Marxists have told me. In freeing an independent radical from the disgrace and obscurity conferred upon him by the disingenuous slurs of doctrinaires Professor Wittke has performed one of the finest services of scholarship. And he has written an interesting book.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

## FICTION IN REVIEW

THE winter fiction season has been unusually lean. There have been far fewer new novels in this pre- and post-holiday period than there were in the same period last year, and one begins to wonder whether the publishers have run out of even bad books, as is reported to have happened in England after a few years of war. Well, pending either such a total drought or, what is more likely, the renewed spring torrents, here are a few notes on some random volumes about which you may have had a mild curiosity.

"The End of All Men" by the Swiss writer C. F. Ramuz (Pantheon, \$2.50), although now published in English for the first time, is not a new work; the publishers do not tell us the date of its original European appearance, but I gather from Denis de Rougemont's introduction that it was about twenty years ago. A fantasy in which the concerns of our daily lives are measured in the light of a cosmic catastrophe, "The End of All Men" not only belongs to a category of fiction to which I am a priori hostile, it being my experience that such large subjects as the imminent destruction of the human race have a way of inviting easy psychologizing and philosophic banalities, but in addition is written in a style that I find a peculiarly pretentious bore. Mr. de Rougemont

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mentions the affinity of this style with the technique of the moving picture: "You will soon notice, when you read 'The End of All Men,' that in this book everything is seen before it is explained. Certain parts of this *epopée* are written like a motion-picture scenario. The characters appear in the light, a head, an arm—the close-up of a hand. . . ." But this seems to me to describe the technique of an arty and self-conscious, and dated, cinema which there never was any reason for literature to try to imitate. And actually Ramuz's novel doesn't put me in mind of the work of the camera at all. Rather, it strongly recalls to me the work of Masereel, of those dull, plodding, morally suffocating stories in woodcut which also once enjoyed an esoteric vogue.

To call "Crying at the Lock" by Adeline Rumsey (Simon and Schuster, \$2.50) a psychological thriller is to ignore its ambitions to serious psychological insights; to call it a serious psychological novel is to be grossly misled by its psychiatric pretensions. Actually Miss Rumsey's history of a young man beset both by memories of a dead first wife and the malignities of his second choice is melodrama for the better lending-library trade, at the level where simple story-telling must show its passport of literacy and sophistication; and there would seem, these days, to be no better proof of worldliness than psychiatric paraphernalia. In addition, Miss Rumsey's book sustains a general air of lively, decent intelligence which makes it hard to remember that one is reading merely a time-killer.

In "The Golden Rooms" (Vanguard, \$2.50) Vardis Fisher continues the good, not too clean fun with his anthropoid forbears which he started in "Darkness and the Deep." The title of the present volume refers to the discovery of fire, a development which Mr. Fisher re-creates with searing vividness. Fortunately I have no knowledge of anthropology to be challenged or provoked by this fictionalized account of mankind's rise to its present stature. I simply enjoy myself and let any old steps-in-progress fall as they will. But I do have the impression that this march toward civilization is becoming harder and harder on the stomach—an evolution which I suspect it is a little within the pleasure of the narrator to modify. For example, Mr. Fisher's new volume celebrates a feast of mammoth, the recollection of which I still keep down with only the greatest difficulty.

Of the two mystery novels in Elliot Paul's "I'll Hate Myself in the Morning and Summer in December" (Random House, \$2.50) I read only the second, an excursion into Nazi sabotage in Chile. Since Mr. Paul failed to raise a goose pimple on this susceptible skin, I very much doubt the appeal of his book to the thriller addict. But on the other hand, perhaps by some happy chance the addicted public has become so surfeited with horror and violence that it is ready to welcome an anti-fascist story notable for its very lack of bloodthirstiness.

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## Drama

JOSEPH  
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KRUTCH

**E**VEN the least ardent admirers of Miss Margaret Webster are not likely to question her courage. She demonstrated it once when she opened her American campaign with "Richard II," and she demonstrates it again with her production of "The Tempest" at the Alvin Theater. When less intrepid entrepreneurs screw up their courage for a round with the bard, they usually choose one of the old standby plays with a fool-proof plot, but Miss Webster scorns such half measures. She does a "Hamlet" or an "Othello" as a matter of course; she also determinedly plays what the timid would pronounce very nearly unplayable.

Some critics of "The Tempest" have always thought it feeble, and the rest have always been sure that it is very nearly ineffable. By their judgment it would seem therefore too bad or too good for the living theater, and until Miss Webster came along it has not, to the best of my memory, been done in New York since I saw it something like a quarter of a century ago. Now she not only puts it on but also puts it over, and does both because she uses the approach which has served her well in the past.

So far as I can make out, this approach might be defined in some such imperatives as the following: assume that the play, or at least some usable portion of it, is neither too delicate nor too dead for the requirements of a commercial theater; hire a cast which, in addition to being competent, includes members whose publicity value is by no means negligible; use any theatrical devices which will serve a purpose without caring too much whether they are or are not part of the Shakespearean tradition; don't worry too much about losing some of the "values" so long as you are sure that you have got some of the others. In this instance, as in the several previous ones, the result is exactly what I presume Miss Webster had hoped. A considerable portion of the public will be agreeably surprised to discover that "The Tempest" is more entertaining than it had been inclined to suppose. Shakespeare's more self-conscious admirers will grant as much as they ever grant to any modern performance of any of his works—namely, that it is well worth seeing, even though, of course, it does not do justice to a play

which in all probability will never be done justice to.

It is with this latter view that I tend on the whole to agree. Arnold Moss is an acceptable Prospero, even though he is assigned a part which calls for more in the way of majestic bearing and majestic utterance than any actor can reasonably be expected to possess. Canada Lee makes a comically brutish Caliban, and Vera Zorina surprised me. In anticipation, a long-legged Ariel seemed almost as preposterous as a fat Hamlet, but besides capering very prettily, she gives the sprite a certain impressiveness, a certain dignity, which I had never supposed part of his character, but which, I must admit, is quite appropriate once one has seen it. George Vaskovec and Jan Werich, the Czech clowns, are sublime, and despite anything that others may say, I saw nothing to reprehend in the antics which made the Trinculo-Stephano scenes high points in the performance.

As one might expect, those purplest of purple patches, Prospero's two big speeches, are less impressive when delivered from the stage than they are when read to oneself, and I think the dislocation of the "we are such stuff as dreams are made on" passage is a serious mistake, since it makes it apply to the play as a whole, not, as it actually does, merely to the little divertissement staged by the magician for the entertainment of his guests. On the other hand, the half-mocking, half-tender scene between Ferdinand and Miranda came off very well indeed, and the important fact concerning the performance as a whole is the same as that which emerges from any reasonably competent performance of any of Shakespeare's plays—the fact, namely, that though certain incidents and certain lines seem less striking than they do when the play is read, certain others take on a significance which the reader is almost certain to miss. The answer to the old question whether Shakespeare belongs on the stage or in the study is simply "both."

As for the play as a whole, this performance confirmed my private conviction that it is neither merely feeble on the one hand nor on the other so much the wisest or profoundest of its author's works as to be very nearly beyond human comprehension. Prospero's farewell to his art really is, I am willing to believe, Shakespeare's farewell to his own. Caliban really is a playful embodiment of all the brutishness which Shakespeare, after the fashion of his time, thought typical of the mob in any so-

ciety. Here on this desert island goodness does for once triumph easily and completely because here for once is a microcosm in which a perfectly good man is invested with absolute power. But "The Tempest" is a fantasy, not the solemn legacy of a statesman or a philosopher. Its famous serenity does not mean that its author had somehow reached a wisdom transcending "Hamlet" or "Lear." It means only that he was accustomed to assume a premise for any work of art and that, perhaps because he was in a happy mood, he chose for the nonce to assume, as one line in the play has it, "The seas threaten but they are merciful." To babble as some critics do of deeper wisdom and higher synthesis, to assert that "The Tempest" solemnly proclaims that God is in his heaven and all therefore right with the world, is to put Shakespeare somewhere below the level of Browning. It is to make him, as some critics seem determined to do, a forerunner of Mrs. Eddy.

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Like all Michael Todd's shows, "Up in Central Park" (New Century Theater) strikes the eye. It also, thanks to some pretty tunes by Sigmund Romberg, sometimes strikes the ear. Unfortunately, however, it never, to put it mildly, strikes the mind or even, very often, the funny bone.

## Film Note

WHAT FILMS I will manage to discuss at anything like proper length when space next becomes available already puzzles me; I am snowed under by possibilities, some worthy, others quite as relevant through conspicuous unworthiness. For the time being I will say briefly that I enjoyed "On Approval," an English-made film with Beatrice Lillie and Clive Brook, so thoroughly that I have to fight off superlatives; that "Hangover Square" is a better than average horror picture up to, but not including, its wildly overloaded climax; that "A Song to Remember" contains a good deal of nicely played Chopin, and is as infuriating and funny a misrepresentation of an artist's life and work as I have ever seen; and that judging by "The Three Caballeros," a streak of cruelty which I have for years noticed in Walt Disney's productions is now certifiable. I should add fair warning about "On Approval": it is a studied, dead-pan, parodistic, late-Victorian setting of a Lonsdale drawing-room comedy, and practically every good thing about it is extremely specialized. A popular hostile synonym for that is "precious." Trivial as it is, I would be grateful for a lot more preciousness of the same sort; "On Approval" itself could use more.

JAMES AGEE

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

SERKIN'S illness caused a change of program at a New Friends of Music concert: instead of Busch and Serkin playing Mozart sonatas there were the Busch Chamber Players performing several works, of which I heard two: Bach's D minor Concerto for two violins, with Busch and Frances Magnes as the soloists; and Rameau's Troisième Concert. The Bach Concerto was performed with Busch and Magnes standing in front of the orchestra and facing the audience—which might have worked if there had been enough rehearsal for soloists and orchestra to achieve an understanding

about tempos and ensemble; but actually a performance which sounded as though it had not been rehearsed was not even held together by a conductor; and in addition there were technical defects in Busch's playing, of which Magnes's was free. On the other hand, for the Rameau piece Busch seated himself at the head of the first violins, where he led what was evidently—from the beauty of sound and precision and finish—a long-rehearsed performance of a delightful work.

At another concert the New Friends, finding that a program of Mozart's Quartets K. 428 and 590 and Debussy's Cello Sonata was a little short, filled the fifteen or twenty minutes with a First Cello Sonata by Jean Hure—fifteen or twenty minutes too much of the polished inanity that is one vein of modern French music. Debussy's Sonata, for me, was only the expertly contrived motions of saying something that wasn't really said; Schuster's playing of it was masterly in its refinement of tone and style. And that reminds me of a recent Sunday afternoon when I walked into a living room where the radio was turned on for the Philharmonic broadcast of Dvorak's Cello Concerto with Leonard Rose as the soloist, and I heard cello-playing that was astounding in its beauty of tone, its ease and fluidity all the way to the extremes of the instrument's range. Even Feuermann's playing, as I recall it, is surpassed by Rose's in these respects—which are all that I would venture to talk about after a hearing of only a movement of Dvorak's Concerto.

The Budapest Quartet's performances of the two Mozart quartets were unequal, as its performances are these days. Fatigued after Lehmann's third recital, and poisoned by the air of the unventilated hall, I was half-asleep during K. 428; but my guest, who has experienced ears for quartet-playing, told me not to worry—I had missed a performance which sounded as though they hadn't rehearsed or had had a fight that morning. On the other hand the performance of K. 590, for which I was wide awake, was fully up to Budapest standard. At the Y. M. H. A. too the group's playing has reached heights in certain of Beethoven's quartets—Opus 135, and above all Opus 132—which it has not reached in others. And the Budapest Quartet reminds me of Alexander Schneider's Albeneri Trio: the pallid tone which its pianist produced in Ravel's Trio turned out to represent not an adaptation to Ravel's music but a French style of piano-playing that

produced the same tone in Beethoven.

As for Lehmann, it appears that she holds a lot in reserve for the occasions when she decides to use it. What she saved in volume of tone and emotional intensity at her first recital she expended in her wonderful singing and acting of the songs of Wolf and Strauss at the third. And so I dare say she will have enough for her great performance of the Princess in "Der Rosenkavalier" later in the month.

Columbia's February list is headed by a set (556; \$5.50) of Beethoven's Quartet Opus 18 No. 5 performed by the Budapest Quartet. The work has no searching and profound slow movement; its serious moments are those of a somewhat impassioned first movement, a wistful and lovely minuet movement; and for the rest there are a light-footed and charming second movement in triple time and a high-spirited finale. The performance, recorded before the Petrillo ban by the Roisman-Schneider-Kroyt-Schneider group, is excellent; its recorded sound is hard and cold, but at least without the harshness and coarseness and break-ups of other Columbia reproductions of Budapest performances.

Columbia's only other new release is a three-volume set (554; \$18.50) of Shakespeare's—not Verdi's—"Othello," as performed by Paul Robeson, José Ferrer, Uta Hagen and their supporting company. It is not in my province; but I can say that whereas I know that the lines of "Richard II" which Maurice Evans speaks are poetry I don't know this about the lines of "Othello" as Robeson speaks them. And I can report that the reproduction of the voices is sometimes unclear near the center of the record.

For the rest Columbia features two older sets from its catalogue. One (X-157; \$2.50) offers the delightful Bocherini music that Françaix arranged and scored with excellent taste for the ballet "Scuola di Ballo," beautifully performed by the London Philharmonic under Dorati, and beautifully recorded. The other (313; \$4.50) offers Grieg's Piano Concerto, excellently performed by Gieseking with a moderately good accompaniment by the Berlin State Opera Orchestra under Rosbaud. The recorded sound is good; but there is some wavering of pitch in my review copy, and its surfaces are noisy.

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# Letters to the Editors

## Wanted: Horse Sense

Dear Sirs: Every time I see opinions in your journal that speak of good balance and impartial appraisal, your stock goes up with me. I refer particularly to your criticism of the dictatorial practices of James Petrillo.

Not all business men are anti-labor by any means. A larger and larger percentage of them are understanding that better and more regular wages are the means of providing the purchasing power necessary to prevent over-production in normal times. This is one of the major selling projects we need to undertake in our country, but it has to be undertaken sensibly. We shouldn't try to attain a 50 per cent increase in the minimum wage in one jump—and we shouldn't guarantee the minimum wage to everyone, because the higher the minimum goes, the more encouragement for loafing. That temptation should be removed.

Wisconsin had a good policy before NRA. Its program worked well without a lot of expensive supervision and at the same time led to fair piece rates. The practice was something like this: where people were employed at hourly rates, there was to be no argument, the minimum had to be paid; but where people were employed at direct piece rates, the minimum had to be high enough so that 75 per cent of the workers could earn the minimum or more; the remaining 25 per cent tolerance was intended for learners, handicapped workers, the aged, those who fell below par, and those who preferred to loaf.

It provided a natural incentive for productivity—and American progress is based on productivity, not on the principle of getting something for nothing.

We belong to the small-business crowd. We are not anxious to get any handouts from Uncle Sam. We are only interested in fair rules and regulations—rules that curb monopoly and prevent it from operating with all kinds of privileges and advantages. We know what kind of a squeeze monopolistic business can put on an ordinary enterprise. If with fair rules we can't hold our own, I for one would want to step aside and let someone else try to head our business.

But to me it seems that labor is mimicking monopolistic business far too

much when it yields to men like Petrillo, when it supports a wage principle that encourages the slow-down practices that have been so prevalent in recent months and years, and when it further encourages the principle of trying to get something for nothing.

What is needed so much today is just common, ordinary horse sense with fair play under statesman-like leadership on the part of business, labor, agriculture, and government. After all, we have common interests. Why can't we start working together instead of constantly fighting each other—and why can't a journal like yours lead with that kind of leadership?

C. T. HABEGGER.

Berne Manufacturing Company  
Berne, Ind., December 29

## The Political Score

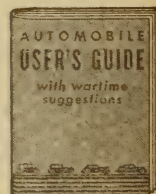
Dear Sirs: I read *The Nation* carefully each week, as I always have. I read it expecting to find hard-hitting liberal journalism, a courageous lashing at idols and vested interests. But instead I have been getting a kind of fuzziness, a moral and intellectual wishful thinking, that borders on cowardice. Certainly in the kaleidoscope of contemporary politics it is often necessary to urge certain compromises of detail; *but only from within the framework of a consistent position.* You have no such position. Or at least I have been unable to discover it. It is no longer possible just to be against fascism, any more than it was ever possible just to be against war. There must be a why and a how. I wish sometime the editors of *The Nation* would stop to figure them out.

If I have any right at all to criticize, it is only because I have read and supported your magazine for many years, but I suggest that at this time one must be either for or against the political forces controlling the peace. Assuming the latter position, it is still both wise and possible to bargain with these forces—but only from an unmistakably independent stand. Your present criticism of Churchill, for instance, is meaningless in the context of your generally acquiescent policy for the last six months. Your fairly uncritical support of the President during the election incriminates you, to that degree, in his present cynical amorality. Your willingness to publish a Soviet apologist like

Anna Louise Strong involves you in at least a partial indorsement of Russian imperial ambitions. I insist that much irresponsible confusion results from your refusal to face the political facts of life with a realistic but principled attitude and philosophy. Perhaps it is unfair to put my objections on an almost ethical—rather than a purely intellectual—basis, but that is precisely the way I feel about it.

No better example of what I mean could be found than a sentence from your editorial of December 16. You said: "... in Italy the new Bonomi government, minus Sforza and the Socialists but including the Communist leader, Togliatti, will provide a temporary compromise" (italics mine). But this is no compromise. This is the basic pattern as designed by Stalin and Churchill, and tolerated, if not actively approved, by President Roosevelt—a new partnership between reactionary right and totalitarian left, omitting the only ones who might give us a free Europe. Is there

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## More Perfect Union

THE long-awaited meeting of the Big Three has more than justified expectations. After the Crimea Conference any lingering hopes our enemies may have entertained of dissension and division among the leading powers of the United Nations, must be dashed. Whatever disagreements existed among Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, it is clear that a common determination utterly to crush Nazism proved a cement far more powerful than any of the forces pulling them apart. And whatever questions were left unresolved, they certainly managed to dispose with amity of a long and controversial agenda.

The communiqué issued jointly at the close of the conference is a most impressive list of achievements. As was to be expected, the coordination of plans for the final military defeat of Germany takes pride of place, and for the better realization of that aim there is, at last, provision for meetings of the general staffs of all three countries. Even more useful at this stage of the war, when political problems are coming more and more to the front, is the arrangement for regular and frequent consultations of the foreign secretaries of the three powers. Another welcome feature of the communiqué is its very specific reaffirmation of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, together with proposals for dealing with the problems of the liberated countries in the spirit of that instrument. Added to this is a solution for the tangled and embittered Polish question—a solution which obviously represents a compromise and one which we hope will receive sufficient support from the Poles themselves to prove workable.

A noteworthy product of the discussions is the olive branch held out to France. The French felt, with reason, that they were entitled to an invitation to the conference, which was bound to have an important bearing on their future security. Now they are asked to participate both in the occupation and the control of Germany. Further, France, together with China, is asked to join in sponsoring the United Nations conference on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, which will be held in April, and is to be consulted on the solution reached for the voting-procedure difficulty before this is made public. Finally, the French government is being invited to help operate the machinery designed to facilitate concerted action in ironing out the internal political and economic difficulties of the liberated countries.

In regard to Germany, the Big Three "agreed on common plans and policies for enforcing the unconditional-surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany." These terms are not to be published until the defeat of Germany, but it is clear that there is nothing soft about them. For the communiqué goes on to declare "our inflexible

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REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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purpose" to destroy utterly German militarism and Nazism. To this end it is announced that all German armed forces will be disarmed and disbanded and the General Staff of the Reichswehr broken up. German military equipment will be either removed or destroyed and German industries adapted to military production eliminated or controlled. All war criminals are to be punished, and the Nazi Party and all its institutions wiped out. Reparations in kind are to be levied "to the greatest extent possible" in compensation for the damage wrought by the Germans in the war.

We have no criticism in principle of these proposals, but we regret the absence of any clear indication of the way in which they will be carried out. Some suggestions for enforcing them which have been widely if unofficially circulated would leave the German people without even a dim hope of recovery. However, the Big Three declare that it is not their purpose to destroy Germany, while pointing out that the continuance of a hopeless resistance must make the cost of defeat heavier. Indeed, the gravest threat to Germany's future is now offered by the suicide strategy of the Nazis. If they succeed in persuading their deluded followers to fight from town to town, scorching the earth behind them, and finally carrying on prolonged guerrilla warfare from their inner mountain fortress, the result will be a devastation that even the softest peace will not remedy. We hope that Allied propagandists in broadcasting the news of the Crimea Conference to the enemy will hammer home this fact.

There should be no complaint this time that the Big Three's communiqué does not communicate. If it does not completely satisfy our hunger for information it does provide a very filling meal. We hope, too, that the results of the conference will discourage efforts that have been made to picture the President as a "yes-man" for his two formidable colleagues. The agreements announced bear out earlier hints that a more positive American policy had been adopted. We think Mr. Roosevelt is to be credited with the emphasis placed on the Atlantic Charter, and the procedures devised for assisting the reestablishment of democracy in the liberated countries bear the marks of his craftsmanship. The first fruit of this agreement to take joint action in meeting political problems created by the war is Russia's abandonment of its stand-pat attitude on Poland. That signifies, we hope, the end of unilateral action and a union made more perfect.

## The Shape of Things

ALTHOUGH NOTHING SPECIFIC WAS SAID ABOUT Spain in the report of the Big Three conference, the "leak" of Prime Minister Churchill's rebuke to Franco for his proposal of an anti-Soviet pact permits us to hope that a new policy toward Spain will soon be evident. If new proof is needed of the Spanish government's continued complicity with the Hitler regime, it is readily available in the recent outrageous broadcasts by Falange radio stations. With Zhukov's army threatening Berlin and with Eisenhower ready to strike in the West, the Valladolid radio said: "The Germans are preparing a sensational blow to stop the Soviet advance. They have now dug in in positions where they are resisting while awaiting the hour of the counter-attack." The broad-

cast went on: "General Franco's Spain and Germany are the two European countries that still have vital energies. . . . The great confidence apparent in Goebbels's speeches is in keeping with military events. Germany is serene, aware of her own destiny; she is ready to save herself and Europe." All this on February 4, 1945! Being farther removed from the front lines, Radio Valladolid spoke with greater optimism than Radio Berlin. Americans may be inclined to laugh at this nonsense. But laughter at similar statements made by Hitler in 1938 has already cost this country many thousands of American lives, and it must not be forgotten that Franco Spain is an important factor in Hitler's plan to continue the war even after military defeat.

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SUCH A CHANGE IN POLICY WOULD NOTABLY improve the United States' position at the Foreign Ministers' Conference which will begin on February 21 in Mexico City. We know that various Latin American countries are preparing to introduce at this conference the question of severing relations with Franco. Those who demand a break are inspired by two motives. One is the warm sympathy for the Spanish Republican cause throughout the Latin countries of the Western Hemisphere. The other is the desire to rid America of the Falangist pest. Both sentiments were expressed with force by the Mexican Under Secretary of the Interior, Señor Casas Aleman, when he addressed the big Spanish Republican rally in the Arena Mexico on January 29 as President Avila Camacho's personal representative. His remarkable speech, of which the American press took scant notice, appeared in full on the front page of every Mexican newspaper. It amounted to the extension of a kind of recognition to "the only Spain we love and respect." Nothing would place the United States delegation to the pan-American conference in a better position to overcome Latin America's enormous distrust of us than if Stettinius could appear there not as Franco's advocate but as the friend of Spanish democracy.

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SOME CHOICE RUMORS ABOUT LEND-LEASE WERE laid at rest by the Foreign Economic Administration at the recent hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. In response to the charge that the cigarette shortage was due to lend-lease operations, the FEA pointed out that our lend-lease exports totaled only about 1¼ per cent of our cigarette production in 1944. The rumor that Canadians were growing fat on American lend-lease butter was exploded by the fact that Canada has received no butter, or any other commodity, under lend-lease. The story that the British were buying aviation gasoline from us at 25 cents a gallon and reselling it to the American army at 55 cents a gallon collapsed when it was revealed that we neither sell gasoline to the British nor buy it from them. A companion tale to the effect that American troops were being outrageously overcharged for food by the British was punctured by the disclosure that all the food provided to our troops by the British is gratis as reverse lend-lease. Some of the rumors, like the one that the Russians were shipping lend-lease planes to Japan in exchange for rubber, were shown to have originated with the Berlin radio. Others, such as the story of a "square mile

of American-made farm machinery," originated with a traveling Congressman. What was actually seen was a depot where American tractors and road-building equipment were stored preparatory to shipment to France. While we would like to think that the FEA's answers would put a stop to the insidious stories about how poor Uncle Sam is being played for a sucker by the wily foreigners, we suspect that by this time there is a brand new crop of stories from similar sources.

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THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION IS seeking to conquer the Bretton Woods plan by dividing it. In a report carefully timed for the opening of Congress debates on the plan, which was approved by forty-four nations last summer, the International Monetary Fund is damned by the bankers, while the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is boosted. The authors of the report are of course "heartily in accord with the objectives" of the Bretton Woods agreements, but they consider that the proposals for the fund which is designed to assist exchange stabilization introduce "a method of lending which is novel and contrary to accepted credit principles." In banking circles, we suppose, it is inevitable that novelty should be considered, *ipso facto*, dangerous, but we are surprised to find that the fund's proposed mode of operation should be regarded as violating accepted credit principles. For the fund is designed to act as an international reserve bank, and its mechanisms appear to be an adaptation of those employed in the Federal Reserve System. However, the bankers will have none of it and propose to transfer such of its functions as appear useful to them to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This institution, which is intended to make or guarantee long-term loans for approved wealth-producing projects, should, in their view, be endowed with additional powers to negotiate currency-stabilization agreements and originate loans for this purpose. The result would be to mingle long-term and short-term credit operations in a way that we have always understood was considered "unsound" banking practice. There are a number of other points in the bankers' report which are open to serious criticism. But the major count against it is that the scheme they advocate is very different from the one approved by the forty-four nations at Bretton Woods—a scheme which itself represented a compromise giving great weight to American views. If Congress yields to the bankers' clamor and proceeds to gut the present plan, there will probably be no international agreement at all.

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THE CANADIAN BY-ELECTION IN GREY NORTH hung out the storm signals for Mackenzie King. The defeat of his Minister of Defense, General McNaughton, by a Progressive-Conservative candidate brought the conscription issue once more to the fore. Mr. King will face the people in the coming federal election badly shaken by his recent parliamentary crisis and further damaged by this latest rebuff. To make matters worse, his compromise formula on conscription, displeasing enough to Ontario, has alienated Quebec. Those who know their political way around say that the French province which in the past has voted "le straight

King" will send to Ottawa a bloc of independent nationalists in protest against the government's betrayal of its anti-conscription pledge. Two factors, however, may change this picture. First, the violence of the pro-conscription sentiment in Ontario as expressed in the recent by-election may drive the Quebecois back into the Liberal fold to avoid a fate worse than King. Second, if the war in Europe is over, the conscription issue may well fade into the background. That brings up the matter of the C. C. F., which has been offering a strong challenge on the left and whose strength has been concentrated in the western provinces and in the industrial districts of Ontario. In the Grey North by-election, the C. C. F. candidate, Air Vice-Marshal Godfrey fared rather badly. The district is largely rural and has never been a C. C. F. seat, but the conscription issue undoubtedly dulled the edge of the C. C. F. appeal. If, therefore, the election is held while the war in Europe is still on, the Tories will exploit to the full the discontent and bitterness over the government's conscription policy. They will certainly gain seats, although it is almost inconceivable that they will have enough to form a government. If, on the other hand, the election is delayed until the end of the war in Europe, the real test—and a much more genuine one—will be on the issue of post-war plans. Here the main contenders will be the Liberal Party and the C. C. F., for apart from their venom toward Mr. King the Progressive-Conservatives are bankrupt of political ideas. But no matter when the election is held it is quite possible that no party will emerge with a clear majority.

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ALTHOUGH THE DEATH SENTENCE IMPOSED ON Private Henry P. Weber of Vancouver, Washington, for refusing to drill has been commuted to life imprisonment, little can be said in defense of the army's handling of the case. Private Weber quite obviously should have been dealt with as a conscientious objector. While his objections to the bearing of arms do not stem from religious conviction and thus are not specifically covered by the law, hundreds of political objectors with similar views have suffered no greater indignity than being sent to the C. O. camps. Weber, however, failed to obtain formal recognition as a C. O. When he reported his scruples against the use of arms to his induction officer, that officer is reported to have instructed him to voice his objection to each specific order that went against the dictates of his conscience. When, in accordance with this instruction, he refused to drill, he was court-martialed and sentenced to be hanged. The Weber case is a flagrant exception to a generally fair policy. The army's treatment of C. O.'s has been much more sensible and humane than in the last war and has coincided with the heightened respect for civil liberties in general. There have been more cases of stupidity than injustice. C. O.'s, as a rule, have been sent to work camps where conditions bear some faint resemblance to those experienced by our soldiers before they enter combat areas. Few would raise any complaint on this score. The stupidity is to be seen in the failure to put C. O.'s to useful work at the top level of their skills. There was the much-publicized case of Dr. C. C. Devault, a qualified scientist, who was denied laboratory facilities and sentenced to three and a half

years in jail. And there have been numerous cases of farmers and specially trained workers who have not been permitted to alleviate the man-power shortage. C. O.'s have willingly offered their bodies for experiment in the interest of human welfare. We should make better use of their brains and skills.

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THE APPEAL FOR CHINESE UNITY ISSUED AS A joint statement by ten leading Chinese-language newspapers in the United States and neighboring countries must have come as a rude shock to the Kuomintang propagandists who have been busy assuring Americans that there is only one side to the Kuomintang-Communist controversy. The ten newspapers, representing well over half the total circulation of the Chinese-language press in North and South America, call for an immediate end of the one-party dictatorship in China and the creation of a national coalition government as an effective means of assuring victory over Japan. They urge that all restrictions on free speech and press be removed and that all patriotic parties and groups be given the same legal status. Our readers will find in the statement's condemnation of the blockade of the Border Region, of the existence of secret police, and of the lack of effective government measures to combat inflation and the black market striking confirmation of Edgar Snow's views as expressed in his article on Lin Yutang in this issue. The need for an end of recriminations between the Kuomintang and the Communists and for the creation of a united China was clearly indicated by Acting Secretary Grew in an official statement issued at Washington recently. Mr. Grew made it plain that our good offices were available for an accord that would unite China in the struggle against our common enemy.

## Wanted: a Janitor

THE Committee on Un-American Activities needs a janitor, three clerks, and a definition of what, after all, is an un-American activity. These primary requisites are set forth in the *Congressional Record* of January 29 and in a letter written on January 20 by Representative Mundt to one hundred prominent Americans asking them to define the committee's objective. Mr. Mundt wrote that "unless it is held that there is no such thing as an un-American activity, Americans should be able to agree on what it is, and our committee could then expose it."

But not without a janitor, adds realistic Representative Cochran. On January 29 Mr. Cochran offered to the House Resolution 109 requesting funds with which the Committee on Un-American Activities might employ a clerk at \$3,900 a year, two assistant clerks at \$2,640 and \$2,109, and a janitor at \$1,560. As reported in the *Congressional Record*, the additional assistant clerk is needed because the committee has "eighty file cases and about twenty unopened boxes full of papers, and because the files are not catalogued or indexed," and also because someone has to be present whenever anyone outside the committee goes over its records. No one objected to the hiring of the clerks, but Representative Engel questioned the need for a janitor. "Committee after committee that meets once or twice a year has a janitor," he

complained. "I do not know what in the world they need a janitor for. The Committee on Territories, next to me, has not met three times a year, I believe, but it has a janitor." Representative Cochran, on the other hand, felt that his committee was entitled to a janitor "because every other committee of the House has one, and further because this man must look after some large rooms as well as keep the files clean."

The fact that any herculean character who undertakes to clean up the Dies Augean-stable files deserves more than \$1,560 a year did not figure in the House discussion—nor did anyone raise the question whether the committee's first need is for a janitor or a *raison d'être*. To some this question may appear as irrelevant as the old problem of which came first, the chicken or the egg. But all will agree that if the egg is rotten it should be thrown out.

## Enter the Air Trust

AT THE Chicago International Civil Aviation Conference, the United States delegation took a strong stand against monopoly. In the name of free competition it stoutly opposed the British plan for an international organization with broad powers to regulate international airline routes, frequencies, and rates. Such regulation, our representatives declared, would make for a cartel system and would throttle the development of international commercial aviation; they desired no interference with the competitive ability of each country's airlines to get all the traffic they could based on efficiency. Senators Bailey and Brewster, who were members of the American delegation, concurred in this policy. More than that, according to Russell Porter of the *New York Times*, they were said to have made it clear that the kind of agreement which the British desired would have to take the form of a treaty and be ratified by a two-thirds' vote of the Senate. Such a treaty, they indicated, would encounter stiff opposition.

It is a little strange, therefore, to find that the Senate Sub-committee on Aviation, of which Senator Bailey is chairman and Senator Brewster ranking minority member, is apparently supporting the principle of a "community" company which would enjoy a monopoly of America's foreign air traffic. This is the principle for which Pan-American Airlines—up to the war in the possession of a *de facto* monopoly—has been fighting for years, openly at hearings of the Civil Aeronautics Board, quietly but no less strenuously in the Congressional lobbies.

On February 8 the *Wall Street Journal* published a series of extracts from a document drawn up by the Senate sub-

COMING IN THE NATION  
The Legal Case Against Adolf Hitler  
By Raphael Lemkin

The Walls of Stuyvesant Town  
By Charles Abrams

Who are the Partisans?  
By Milton Bracker

committee, which, after paying a handsome tribute to Pan-American and noting the general reliance of other nations on a single air-transport system in the international field, declares:

We are of the opinion that we must very seriously consider concentration upon one coordinated system in the international field in order (1) to meet foreign-flag competition; (2) to service our foreign policy in peace and in war; (3) to avoid loss and subsidies, i.e., to assure success; (4) to meet the demands of our commerce; (5) to insure uniformity of policy. . . . It is true that the people of this country . . . seek to avoid monopoly. But we do not carry this policy beyond reason. . . . We recommend a minimum of American-flag operators—even just one—in the foreign field and the highest degree of regulation in the public interest.

In a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* Senator Bailey has intimated that his subcommittee has not yet adopted a definitive policy and that this document is only one of a number of drafts circulated for purposes of discussion. However, the newspaper reports that other Senators "insist that the document is far from a preliminary work." It is rather a composite of various drafts, and while no formal vote has been taken on it, a majority of the subcommittee members are said to have indicated their support for its principles. Additional evidence of the headway this monopoly plan is making is the reintroduction by Senator McCarran, a member of the subcommittee, of a bill to provide for the creation of a single American overseas airline in which the domestic airlines would be permitted to participate.

This is not a policy to be condemned out of hand, always provided that there is genuine government regulation. But we suspect that such is not the idea of Juan Trippe, the dynamic and dictatorial chairman of Pan-American. He has hitherto been very successful in bending Congress to his purposes—a notable example was its refusal of a mail appropriation to the rival American Export Airlines—and if he is able to get legislative sanction for his monopoly plans, it will not be surprising to find that the public control provided is mainly window-dressing. It will be even less surprising if, once Pan-American has its exclusive charter, perhaps under a new name, it seeks to make a deal with the "chosen Instruments" of Britain and other countries, providing by private treaty an international cartel instead of the kind of international organization which the British and Canadian delegations at Chicago attempted to achieve by public treaty.

The monopoly plan, it is only fair to note, is not that of the Administration. In fact, the Civil Aeronautics Board and the State, War, and Navy departments are all believed to be opposed to it. But as the document quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* pointed out, "The forming of policy in air transportation is a function of the legislative department." That being so, this revelation that the competition we fought for so hard at Chicago is considered something less than sacrosanct in Congress is likely to be viewed curiously abroad. It may seem yet another proof to cynical foreigners that our antipathy to monopoly is far more a matter of preaching than of practice.

## The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THIS department views the war fronts tonight with the happy reflection that Abe Lincoln's birthday has been most fittingly celebrated with the announcement of great and encouraging agreement among the Big Three at Yalta, a Crimean town which the Red Army liberated a year ago. There may be discoveries of omissions and dirty deals, and we may all wake up with a hangover; but tonight one can be thankful for Lincoln and his memory, which still walks the earth, preserving the Union by principle and compromise compounded together in courage.

A strong believer in the twin principles of unity of command and the council of war, Lincoln would have been pleased by the military sections of the Yalta communiqué. The chief staff officers of the three nations most heavily involved in the war against Germany met and exchanged full information on current and pending operations. They agreed on the timing, scope, and coordination of the next blows, which are to be delivered from east, north, west, and south. (The points of the compass I italicize may have been thrown in to add to the discomfiture of the German General Staff—but then again, they may not have been.) Finally, they agreed to hold future meetings of the military staffs when necessary.

These decisions are all-important, not only for the final

phases of the war against Germany, but for the increasing possibility of Russian participation in the final phases of the war against Japan, and above all for the years of pacification and heightened Allied accord which must follow the shooting war. One may hope that at Yalta the foundations were laid for a structure long desired—a true Joint Chiefs of Staff, drawing in the top Soviet commanders alongside their British and American opposite numbers. There has long been too wide a gap between the Anglo-American Joint Chiefs, sitting in Washington, and the Soviet Supreme Command, sitting in Moscow. The interchange of ideas, plans, and problems across a table top goes farther toward achieving a meeting of minds than any number of code cables. The announced agreement as to the timing of blows from all points of the compass should also eliminate most of the grumbles from both sides of Germany as to why the other fellow doesn't open up a second front at once.

While the big gears were conferring on new and heightened attacks, their friends on the fighting fronts were hammering away at the slowly fading German strength. The big actions continued in the east, where the Russian generals, having obviously read last week's edition of this column, proceeded according to the plan therein contained (I'm

boasting). Zhukov was held hard at the tip of his long salient around Küstrin and Frankfurt, and fierce battles raged on the Oder crossings near Berlin, while Rokossovsky and Konev fanned out into Pomerania and Silesia, broadening the tip of the salient, relieving the threat to Zhukov's exposed flanks, and posing new threats to the German troops in north and south. Instead of a long, narrow dagger pointed at Berlin, the Russians by Monday night occupied a great bulge thrusting into Germany, shouldering up toward Stettin and the Baltic, and pushing down behind Breslau and toward Dresden.

This movement of broadening the salient will probably continue until Zhukov has a firmer base from which to push off again toward Berlin, the unhappy capital. It remains to be seen whether Zhukov will be strong enough, and Berlin's defenders weak enough, so that he can push straight into the city, or whether he will go around in a double envelopment, cut off the city's communications, and continue on to the west and south while the following infantry goes in and cleans up the city. The latter course is traditional with the Red Army; but Berlin covers an enormous area, and will certainly be more difficult to encircle than Warsaw. Even if it is encircled, we have seen what the Germans are capable of doing in the way of protracted house-to-house defense at Budapest. If it proves too difficult to encircle and Zhukov decides to fight his way straight in, the Germans have the Stalingrad example before them, and it would be unwise to anticipate that Germans are less brave and cunning than Russians when fighting in defense of their homes.

How many times have the afternoon dailies announced that American armies have smashed their way through the last remnants of the Siegfried Line? I lost track about two months ago. This talk of lines and walls is most misleading. One thinks of a string of posts, or a brick wall through which an army thrusts its head, then its shoulders, then its

hips. The trouble presumably comes with the hips. It would present a more illuminating picture if one spoke of a defense area, or a deeply echeloned defense in depth. I realize that this would be difficult to fit in a headline, but it would make for more understanding of what Allied infantrymen are up against—tank traps, interlocking fire points, minefields, bunkers, plenty of wire, all of it under the fire of artillery which has been zeroed in to the exact yard; and then a couple of miles of broken, hilly, wooded, ravine-cut country (also under fire) and the whole thing is encountered once again.

As for that "comparatively open country leading to the Rhine," which lies beyond, it is full of towns and villages every one of which is a better tank obstacle than can be erected in a field, every one of which will have to be fought through—or around, which is worse because it fouls up the supply lines and the mechanized columns.

The essential futility of military criticism was neatly illustrated last week by the revelation of the Roer dams, which the Germans controlled. We were all yapping about the no-progress of the armies across the Roer near Düren, and now three months later we hear that if they *had* progressed, the Germans would have opened the flood-gates and washed them down into the North Sea.

The British-Canadian drive through the Reichswald toward the Rhine has been a promising preparation for full-scale offensives in the west. Capture of Cleve provides elbow room for a swing to the south in the narrow space between the Rhine and the Maas. This area must be pretty well cleared before any crossing of the Rhine can have much hope of permanent lodging. Preliminary operations here, and farther south once the Roer subsides, will pave the way for some big blows that should stop the flight of German reinforcements to the east.

## This Is What We Voted For

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 13

THE first reactions of the capital to the concrete and energetic communiqué from the Crimea Conference indicates that this will rank as one of the President's greatest achievements. With Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin, he has taken us one firm step farther along the difficult road to a total victory and a stable peace. Much since November 7 has been disheartening to the day-by-day observer, but in the proceedings at Yalta the historic significance of Mr. Roosevelt's reelection is made plain—in foreign policy a continuation of close and friendly liaison among the leaders of the Big Three, the *sine qua non* of Axis defeat and post-war reconstruction. One can easily imagine Governor Dewey doing many of the same things and making many of the same appointments as Mr. Roosevelt since the election, but one cannot imagine a Republican President

reaching the Crimea agreement on Poland, as one cannot imagine a Republican President appointing a man of Henry Wallace's outlook as Secretary of Commerce. Whatever his compromises on less important matters and however his evaluation of detail and his sense of timing may differ from those of some of his progressive supporters, Mr. Roosevelt's course clearly remains charted toward the two major objectives of an enduring peace abroad and full employment at home. This is what we voted for.

In the sphere of military action the Crimea communiqué is regarded here as foreshadowing a new offensive against the Reich, this time from the north, probably through Denmark. Should the Germans be forced to fight on a fourth front, their collapse would be hastened, and there is much hopeful speculation about the Russian agreement to sit in *with the Chinese* at the United Nations Security Conference

to be held at San Francisco on April 25. The date is the deadline for denunciation of the non-aggression pact between the U. S. S. R. and Japan, and it is felt that the Soviets would not risk this announcement, with all it may imply in Tokyo, unless they were confident that final victory over the Reich will be close enough in the next few weeks to enable them to handle a surprise attack by Japan. This reflects confidence by the U. S. S. R. not only in its own strength but in the trustworthiness of its allies. A related indication of the ever closer relations among the Big Three is found in certain phrases in the communiqué which seem to doom any hopes that might have been nurtured by the "Free German" generals in Moscow.

When Stalin joins in expressing an "inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism . . . to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff . . . remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production . . . remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people" (my italics), he must feel sure enough of his Western allies to shut the door on the use of the Marshal von Paulus crowd as an alternative instrument of Soviet policy. A declaration of intent to "disband all German armed forces" is a departure from earlier Stalin statements that seemed to promise the Reich the right to retain an army and opened an avenue of negotiation between Moscow and dissident German generals among its prisoners.\* To use some of these generals as pawns against the West might at one time have seemed a grim political possibility in Moscow. Apparently the Crimea Conference has made Marshal Stalin feel that no such dangerous game will be necessary. This is regarded here as not the least of the President's achievements at Yalta.

Even so fruitful a conference as the one just closed cannot be expected to solve all mutual problems. It is noted here that while the leaders of the Big Three agreed on the establishment of a joint commission to discuss reparations, they have yet to establish a joint commission on war crimes. The communiqué does, indeed, speak of an inflexible resolve to "bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment," but recent events have made it quite clear that this resolve is much less inflexible in Washington and London than it is in Moscow. It may be significant in this connection that the communiqué makes no reference to the industrialist collaborators of the Nazis whom the Russians also wish to punish but some Anglo-American circles are anxious to protect. This may explain the failure to set up a joint body to handle the many complex problems involved in punishing Nazi higher-ups and the omission of any joint statement warning the neutrals not to grant asylum to Nazi leaders. In this sphere it would seem that leaders of the Big Three do not yet see eye to eye. Franco Spain is one of the neutrals which need renewed warning, and the Argentine is another. Here the differences among the powers are well known.

It is good to know that there will be closer cooperation and consultation among the Big Three in the future in regard to liberated countries, and it is hoped that they will also decide in the near future to begin informal but detailed

discussion of the problems which will arise in the occupation of Germany. The announcement that the Reich will be split into three and almost certainly—when the French join in—four separate spheres of military control does not solve these problems; it only sets the stage for them. There will be a joint military commission in Berlin, but this also will not be enough to make certain that the occupying powers carry out their pledge to extirpate all traces of Nazism in the Reich. The Russians are better qualified for this task by political training, temperament, and the working-class basis of their regime. Unless there is mutual discussion, we may find Nazi elements taking refuge underground in the more equable and complacent climate of the English or American zone of occupation. This would be dangerous not only for the future of the Reich but for future relations among the occupying powers.

It is in the handling of these concrete problems that Allied unity and efficiency will be tested rather than in the formal details of voting rights and the structural charts for the projected world security organization. But it is on the latter and above all on the Polish settlement that discussion in Congress and by the opposition will center. The position to be taken by the Republican Party is not to be judged from the first approving statements evoked by the Crimea communiqué. Senators Austin of Vermont and White of Maine have applauded the results of the conference, but both are internationalist Republicans. Herbert Hoover, with unexpected and admirable magnanimity, has praised the President's work. But Vandenberg, the bell-wether of the party majority on foreign policy, indicated that he was undecided about the Polish settlement. It is on the Curzon line that the main battle will be fought.

The danger is not from the extreme isolationists like Wheeler; they command the sympathies of only a negligible minority in the country and the Senate. The danger, as in the old League fight, lies in those who express themselves as fully in accord with the need for preventing German resurgence and establishing world peace but—. This time the leader of the "but" brigade is Vandenberg. Until the announced results of the Crimea Conference, he seemed to offer a bridge, however shaky, between the old isolationism and world cooperation. But the final settlement of the Polish question at Yalta brings fully into view the most treacherous aspects of the Vandenberg proposal. Now to propose the reopening of the Polish settlement after the war would be to disrupt the Allied unity and confidence on which not only the military strategy but the diplomatic decisions of the Crimea Conference were based. Not the slightest cost of the Vandenberg proposal would be Soviet cooperation in the war against Japan. To insist on perfectionism along the Pripet Marshes might mean payment in American lives on Pacific islands. That would be a high price to pay for Polish megalomania and American domestic politics.

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**CORRECTION:** In last week's article, Wallace: Second Round, the last sentence of the second paragraph should begin, "Fortunately, Senator Barkley, with the help of Vice-President Truman, obtained the floor . . ." Through a typographical error Barkley was transmuted into Bailey.

\* "It is not our aim," Stalin said on November 6, 1942, "to destroy all military force in Germany."

# Labor Meets in London

BY MARGARET STEWART

*London, February 9 (by Cable)*

THIS is the first peace conference." With these words the chairman of the London County Council welcomed the delegates to the World Trade Union Congress, which opened in London's blitz-scarred County Hall on February 6. The congress is certainly the greatest international gathering of labor ever held. More than two hundred delegates are here, representing nearly fifty million workers in forty-five countries. They have come from every quarter of the globe—in the words of the hymn, "from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand." There are Indians, Russians, Jews, Chinese, men who fought in the *maquis* of France and Belgium or with Tito in Yugoslavia, men who fought against fascism in Spain before anti-fascism was fashionable, Americans and Latin Americans, delegates from the British Commonwealth, Swedes, Swiss, and Irish from the neutrals. The only condition of admittance is a trade-union card carried by an opponent of fascist dictatorship. These men have met, in the words of British transport leader Deakin, "to chart a course for mankind."

The congress is dominated, just as the peace conference will be, by the Big Three—Britain with 7,000,000 members, Russia with 27,000,000, and the United States (C. I. O.) with 6,000,000. From these three countries come the three presidents: George Isaacs, chairman of the Trades Union Congress; Vassili Kuznetsov, chairman of the Soviet trade unions, who learned his English at Ford's in Detroit; and R. J. Thomas, vice-president of the C. I. O. and head of the Automobile Workers. The three vice-presidents are Saillant, of France, a leader of the resistance; Lombardo Toledano, the forceful Mexican leader representing the Latin American Federation of Labor; and Chu Hsueh-san, who heads 600,000 Chinese workers.

The opening session was smooth sailing, being largely taken up with formalities—appointment of a Standing Orders and a Credentials Committee, addresses of welcome, a message from Prime Minister Churchill, a humdrum harangue by Deputy Prime Minister Attlee. All this took time, since it had to be translated into French, Russian, and Spanish.

A squall blew up at the end of the second day when the Standing Orders Committee presented its report. Sir Walter Citrine, bronzed from his visit to Greece, mounted the rostrum and roundly condemned its decisions. First, it had recommended the inclusion of former enemy countries—Italy, Finland, Rumania, and Bulgaria—on the ground that circumstances had changed since the congress preparatory committee first decided to exclude them. "How can you discuss the treatment of the enemy with people who until yesterday were themselves enemies?" asked Sir Walter. He did not think that any of these countries, with the possible exception of Finland, could claim a stable or democratic trade-union movement.

Secondly, the Standing Orders Committee had recom-

mended the admission of a Lublin Pole whose credentials had been flown from Moscow. This issue, urged Citrine, was still under consideration by the government. Why should the trade unions rush in where ministers feared to tread? Finally, the committee had recommended that the voting should be by countries—one country, one vote—with a two-thirds' majority constituting a decision. This, said Sir Walter, was contrary to the spirit and purpose of the conference, which was intended to be only advisory. This issue is undoubtedly the most critical before the delegates. The British fear being swamped by the votes of Russia and the numerous countries which, as has become increasingly obvious in the course of the conference, follow the Soviet line.

The third morning opened in a heavily charged atmosphere which was not relieved by an uncompromising speech from Lombardo Toledano or by the criticism of "Comrade Citrine" voiced by Tomasov, a Soviet delegate. R. J. Thomas, who had flown from America and rushed straight to the hall from the airfield, poured oil on the troubled waters. He moved reference back to the Standing Orders Committee of the first controversial sections of their report, that is, the recommendations on the ex-enemy countries and Lublin. This was agreed, and the Standing Orders Committee eventually decided that the ex-enemies should be invited to send representatives whose credentials would be examined by the Credentials Committee to determine whether they should be delegates or merely observers. This dispute, which at one stage threatened to break up the conference, may be a foretaste of the far greater controversy which promises to develop next week.

On the first item of the agenda, the Allied war effort, there is complete agreement, even if each delegation tends to compete in boosting the contribution his nation has made to the defeat of fascism. America came out of this very well with a munitions production record showing an elevenfold increase in three years and the virtual disappearance of time lost through strikes. Reid Robinson, head of the Metal Workers, who gave this report in the absence of Hillman and Thomas at the opening session, called for cooperation among the Allied nations in peace as in war.

The delegations are agreed, too, about the issues of the peace settlement. There is a solid core in favor of hard terms for Germany. The C. I. O. and the Chinese, especially, are determined that what is sauce for Germany shall also be sauce for Japan, and so far it seems that the Russians, although not at war with Japan, are ready to agree.

It is over the future of the international union movement that a real cleavage may occur. The Russians, the C. I. O., the French, and the Latin Americans want a brand-new international and not the resurrection of the moribund International Federation of Trade Unions. The British T. U. C. wants to reorganize the federation and extend its membership. They have a close link with the A. F. of L., which

has categorically refused to sit at a round table with the C. I. O. and the Soviet unions. A decision to form a new international would cause the A. F. of L. to retire to splendid isolation, a state of affairs which the British want to avoid. This was the threat made by Robert Watt, A. F. of L. leader, at the I. F. T. U. meeting in London last week, for which he was hotly attacked by Will Lawther, blunt-speaking

ing British miners' leader. It may be that these differences will settle themselves, though the stage seems set for a major ideological clash. Low, the cartoonist, summed up the situation brilliantly in a cartoon showing Olga, the fair Russian maiden, seated between two suitors, Citrine and Hillman, with a portrait of Green, a frosty-faced old maid, frowning down from the wall.

## Exports: Britain's Triple-A Priority

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

BRITISH business men don't like war-time economic controls any more than their American confrères do, but they are resigned to their continuance for a long time not only after VE Day but after VJ Day. Chafe as they may against price ceilings, material and labor priorities, control of investment issues, import and export restrictions, foreign-exchange licensing, and other limitations on freedom of action, most of them realize that such controls must be relaxed gradually if chaos is to be avoided. That does not mean there will be no pressure to remove restrictions; almost certainly it will be applied by consumers who, having suffered years of "austerity" with exemplary patience, will naturally hail the advent of peace as an opportunity for a buying orgy.

But that is just why it will be impossible to restore a free market quickly, leaving the forces of supply and demand to regulate production and prices. Suppose all controls were to be removed at one blow, what would happen? The one thing which is plentiful in Britain is money. Despite very high taxes, retained income per capita has increased by nearly 50 per cent. But with necessities rationed and all other goods extremely scarce if available at all, people have not been able to spend their incomes. As a footnote in the White Paper on Employment Policy, published last June, puts it, "The present clothing ration provides roughly one-half of the pre-war consumption of clothing. . . . Only about one household in ten can now buy a pair of sheets and one household in five a pair of blankets each year. Only one person in seven can now buy each year a knife, fork, or spoon, one person in three a kettle, saucepan, or frying pan, one person in four a teapot or jug. The manufacture of carpets, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and other household appliances is virtually prohibited."

The other side of the medal is the growth of private savings, which in the first five years of the war amounted to \$33,200,000,000—equal to the British national income at its present swollen level. Of this, \$12,800,000,000 represented small savings in defense bonds, savings accounts, and so on. In addition, though not to the same extent as in this country, currency has been hoarded in teapots and under mattresses. Thus with the end of the war a keen desire for goods will be combined with unprecedented purchasing power. Only the goods will be absent, or in extremely short supply. In such a situation the abolition of rationing and price ceilings could have only one result—

competitive bidding for goods, which would create an inflationary situation in short order.

Moreover, many of the things most missed by British consumers during the war—fruit, dairy products, wine, textiles, toys, household gadgets—are imported, or manufactured largely from imported materials. If import restrictions and foreign-exchange licenses were abandoned, traders and manufacturers would buy heavily abroad, creating a tremendous demand for foreign currencies. At the same time, with a booming home market business men would take little interest in promoting exports; so that the inflow of foreign exchange, already far below British needs, would be reduced to a trickle. The inevitable consequence would be the rapid exhaustion of British reserves of gold and foreign currencies, followed by sharp external depreciation of sterling.

One of the few things about which most American business men agree with the Administration, even though they differ about ways to achieve it, is that the earliest possible stabilization of foreign-exchange rates is a prime interest of the United States. So long as there is no certainty about what the pound or the franc or the guilder will be worth in terms of dollars, there can be no orderly development of foreign trade. Serious depreciation of sterling after the war would be most injurious to American exporters, especially since, in falling, sterling would drag many other currencies with it. But it is the British exchange and import controls which have made it possible to maintain an official rate of \$4.02 throughout the war. It is therefore to America's interest that these pegs should not be removed before Britain has had time to restore its balance of payments, which, as I explained in my last article,\* the war has knocked completely out of kilter.

It is to be feared that many American exporters, finding their trade with Britain, or British colonies, restricted after the war by import quotas or even by flat embargoes on certain types of goods, will overlook these facts. When I was in London last fall I discussed this matter with an official of the American Chamber of Commerce there who was rather gloomy about the possibility of misunderstandings in America over British economic policies. He agreed that import and other controls would have to be maintained for a considerable period after the war but said that he had no doubt many American business men would consider such measures discriminatory. He thought that firms whose prod-

\* Britain's Economic Dunkirk, in the issue of February 12.

ucts were likely to obtain low priorities would probably attempt to maintain their good-will in Britain by setting up factories there. But this step will not free them from control trouble: since Britain, for some time, will experience shortages of both materials and labor, it will have to proceed on the principle of first things first. Thus the manufacturer of, say, radio combinations may have to wait for a building permit until more urgently needed houses have been constructed.

In the January issue of *Foreign Affairs* W. Manning Dacey, editor of the *Banker* (London), pointed out that after economic demobilization and reconversion Britain and America will face diametrically opposite problems. The chief difficulty in the United States will be to reverse the trends which have made possible the high level of war-time savings. It will be necessary to discourage thrift as a mass virtue, to stimulate spending, to foster higher living standards. Unless this is done, production will be choked, and deflation and large-scale unemployment will follow. Britain, on the other hand, will have to damp down the demand for consumer goods and encourage savings in order to provide for reconstruction at home and a great expansion of exports.

This is a task that will call for very delicate handling by the British government. The average Briton will understand that housing must have a number-one priority and that the rebuilding of schools and hospitals is more urgent than the restoration of country clubs. But a recent Gallup poll indicated a wide lack of understanding of the fact that since Britain must import to live, it must export or die. Consequently, the limitation of meat imports in order to conserve foreign exchange, or the assignment of textiles to foreign markets while clothes rationing continues at home, is likely to cause discontent, and calls for a greater amount of popular education than the government has yet attempted.

Psychologically and politically, it would, in fact, be impossible to attempt to hold consumption to war-time standards, even though by so doing internal reconstruction and the recovery of export trade might be speeded. Some relief from enforced frugality there must be, and in the interest of morale fairly high priorities may be given to goods which are not strictly necessities. It may be considered important, for instance, to give early satisfaction to the British craving for oranges and bananas; or to release exchange to permit the bare legs of British women to be clothed in nylons as soon as America has a surplus for export. In this connection it is noteworthy that, despite the need for conserving dollars, the British government has permitted increasing imports of American films during the war, the value in 1943 being more than twice that in 1939.

But while some consideration may be shown to morale builders, preference will be given to imports of essential foods, raw materials, and machinery for increasing the efficiency of British industry. Moreover, such materials and machinery will be allocated first of all to manufacturers who undertake to sell all or a considerable part of their output abroad. For exports must rank high in the order of priorities if Britain is to recover its external purchasing power and its ability to buy freely throughout the world.

This is how *Planning*, a periodical issued by the British organization PEP, sums up the situation:

Just as production for war is a patriotic duty now, so production for export will be a patriotic duty after the war. Workers for their part must realize that when they help make a motor car, or a suit of clothes, or a pair of silk stockings for export, they are, in effect, producing the bread, butter, and tea which they will have for breakfast next morning. . . . Just as it will be a crying scandal if luxury hotels are built while any family lacks a decent house, or if Mayfair rides to the theater in new Rolls-Royces while Wigan walks to work because there is a shortage of bicycles, so it will be more insidious and no less scandalous if new satin evening dresses are sold to decorate English debutantes when they might have been exported in exchange for raw cotton from the U. S. A., meat from the Argentine, grain from Canada, or oil from Venezuela.

In my last article I pointed out that in order to pay for imports on the pre-war scale, which means in order to maintain its pre-war standard of living, Britain would have to increase exports by more than 50 per cent of the average for 1936-38. However, recovery of the export trade has to start from a much lower base than the pre-war figure since, owing to the concentration of man-power and materials on munitions, overseas sales have been cut back with increasing severity. In 1943, the last year for which figures are available, British exports, excluding most "mutual-aid" shipments, were only 50 per cent of the 1938 value and only 30 per cent of the 1938 volume. American cash exports, excluding lend-lease, have remained much closer to their pre-war level. That comparison has been the cause of a good deal of resentment among British business men. They feel that their American competitors have not only had a better chance to hold their own markets but an opportunity to win former British customers. This belief is not without foundation. During the war American exporters have had things pretty much their own way in Latin America, always a heavy buyer of British goods, and have established firm footholds in a number of African and Asiatic countries where British traders once predominated. The *New York Times* of December 15, 1944, quotes R. C. Thompson, export manager of the Electric Auto-Lite Company and member of an official mission to the Middle East, as saying that in that region "American exporters have gained almost immeasurably in a competitive position with Great Britain."

In the period immediately after the war Britain, however, will probably be able to regain ground. With the whole world starved for goods and with many important markets, such as Argentina, Brazil, India, and Egypt, well supplied with foreign exchange, there will be trade opportunities for both America and Britain, and selling will not be a serious problem. For Britain the problem will be rather one of production, of raising output sufficiently to take care of urgent home demand while leaving a surplus for shipment overseas. As we have seen, the expansion of exports is so vital a national interest that the government will have to take action to divert industrialists from the easy pickings of the domestic market to the more strenuous business of catering for the foreigner. The British government is taking steps, just as the State Department is, to improve its commercial-intelligence service; it is also extending its pre-war export-credit insurance scheme. But such measures are ancillary to an official undertaking to provide the export industries

with a high priority for "raw materials, labor, and factory space freed from war purposes." In addition, such industries will almost certainly be given a preferred position so long as new capital issues are subject to "rationing."

It is unlikely that the export industries in this country will be accorded similar privileges. The need being less urgent, the necessary control over production and consumption would be far more strongly resisted. The tendency of American business in the immediate post-war period will be to concentrate on filling the pent-up demands of the home market before turning their salesmen farther afield. This may give the British some opportunity to catch up.

I have outlined here the kind of program British economists and government officials believe will be necessary to see their country through the economic strains of the post-war transitional period, which it would be optimistic to put at much less than five years. It is the kind of program that the average Briton will find it hard to take after his strenuous and sparse living of the war years. He will find jobs plentiful, but his standards of consumption, while showing some improvement, will remain comparatively low. Taxes are likely to stay high to discourage spending, and the drive for savings will continue. A good deal of grumbling is inevitable; it may be mollified if there is a slow but steady improvement in conditions. On the other hand, if management of the controls is unskilful, a rising tide of discontent may undercut the government's purpose.

Such an outcome would have grave consequences not only for Britain but for the world. Britain occupies a key position in international economy owing to the enormous market it offers for the goods of other countries. But if that market is to be fully restored, Britain must reestablish its balance of payments at a level which will enable it to finance whatever volume of imports is required to maintain and gradually raise its standard of living. The achievement of that aim depends a good deal on the self-discipline of its people—a quality they have shown in high degree during the war. But it also depends on the policies of other countries, and particularly those of the United States.

If the forces of economic internationalism and cooperation triumph in this country during the transitional period, Britain is likely to persevere with its efforts to restore its economic position to the point where a return to its traditions of multilateral trade can be safely undertaken. If, on the other hand, America, showing lack of understanding of its problems and impatience with the restrictions it must temporarily adopt, reverts to economic isolation, then Britain may heed the siren voices which are hymning the advantages of the unorthodox trade routes pioneered before the war by Dr. Schacht.

In a further article I propose to review the long-term outlook for British trade and to discuss the sharp controversy on international economic policy which is being waged in London.

*[The second of a series of three articles.]*

## The Battle of the Rhone

BY ANDREE VIOLLIS

**A** LONG the road that leads from Montélimar to Lorient in the Rhône Valley, I looked on the terrible and death-scarred scene of a battle. History will remember this Battle of the Rhône as the first great victory of Americans over Germans in the south of France.

Straight, wide and smooth, flanked on one side by the railroad and on the other by the great river, the road stretches out toward Valence. The battle started on August 28. A few days before, the people around Avignon could observe moving north, like a green and yellow caterpillar, an unending chain of German vehicles of all kinds: troop trucks, tanks, armored cars, self-propelled guns and machine-guns, motorcycles, and occasionally one of those small, swift staff-officer cars, elegant and shining—all camouflaged, or rather dressed up, with leafy branches, like Birnam Wood moving on Dunsinane. Interspersed among the steel helmets were the bare heads, the caps, and the stiff-brimmed hats of the Vichy militia, some with their wives and children, some carrying suitcases, all fleeing from inexorable justice.

Three German divisions were on the march, the Second Panzer Division forming the vanguard and doing the scouting. Many of the soldiers looked worn out and discour-

aged, but some were vigorous with youth and the sunshine. They laughed and sang and joked. Weren't they going north, going home? They would see their families again, the families they had left almost five years ago. If a car stopped for some reason, the officers strutted about, chests pushed out as usual, well-fed and arrogant, with the traditional rolls of pink flesh showing above their collars, their lips moist and greedy.

This was not flight. Of course not; it was simply "an orderly retreat," a "shortening of the front," necessary because the Americans had landed on the coast. They were still far away, around Grasse, Draguignan, Gap. They would need wings to catch up with the Germans. As for the *maquis*, those "damned terrorists" had never been easy to handle, but now they were on the other side of the river and would hardly dare to attack such an important convoy.

Then, quick as lightning, formidable, unexpected, catastrophe struck the caterpillar chain. The terrible fate of those three German divisions was soon written in deadly characters for twenty kilometers along the road.

The American troops had landed in one operation from Cavalaire to St. Tropez, between Cap Nègre and the Golfe de Fréjus. Parachutists had been dropped behind the Mon-

tagnes des Maures toward Le Luc and Le Muy. Soon the whole Maures *massif* was encircled by Allied troops with their spearhead pointing toward l'Esterel. The beachheads and the terrain through which the troops deployed had been chosen by the French Forces of the Interior, who had shown good judgment. From then on everything went along quickly.

On August 17 the Americans entered Drolguignan, which had been liberated by the F. F. I. on the sixteenth. Avoiding frontal attack, they by-passed the two big ports of Toulon and Marseille and advanced toward Brignoles and Manosque. They occupied Castellane on the seventeenth and Digne on the nineteenth. At Digne General Butler took command of a column consisting of panzers, tank destroyers, excellent artillery, and a few gliders, and captured Sisteron, Gap, and Corps on the Route Napoléon. Resistance was weak and from two to four thousand prisoners were taken in each town; only Corps was fiercely defended.

Two columns then marched on Grenoble, which was taken on the twenty-second. Another swung toward Die, Crest, Saillans, along the Drôme River, and established itself in the hills above the road from Montélimar to Lorient. About two hundred tanks, cannon of all calibers, and machine-guns were massed there.

All this had been so carefully planned and was accomplished in such secrecy that the Germans had no idea what was happening around them. Ahead of them the Drôme joined the Rhône. The Americans, together with the F. F. I., dynamited the bridge, blocked the road with a few armored cars flanked by a small contingent of men, and waited. They waited for two long days and nights, anxious lest their guess had been wrong.

Then suddenly through the trees they saw the mighty German column advancing, preceded by tanks and accompanied by five armored trains mounting 260- and 380-millimeter guns. The men at the road block started a skirmish. Then, on a given signal, American tanks, mobile artillery, and machine-guns poured their deadly fire into the convoy. Taken by surprise as they were, the Germans fought back fanatically all the afternoon. During the night they pushed forward with such desperate energy that the Second Panzer Division, though it suffered enormous losses, managed to break out of the trap.

As I stand here on a hill above the Rhône I can see the wreckage of the battle spread over the country below me. A vast graveyard of vehicles extends for twenty kilometers along the road. Many cars, even some of the biggest, have been thrown into the fields and lie there wheels in the air. Others, smashed till they are nothing more than junk heaps, clog the ditches. Some have their metallic guts hanging out; others reach steel arms toward heaven. Wood and iron are burned out or blackened, but some of the camouflage branches are still strangely green and alive, mocking the destruction.

And the men? Fresh earth covering long trenches marks the place where they were laid, misplaced and anonymous. For five or six thousand of them the retreat ended in death. Six thousand were taken prisoner.

Negro troops whose task it is to dispose of the corpses still move about the graveyard of cars. They have not yet finished their work. A stifling odor of burning and decay envelops the whole countryside.

The Battle of the Rhône will be remembered by the Germans as the beginning of the end.

## China to Lin Yutang

BY EDGAR SNOW

THIS is a day of regret for me, because I have to offend a writer whom I have admired and respected, and who has been a friend of mine, for many years. But what else can you do about a book written with such unexpected smallness of faith in a man's people, so full of mischief, and so lacking in dignity and pride?

For "The Vigil of a Nation" by Lin Yutang (John Day, \$2.75) libels some of our best allies among the Chinese people, allies who happen to be led by Chinese Communists—who happen to have renounced, years ago now, any intention of establishing communism in China in the near future, and have an administration which is, according to most people who have seen it, more nearly democratic than any China has yet known. Simply because of Lin's anti-red tirade, his book will be exploited by ignorant and reactionary groups here which ordinarily take no interest in China's welfare. And because the people whom he attacks are permitted no representative in this country who can refute him, it is obliga-

tory that the few Americans who know the facts should seriously hold him to account.

In the present volume the author leaves his role of compiler of ancient wisdom and wit to enter a new métier, that of polemicist and party propagandist. True, in one place he does call this a travel book, and when he isn't bewailing Chinese peasants and workers—the 80,000,000 led by the Communists—as "Bundists," there is some "booster"-like praise for Chinese food and the cultural greatness of Ch'in and T'ang. But the main purpose of his book is to extol the virtues of the Kuomintang, or National Party, under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, as the sinned-against in China, while denouncing the Kungchintang, or Communist Party, as the sinner.

There is nothing wrong with giving the case for the Kuomintang; both sides should be heard. Even after hearing them the outsider has little chance of knowing the whole truth because all war is full of falsehood, with the percentage

rising sharply when you get into civil war. Still, you get the shape of a thing better the more angles of its contradictions you see. The trouble here is that Lin's contradictions merely contradict, in the manner of the spoiled child whose best retort to a point of critical logic is to shout, "You're ten times all those things yourself."

Although Lin sets himself up as an authority on the Chinese Communists, he nowhere gives evidence of having talked to any Communist outside Kuomintang concentration camps. He never visited any part of guerrilla China. He ridicules correspondents who at least took the trouble to see what they write about, and he asserts that to find the "evils of totalitarianism" in China "one must go to Yenan"; yet he himself never went there. Lin doesn't even define his political geography very well, and a paragraph of simple home truth is necessary to help the reader locate himself in the scenes described by this self-yclept "cultured vagabond."

The dominating political truth about China is that it is partly a colonial, in the main a semi-colonial, country. The richest and most advanced areas are in Japanese hands—except where guerrillas oppose them. But the country will soon be liberated largely as a result of the destruction, by American arms, of Japanese naval and air power, the main forces of the Japanese army, and Japan's home bases. The question will then arise: what kind of government will prevail in an independent China, after eight years—and in the case of Manchuria fifteen years—of colonial administration?

In the still uninvaded provinces of China the Kuomintang selects and appoints all officials. Chiang Kai-shek is the "leader" of that party. He is also the party-elected chief of state. Nobody in China except a minority of the 2,000,000 members of the Kuomintang Party ever cast a vote to keep Chiang Kai-shek in power. In this picture neither the Communist Party nor any other political party has any *de jure* existence. It is still a fact that the Kuomintang government has never officially rescinded its anti-Communist laws, which make membership in the Communist Party an offense punishable by death. Under such a regime no political opposition can exist, except with the support of armed forces. When Lin Yutang demands the disbandment of the Communist-led forces before the one-party dictatorship is abolished, he is substantially demanding the disbandment of the party.

All this Lin knows quite well, though nowhere does he explain it. Against this background, and relying largely on his own "guesses," hearsay, and material drawn from a book written by "Chen Chung," whom Lin himself apparently does not know, he draws up this indictment of the guerrillas in North China: the Chinese Communists began the war (Lin quotes Sun Fo) with about 40,000 to 50,000 troops; their rule is feared by the peasants because of its "regimentation and terror"; their leaders are undemocratic; the people hate them because, among other things, women have equal status with men; they have rarely fought the Japanese, but have taken fifty towns from the Chinese for every one from the enemy; they commit numberless atrocities against innocent people; they destroy Chinese culture and have no reverence for Chinese history; they have driven Kuomintang troops out of most of the north; and the Kuomintang

cannot make peace with them because they won't give up their arms.

Lin admits that all Communist expansion has taken place behind the Japanese lines. He admits that the Eighth Route and New Fourth (Communist) armies have been blockaded by Kuomintang troops since 1940, that they have received no aid from the government, that they have had no help from either Russia or America. Nevertheless, despite these handicaps, somehow those 40,000 "terrorists" have destroyed, according to Lin, most of the Kuomintang troops in the north—originally supposed to number some half a million. They have occupied an area commanding the support of about 80,000,000 people, organized millions of Chinese youths, and increased their own forces to about half a million. Lin fears that they may soon control half of China, especially if America should give them arms, food, medicines, and financial help, instead of unqualifiedly supporting the Generalissimo. What a potent "40,000"!

Lin asserts that the Communists constitute China's "only problem of national unity." Wang Ching-wei, deputy chief—second only to the Generalissimo—of the Kuomintang, became Japan's puppet leader at Nanking, together with a host of other Kuomintang adherents, but there were no Communists there. From Kuomintang armies Japan recruited the bulk of its puppet troops. Among the Kuomintang generals who joined the puppets was Pan Pin-hsien, once field commander of Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist campaigns. But such minor deviations are no threat to "national unity" in Lin's view.

At the beginning of his book Lin promises to "try to be fair" about Chinese politics and to "give a good balanced judgment." Everywhere he goes, however, he stays with Kuomintang officials, while nowhere does he give evidence that he lived with workers or peasants for even a few days. Toward the end, he says ingenuously, "I am all for the government [the Kuomintang]. The government has launched an anti-Communist program as a basic part of its state policy for the last seventeen years." This includes the entire period of the anti-Japanese war.

Lin's whole trouble is that, after seventeen years of this anti-Communist vigil, half of which he has spent in comfortable America, he never ventured into the zone of conflict to see how it was with his people. During the present trip, he states, he heard a machine-gun fired "for the first time in his life." He heard it then, ironically enough, not at the front, but when he was a guest of General Hu Tsung-nan, at the "model concentration camp" for Communists at Sian. There Lin, who elsewhere "does not think it [the Kuomintang] has ideas of rule of terror and force," was "happy and relieved" to find that his fellow-Chinese were being treated with "no unnecessary cruelty or inhumanity." He can't understand why Americans say this is a "fascist" feature of Kuomintang rule.

Lin gives us a long synthetic account of Chinese atrocities, which he blames entirely on Communists. Nearly all his material is a rehash of old Kuomintang propaganda, but Lin insists that it is "news" and asserts that in the past the Kuomintang tried to "hush up" stories of internecine strife.

tagnes des Maures toward Le Luc and Le Muy. Soon the whole Maures *massif* was encircled by Allied troops with their spearhead pointing toward l'Estrel. The beachheads and the terrain through which the troops deployed had been chosen by the French Forces of the Interior, who had shown good judgment. From then on everything went along quickly.

On August 17 the Americans entered Drolguignan, which had been liberated by the F. F. I. on the sixteenth. Avoiding frontal attack, they by-passed the two big ports of Toulon and Marseille and advanced toward Brignoles and Manosque. They occupied Castellane on the seventeenth and Digne on the nineteenth. At Digne General Butler took command of a column consisting of panzers, tank destroyers, excellent artillery, and a few gliders, and captured Sisteron, Gap, and Corps on the Route Napoléon. Resistance was weak and from two to four thousand prisoners were taken in each town; only Corps was fiercely defended.

Two columns then marched on Grenoble, which was taken on the twenty-second. Another swung toward Die, Crest, Saillans, along the Drôme River, and established itself in the hills above the road from Montélimar to Lorient. About two hundred tanks, cannon of all calibers, and machine-guns were massed there.

All this had been so carefully planned and was accomplished in such secrecy that the Germans had no idea what was happening around them. Ahead of them the Drôme joined the Rhône. The Americans, together with the F. F. I., dynamited the bridge, blocked the road with a few armored cars flanked by a small contingent of men, and waited. They waited for two long days and nights, anxious lest their guess had been wrong.

Then suddenly through the trees they saw the mighty German column advancing, preceded by tanks and accompanied by five armored trains mounting 260- and 380-millimeter guns. The men at the road block started a skirmish. Then, on a given signal, American tanks, mobile artillery, and machine-guns poured their deadly fire into the convoy. Taken by surprise as they were, the Germans fought back fanatically all the afternoon. During the night they pushed forward with such desperate energy that the Second Panzer Division, though it suffered enormous losses, managed to break out of the trap.

As I stand here on a hill above the Rhône I can see the wreckage of the battle spread over the country below me. A vast graveyard of vehicles extends for twenty kilometers along the road. Many cars, even some of the biggest, have been thrown into the fields and lie there wheels in the air. Others, smashed till they are nothing more than junk heaps, clog the ditches. Some have their metallic guts hanging out; others reach steel arms toward heaven. Wood and iron are burned out or blackened, but some of the camouflage branches are still strangely green and alive, mocking the destruction.

And the men? Fresh earth covering long trenches marks the place where they were laid, misplaced and anonymous. For five or six thousand of them the retreat ended in death. Six thousand were taken prisoner.

Negro troops whose task it is to dispose of the corpses still move about the graveyard of cars. They have not yet finished their work. A stifling odor of burning and decay envelops the whole countryside.

The Battle of the Rhône will be remembered by the Germans as the beginning of the end.

## China to Lin Yutang

BY EDGAR SNOW

THIS is a day of regret for me, because I have to offend a writer whom I have admired and respected, and who has been a friend of mine, for many years. But what else can you do about a book written with such unexpected smallness of faith in a man's people, so full of mischief, and so lacking in dignity and pride?

For "The Vigil of a Nation" by Lin Yutang (John Day, \$2.75) libels some of our best allies among the Chinese people, allies who happen to be led by Chinese Communists—who happen to have renounced, years ago now, any intention of establishing communism in China in the near future, and have an administration which is, according to most people who have seen it, more nearly democratic than any China has yet known. Simply because of Lin's anti-red tirade, his book will be exploited by ignorant and reactionary groups here which ordinarily take no interest in China's welfare. And because the people whom he attacks are permitted no representative in this country who can refute him, it is obliga-

tory that the few Americans who know the facts should seriously hold him to account.

In the present volume the author leaves his role of compiler of ancient wisdom and wit to enter a new métier, that of polemicist and party propagandist. True, in one place he does call this a travel book, and when he isn't bewailing Chinese peasants and workers—the 80,000,000 led by the Communists—as "Bundists," there is some "booster"-like praise for Chinese food and the cultural greatness of Ch'in and T'ang. But the main purpose of his book is to extol the virtues of the Kuomintang, or National Party, under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, as the sinned-against in China, while denouncing the Kungchintang, or Communist Party, as the sinner.

There is nothing wrong with giving the case for the Kuomintang; both sides should be heard. Even after hearing them the outsider has little chance of knowing the whole truth because all war is full of falsehood, with the percentage

rising sharply when you get into civil war. Still, you get the shape of a thing better the more angles of its contradictions you see. The trouble here is that Lin's contradictions merely contradict, in the manner of the spoiled child whose best retort to a point of critical logic is to shout, "You're ten times all those things yourself."

Although Lin sets himself up as an authority on the Chinese Communists, he nowhere gives evidence of having talked to any Communist outside Kuomintang concentration camps. He never visited any part of guerrilla China. He ridicules correspondents who at least took the trouble to see what they write about, and he asserts that to find the "evils of totalitarianism" in China "one must go to Yenan"; yet he himself never went there. Lin doesn't even define his political geography very well, and a paragraph of simple home truth is necessary to help the reader locate himself in the scenes described by this self-ycept "cultured vagabond."

The dominating political truth about China is that it is partly a colonial, in the main a semi-colonial, country. The richest and most advanced areas are in Japanese hands—except where guerrillas oppose them. But the country will soon be liberated largely as a result of the destruction, by American arms, of Japanese naval and air power, the main forces of the Japanese army, and Japan's home bases. The question will then arise: what kind of government will prevail in an independent China, after eight years—and in the case of Manchuria fifteen years—of colonial administration?

In the still uninvaded provinces of China the Kuomintang selects and appoints all officials. Chiang Kai-shek is the "leader" of that party. He is also the party-elected chief of state. Nobody in China except a minority of the 2,000,000 members of the Kuomintang Party ever cast a vote to keep Chiang Kai-shek in power. In this picture neither the Communist Party nor any other political party has any *de jure* existence. It is still a fact that the Kuomintang government has never officially rescinded its anti-Communist laws, which make membership in the Communist Party an offense punishable by death. Under such a regime no political opposition can exist, except with the support of armed forces. When Lin Yutang demands the disbandment of the Communist-led forces before the one-party dictatorship is abolished, he is substantially demanding the disbandment of the party.

All this Lin knows quite well, though nowhere does he explain it. Against this background, and relying largely on his own "guesses," hearsay, and material drawn from a book written by "Chen Chung," whom Lin himself apparently does not know, he draws up this indictment of the guerrillas in North China: the Chinese Communists began the war (Lin quotes Sun Fo) with about 40,000 to 50,000 troops; their rule is feared by the peasants because of its "regimentation and terror"; their leaders are undemocratic; the people hate them because, among other things, women have equal status with men; they have rarely fought the Japanese, but have taken fifty towns from the Chinese for every one from the enemy; they commit numberless atrocities against innocent people; they destroy Chinese culture and have no reverence for Chinese history; they have driven Kuomintang troops out of most of the north; and the Kuomin-

tang cannot make peace with them because they won't give up their arms.

Lin admits that all Communist expansion has taken place behind the Japanese lines. He admits that the Eighth Route and New Fourth (Communist) armies have been blockaded by Kuomintang troops since 1940, that they have received no aid from the government, that they have had no help from either Russia or America. Nevertheless, despite these handicaps, somehow those 40,000 "terrorists" have destroyed, according to Lin, most of the Kuomintang troops in the north—originally supposed to number some half a million. They have occupied an area commanding the support of about 80,000,000 people, organized millions of Chinese youths, and increased their own forces to about half a million. Lin fears that they may soon control half of China, especially if America should give them arms, food, medicines, and financial help, instead of unqualifiedly supporting the Generalissimo. What a potent "40,000"!

Lin asserts that the Communists constitute China's "only problem of national unity." Wang Ching-wei, deputy chief—second only to the Generalissimo—of the Kuomintang, became Japan's puppet leader at Nanking, together with a host of other Kuomintang adherents, but there were no Communists there. From Kuomintang armies Japan recruited the bulk of its puppet troops. Among the Kuomintang generals who joined the puppets was Pan Pin-hsien, once field commander of Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist campaigns. But such minor deviations are no threat to "national unity" in Lin's view.

At the beginning of his book Lin promises to "try to be fair" about Chinese politics and to "give a good balanced judgment." Everywhere he goes, however, he stays with Kuomintang officials, while nowhere does he give evidence that he lived with workers or peasants for even a few days. Toward the end, he says ingenuously, "I am all for the government [the Kuomintang]. The government has launched an anti-Communist program as a basic part of its state policy for the last seventeen years." This includes the entire period of the anti-Japanese war.

Lin's whole trouble is that, after seventeen years of this anti-Communist vigil, half of which he has spent in comfortable America, he never ventured into the scene of conflict to see how it was with his people. During the present trip, he states, he heard a machine-gun fired "for the first time in his life." He heard it then, ironically enough, not at the front, but when he was a guest of General Hu Tsung-nan, at the "model concentration camp" for Communists at Sian. There Lin, who elsewhere "does not think it [the Kuomintang] has ideas of rule of terror and force," was "happy and relieved" to find that his fellow-Chinese were being treated with "no unnecessary cruelty or inhumanity." He can't understand why Americans say this is a "fascist" feature of Kuomintang rule.

Lin gives us a long synthetic account of Chinese atrocities, which he blames entirely on Communists. Nearly all his material is a rehash of old Kuomintang propaganda, but Lin insists that it is "news" and asserts that in the past the Kuomintang tried to "hush up" stories of internecine strife.

Evidently a lot of things are "news" to Lin that are axiomatic to the Chinese. He was astonished to hear General Ho Ying-chin called "pro-Japanese" recently, but if he had been in China he could have heard 10,000 students denouncing him as such, as early as 1936, on the streets of Peiping. He would know that as early as 1938 the Kuomintang began sponsoring accounts attacking the Yen-an government as a "traitor party" and "alien party." Since then quite a number of pamphlets and books like Chen Chung's have been published, under party subsidy. As early as 1939 General Chang Chun, head of the War Areas Party and Political Affairs Commission, told me that Chungking had decided to "eradicate" by force all anti-Japanese organizations led by the Eighth Route Army in the guerrilla areas. All such activity was, he said, "illegal."

In that year also the Yen-an government listed various cases in which, it was alleged, Kuomintang forces had attacked the Eighth Route Army. Yen-an requested Chiang Kai-shek to send a military commission to investigate. Instead, the Kuomintang issued a long account of crimes allegedly committed by the Communists. I had no way of determining the truth about most of these conflicts. Having a long familiarity with civil-war propaganda technique I refrained from writing about them, as did other correspondents—not, as Dr. Lin supposes, because both sides did not furnish abundant material, but because of utter lack of means of verification or documentation.

Dr. Lin's ignorance of conditions of battle in China will probably go unnoticed by many of the elderly ladies whose hair will stand on end when they read his book. Take one or two examples. As evidence of Communist treachery, he reports that when Kuomintang troops behind the Japanese lines "passed through certain areas in secrecy, the Communists staged loud cheering processions of welcome to advertise their whereabouts to the enemy."

Compare a story he seems to think proves that Communists refuse to fight the Japs. He quotes an anonymous informant as stating that, in order to "force" an engagement on them, a Kuomintang Party director lured some Japanese troops to a base occupied by the Communists, who, as a result, "suffered severe casualties." This story has a ring of truth about it—though elsewhere Lin insists that it is only the Communists who stoop to such betrayals. Oddly, he seems unaware of the implications of this account, which he describes as "an amusing" story. Yet he complains that leftists in China have no sense of humor.

Lin deplors the ill-fed, ill-treated Kuomintang soldiers he saw in the rear—and the conscription system which enables the gentry to buy their sons from service while peasants are led off with ropes tied round their necks. Yet he thinks things must be better "at the front," where, he has heard, the soldiers "have the best of everything," and can "even grow their own vegetables."

Another example: Lin repeatedly states that government troops never invaded Eighth Route Army territory. Yet in a moment of inadvertence, when trying to prove that the Communist forces don't fight Japan, he reveals that a Kuomintang division was ordered to seize Wutaishan, a base which the Eighth Route Army has held ever since 1937, and which it was originally ordered to defend by the Generalissimo him-

self. He complains bitterly because the Kuomintang division was defeated in that quixotic venture.

One more sampling of the war observations of a "cultured vagabond." He tells us that the reason the Kuomintang troops in the north were always defeated was because, "not being ready for open war," they were always "taken by surprise." What, then, were they doing behind enemy lines if they were "not ready for open war"? Whence came their supposed sense of security from Japanese attack?

Lin denounces the guerrilla leaders for issuing their own currency, but thinks it is all right that their troops were never paid after 1940. Once he naively suggests that if Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, the Communist leaders, had gone to Harvard—as Lin did—instead of living with Chinese peasants and workers all their lives, they would doubtless be no more interested in revolution than he is. He disapproves of Yen-an's policy of "price control," but defends the black market under the Kuomintang. He thinks inflation, based on speculation and profiteering in land and commodity goods, must be handled through the "individualistic and not through the collectivist [state control] approach."

He disapproves of the Communists for collecting data on how many pigs and chickens, and presumably how many royalties, each family has. While admitting that price control "works" in the Communist areas, he says, "The Chinese would resent it." Here as elsewhere he gives evidence of thinking that anybody within the pale of the Communists promptly ceases to be Chinese. Thus, deploring the regime under which millions of Chinese now live in the guerrilla territory, freed from the Japanese, he "hopes that *the people of China*" will be spared this fate (my italics).

Of course, there is more to the book than politics. There is quite a lot about Confucius and the glory that was. It is astonishing, but apparently Lin recently visited the ruins of Ch'ang An, and the cradle of Chinese civilization, for the first time in his life; and he can't get over it.

Where Lin isn't denouncing the wicked Reds his whole book in China without the redeeming touch of the breath and blood of the nation's goodly youth and awakening peasantry with their sacrifices for a dream of the future; without any sense of what it means to be hungry and hunted and yet not ready to abandon your principles for a rice bowl, to have pus-filled sores on your bare feet, yet keep marching and smiling; to lose legs and arms for want of medicine, to shiver through bitter winters for lack of a padded silk gown, like Lin's, to believe in something for all men more than Confucius believed in all things for the family first.

But I am genuinely unhappy about Lin Yutang. It is a major tragedy for a Chinese writer, gifted as few men are to interpret his country to the English-speaking world, to have thus cut himself off from contact with some of the most vital and regenerative blood of his nation. One is bound to wonder about the reasons why he has suddenly taken this leap.

I do not attach much importance to the fact that Lin now holds a Chinese official passport, and thus is accountable to the Kuomintang. In his book he denies that he is actually paid by the party and that he has ever been compensated by its officials; and who would doubt his word? In fact, Lin

voices some criticism of the Kuomintang. He favors a Bill of Rights in China. He also advocates some democracy. He emphatically favors freedom of the press. He has, moreover, spoken personally to the Generalissimo about these shortcomings. He even admits that the Reds have a few good points, such as that they are "organizing the people for self-government, that they have workers' unions, peasant unions, women's unions, and have reduced the interest on loans." In contrast to that he thinks there must be "no freedom of speech, no freedom of belief" under the Chinese Communists.

To have the right to "organize for self-government," to form labor unions and peasant unions, to give women equal status with men, may not seem important for someone who doesn't have to make a living working on the yellow soil of China, or in a sweatshop, but it is certain that without such means of expression no label of "democracy" on a government would mean anything for the vast majority of Chinese people. Dr. Lin, in his status, may not think such rights are in themselves an end worth fighting for, but if so he mistakenly identifies himself with a nation of men and women who do.

"Nowhere in Kuomintang China," reports Lin, "have I yet seen or heard the common people of China played up as all-important individuals. . . . Yet until the people of China are made to feel that the 'little people' are the important people, China will fail to qualify for the title of democracy." There is also no doubt whatever that in guerrilla China Lin, had he looked there, could have found a society preaching just that doctrine—and to a large extent practicing it.

It happens that there is available fresh testimony about Communist-controlled territory in the latest book by Owen Lattimore, formerly adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. Basing his summary on the reports of many independent observers, Lattimore lists these reasons for Communist success: (1) they have survived and expanded, "not because they subdue people by armed force, but because the people support them"; (2) "basic economic conditions are better in Communist-controlled China than in Kuomintang-controlled China"; (3) conscription and taxation are more equally distributed in Communist-controlled territory; (4) few of the many progressive, educated middle-class Chinese who voluntarily entered Communist territory have fled from it; and (5) "it is a fact that governing committees and representative committees are elected, and that the Communists limit themselves to one-third of the representation."

But, curiously, Lin made his choice without giving this big section of his own people a hearing. We may hope that it does not mark a permanent decision in his life as a writer and philosopher. He is, I believe, too honest and too wise, and fundamentally too decent a human being, to defend this indictment of his own people—once he realizes that such is the position in which he has placed himself. His own native skepticism will eventually compel him to reexamine the faulty case he has made out. Meanwhile, it is better to consider his book a temporary aberration induced by a difficulty common to many people who have lived too far from the terms of conflict, the difficulty of reconciling themselves to the social changes quickened by this war.

## In the Wind

BETWEEN ATTACKS on the Administration, Representative Rankin of Mississippi adorns the pages of the *Congressional Record* with rhinestones like this (page A252, Appendix, January 23): "Glorious women of the South. Fashioned in Paradise, wreathed in graces and virtues that blossomed like flowers plucked from the green fields of Eden, led down to earth by angels along a pathway of stars, to be the joy, the blessing, the inspiration of noble men."

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE CHARLOTTE, North Carolina, *Observer* of February 3: "Stalin is on his way to Berlin. We are not going to Berlin. But! We are giving you McCorkle's Laundry and Cleaning Service."

FROM THE PARIS, TEXAS, *NEWS* of January 23: "Mount Pleasant, Texas.—A white man was placed under arrest here Wednesday by Sheriff Redfearn, who filed vagrancy charges against him. The man is purported to have called a meeting of Negroes for Wednesday night for the purpose of forming some sort of social-equality organization for Titus County, with membership fees to be charged. Although the organization is a legal one, recognized by both the federal and state governments, the arrest was made on the grounds that agitation for social equality would cause trouble here."

OUR HAT IS OFF to H. B. Fox, editor of the Madisonville, Texas, *Meteor and Times*, for his hard-hitting editorial in defense of Henry Wallace in the issue of February 1. First he quotes a number of editorials from big-city papers to the effect that Wallace has had no business experience. Then he points out that Wallace built up a three-million-dollar seed-corn business. And finally he says, "Although personal wealth is no gauge of any sort, is no prerequisite for criticism in any field, we'd really like to see a financial statement of all the editors of all the big dailies mentioned above. In fact, we'll bet a subscription to the *Meteor* against four subscriptions to all the papers mentioned above—practically an even bet—that Mr. Wallace handled ten times as much money last year as any of the editors, which wouldn't prove anything at all except the minor point of course that when it comes to the topic of Mr. Wallace the editors are either liars or ignoramuses."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A rule at the Grini concentration camp in Norway requires prisoners to "greet" all Germans, whether in uniform or in civilian clothes, in the following manner: at a distance of six paces the prisoner removes his cap; he marches past the German with head erect and eyes forward; three paces beyond the German he replaces his cap. . . . An editorial in the Oslo newspaper *Nationen* laments, "We who have accepted the Nazi policies expect to be shot sooner or later."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.]

## The Nazis' Next Twelve Years

BY HORST MENDERSHAUSEN

FOR Nazi Germany World War II has come to an end. It ended with von Rundstedt's unsuccessful attack in the Ardennes. His failure to break through to Antwerp marked the inability of the German army to regain the strategic initiative. The great break-through of the Russians in Poland and their sweep through Silesia and East Prussia revealed the extent of Germany's military inferiority to Allied power. The struggle for Berlin and north-central Germany now raging will take several weeks and so will the struggle for the lower Rhine and the Ruhr, but any protracted defense of northern Germany has become a military impossibility. A junction of the Russian and Anglo-American assault armies somewhere west of Berlin cannot be prevented for long, although it can be made a bloody task.

What then? For Germany to lose the industrial areas of Silesia and the Ruhr means inability to continue the war on the present scale. Its war machine will be deprived of its chief heavy-industry bases, especially of coal supplies. Germany will not be able to maintain panzer forces and air fleets adequate for mobile warfare in open country. The coming conquest of Berlin, Magdeburg, Hanover, and Leipzig will tear vital manufacturing centers out of the German system. These prospects raise hopes that the days of Nazi power are numbered, that military and political collapse will soon make German fascism a thing of the past, or at least a negligible quantity. Let us see to what extent such hopes are justified, and whether we have made sufficient allowance for wishful thinking.

Most of us believe that the military defeat of the German armies will lead (1) to surrender, (2) to Allied occupation of the Reich and disarmament of the Germans, (3) to the breakdown of the political power of the Nazis. Actually not one of these results can be expected with any certainty.

Will defeat lead to surrender? German soldiers, officers, and generals, individually or in groups, will give up and be taken prisoner. Some will even fight the S. S. for the right to surrender. The groups may be companies or even divisions. But will there be a surrender of Germany's armed forces as a whole? Such a surrender can be made only by the political leaders of Germany, that is, the Nazi leaders or somebody who steps into their place. The high command of the German army cannot effectively surrender unless it has gained political supremacy over Hitler, Himmler, and their aides. Generals can desert, they can keep their troops inactive, arrange for their capture, but they cannot make the whole army surrender unless they can arrest the Nazi leaders before they are arrested by them. It is probable that many German generals wish to surrender. The inevitability of complete military defeat in the current operations must be obvious to them. But their ability to force this decision on the political leaders or to deprive the Nazis of the political leadership is open to serious doubt.

There is no evidence that the Nazi leaders have ever thought or think now of throwing in the sponge and bowing to the victors. Last June they weathered an attempt on the part of army men to capture or kill Hitler and to dethrone the party. Hitler and Himmler asserted their power over the army leaders by removing, arresting, and killing "traitors." The purge has gone on right through the great Russian offensive. It will continue. The penetration of party men into the high command is accelerating. Non-party generals hold their commands on sufferance.

If the Nazi leaders cannot be talked into surrender, and if they cannot be removed by a coup d'état, surrender can be brought about only by the marshaling of a popular revolutionary force. Apparently the generals do not wish to rely on such a force. Even if they did, they would by now have a hard time finding it. The Nazis still hold political control to an unheard-of degree. They do not want to surrender, and they will not.

Will military defeat lead to the occupation and disarmament of Germany? Certainly the conquering armies will occupy the territory they are wresting from the enemy. But in the absence of general surrender, they will not occupy all of Germany at one stroke, to say nothing of Austria, Bohemia, and northern Italy. Instead, there will be fronts till the last large city is taken, and there will be a Nazi *maquis* even after that.

We have become painfully aware of the probability of a German *maquis*. The Nazis are organizing it with all their thoroughness. They have studied as well as fought the French *maquis*, the Russian and Balkan partisans. In the last issue of *The Nation* Alfred Kantorowicz asserted that instead of carrying on resistance through an armed underground the Nazis would feign collaboration with the Allies until the withdrawal of the occupation forces—that is, follow the strategy of Mihailovich rather than of Tito. I believe they will attempt both, according to time and circumstance. Some of their clandestine units will merely meet and train in cellars and woods, commit *Fehme* murders, and keep out of sight. Others will openly defend a suitable area against Allied or German forces. Still others will attack trains, supply centers, villages, and towns, kill anti-Nazis, take hostages, and perhaps occupy new territory. Only under stable political conditions can they be expected to lie low for long or to disintegrate. To assume otherwise is to credit them with less daring, stamina, and determination than the Yugoslav partisans and the French resistance forces.

While we tend to underestimate the political danger of the Nazi underground, we are right in not granting it much military importance. After all, the Germans held their centers and communication lines in France and the Balkans with minor occupation forces. We should not, however, underrate the strength of German military resistance after the fall of Ber-

lin and the Ruhr. Where will the stand be made? It is apparent from recent Nazi moves that the nucleus of open resistance will be in southern Germany. Berchtesgaden, to which ministries and records are being removed, is the symbolic center. But Hitler's mountain fastness has other advantages. There are industrial bases in Thuringia, Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria—chemical and metallurgical industries, iron mines, and oil supplies. All of them together cannot replace the Ruhr, Silesia, the Berlin area, and north-central Germany. They cannot support prolonged defense against such assaults as the Russians and we are capable of. But together with sizable stores of arms and supplies, they can feed a war of slow retreat, of stubborn defense interrupted by withdrawals. The fronts will be in the mountains of central Germany receding to the Main, in the Black Forest, in the Sudeten mountains and the hill country of Bohemia, perhaps in the Bohemian forest after the Russians have forced their way to Pilsen; later in the Austrian Alps. Under attack the fronts will recede and converge, the territory held by the Nazis will contract. But unless each front is attacked by large forces it will exist for many months. Our experience in Italy indicates how long the Germany may hold out in territory favorable to defense if no overwhelming force is thrown against them.

Will the Allies be ready to employ overwhelming forces to drive the Nazis out of their mountain strongholds? Or will they consider such operations of small importance, to be carried through at the rate of the war in Italy? After Berlin and the first-class industrial areas of the north are conquered, will they settle down to a war of attrition? The answers to these questions will determine the duration of the German war. They depend in turn upon political developments in Germany.

*Will military defeat bring the political breakdown of the Nazis?* It is as true today as it was in 1939 that Nazism cannot be destroyed until its military forces are completely defeated. Yet its political débâcle is not insured by military defeat. If it were, we should by now see the political effect of Stalingrad, the loss of the Ukraine, the defeats in France, Poland, and eastern Germany. The German people do not hope to win this war, to drive the Russians back to the Curzon line and the Western Allies into the sea. Nazi propaganda does not veil the dismal prospect. But the despair of the people, while a prerequisite to the overthrow of the Nazi regime, will not bring it about unless the people have the vision of an alternative way of living. Such a vision is lacking.

The Nazi leaders find widespread belief when they say that surrender in this war means the end of the German nation, the physical destruction of the German people, the razing of their industries, enslavement, "Siberia." They have been assisted in their propaganda by our inability to devise anything as attractive as Wilson's Fourteen Points. Worse, the German anti-Hitler forces have not been able to give the people a vision of a post-Hitler Germany that can live or to provide an organization that can create it.

The situation differs radically from 1918. There are as yet no new political guiding principles, agreeable to the victors, that would enable the Germans to put their house in order and to rally for meaningful tasks and a productive

role in the world. There is nothing that promises survival to a most highly organized and industrialized people. Western notions of economic and social organization appear to Germans hypocritical and unworkable—at best a fair dream of days gone by. The ideal of liberal capitalism seems anachronistic in an age of corporate empires, cartels, and planned economies; professions of political democracy and international law are questioned for their meaning and sincerity. The ambivalent concepts of conservative nations pragmatically groping for readjustment and gradual social change make little appeal to a people that has been caught in a revolutionary storm since 1933.

Soviet ideas seem more workable, especially to labor and the intelligentsia, but there is little hope that Germany could apply them to its own benefit. Giving in to Russian ideology means Russian rule. The Free Germany Committee is the most effective propaganda instrument used by the Allies; and there is the German Communist Party. But it is doubtful whether these agents can do more than drive wedges into the German people. There is no immediate prospect of their gathering a substantial number of political activists, uniting the German people in revolt and doing at least as effective an ideological job as the Social Democrats did in 1918. They still have to point the way convincingly toward a free, unexploited Germany; they must prove they are not Russian stooges.

Undeniably the political power of the Nazis has survived the shattering military defeats they have experienced. It is evident in the stubborn defense on some fighting fronts, in sabotage and espionage in conquered territory, in intimidation of sincere German collaborators and *Fehme* murders, in the maintenance of order despite terrific bombing and streams of refugees.

*Nazi post-war policy.* Is this a senseless, suicidal struggle? It may turn out to be, but for the present it is a highly deliberate, cold-blooded policy. It is not merely the last fight of a gang of criminals cornered by the police. The military and political policy of the Nazis has entered the post-war stage. It is directed toward victory in a new phase of the international civil war.

The pattern of the Nazis' post-war policy can be seen in their actions, their propaganda, and their philosophy. They firmly believe that the victorious United Nations cannot pacify and organize Germany—or Europe. The Allies, they think, will threaten and appease; they will be unable to cope with the German political reality; they will fall out among themselves over differences in objectives and methods. German anti-Nazis will be weak, not only because of the holocaust they went through, but because of their confusion and the inability of the Allied powers to agree upon groups to be favored. The Nazis expect the Allied authorities to waste their German collaborators, to discredit them by demanding that they suppress spontaneous political activity, especially among the workers in the western districts, or by forcing them to carry out punitive tasks, mobilize a labor army for Russia, make work in Germany even less attractive than work in Russia. With the country in a state of political chaos, increased by the barriers between the occupation zones, the Nazis count on an equally chaotic state of production and transportation.

National Socialism will remain the only symbol of national unity, social equity, and organizational efficiency.

In this hell the Allies will work at cross-purposes and in mutual suspicion. They will grow occupation sick; civil war will break out within and between their zones of occupation. The Nazis will operate in such a setting as underground organizers, as "experts" and "collaborators," as saboteurs and *Felme* judges. They will exploit discords among the Allies and present themselves as the only force capable of making order, perhaps as true anti-Bolsheviks in one place and true pro-Russians in another. Outside Germany they will attempt to build centers of organization and finance to feed the civil war in Germany and to exploit political conflicts, national and international, all over the world. They will appear as journalists, traders, research workers, and brothel keepers. And they will receive support from native fascists.

These Nazi calculations are far too realistic to be laughed out of court. Thanks to their greater experience in such matters the Russians are likely to combat the Nazi underground more effectively than the British or Americans. But a confused and deadly struggle may develop within the Free Germany Committee and similar bodies between Nazi converts and Nazi stooges. Any German force of national and socialist integrity will be in constant danger of being denounced, torn apart, or crushed by the Russians, the Nazis, the Western Allies, or all of them.

The current war and propaganda strategy of the Nazis fits these expectations. One thing they want to avoid at all cost is surrender under the direction of the Nazi Party. That would destroy their claims to political leadership more effectively than anything else they could do. Hitler propaganda hammers home: there must be no repetition of 1918; surrender means the death of the nation. His military strategy is that of continuing war, war that ends never and nowhere. Obviously, such warfare is meaningless, futile, according to the standards of limited, sportsmanlike war. But it has an economy all its own, from the saving of arms to the mass forging of identities of Nazi functionaries, from scorched-earth policy to suicidal, spectacular military action. It includes the building of a war chest abroad, now proceeding via exports of valuables to Switzerland, Spain, and Argentina.

This new warfare presents the Allied nations with a tremendous task. They cannot enjoy the fruits of victory unless they can defeat the political challenge of fascism. The military defeat of the German armies without surrender and political breakdown will prove that this war can be won only if we fight it as a purge of humanity from fascism. Otherwise it will be a permanent war.

Far-reaching conclusions are to be drawn from these facts. We must pursue the war relentlessly till we obtain the complete destruction of the Nazis' armed forces. To foil the Nazi post-war strategy we must lift it off its political hinges. The main source of the Nazi threat is Nazism's political hold on the people. There must be an effective German counterforce with reasonable freedom of action and with a national and social outlook that fits the experiences and ambitions of the German people. Such a force may begin to gather in the final stages of the fighting or the early stages of occupation.

The earlier it appears and the more it contributes to the fall of this town or the smashing of that S. S. unit the better its political chances. Only Germans will be able to carry through the colossal job of sorting out the sheep from the wolves in sheeps' clothing, of encouraging the former and punishing the latter, of making converts, of establishing an order that is not Nazi order.

We need Allied statesmanship which will permit the formation of such a force in the framework of general, realistic cooperation among the Allied powers. Some of the recent AMG policies are very unwise and should be changed. For one thing, the AMG cannot go on suppressing the political activity of workers, as announced in its message to German civilians of December 15, 1944, without feeding fresh energies into the Nazi organization. It cannot afford to drive the anti-Nazis underground. It cannot afford to tolerate Nazis in office even where military expediency does not compel its officers to give in to popular demands for their removal.

And since the new war of the Nazis is an international civil war, we must not forget what is going on in neutral countries and right here at home. Our diplomats and the FBI should be watchful and aggressive. They have to crush the heads of the hydra. To starve its body, we must steer free from economic depression and social crisis that would foster foreign aggression and encourage alliances with the master-racers. The Nazis are teaching us the scope of this war in time and space. To defeat them we must learn the lesson.

## Secret Diplomacy

A SECRET CLAUSE in the Italian armistice agreement which reserves certain rights to the House of Savoy caused the Socialist Party to withdraw voluntarily from the Bonomi government, according to a sensational accusation made by a representative of the Italian Socialist Party, Signor Buffoni, at an international Socialist conference in France. During the first phase of liberation the House of Savoy tactfully avoided making use of this clause. But now that it feels more secure, it insists on its strict application. This was shown during the last Cabinet crisis, when the Lord Lieutenant of the Realm, Prince Umberto, insisted on his full sovereign rights.

## Open Diplomacy

SEVERAL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES are determined to discuss Fascist activities in the Western Hemisphere thoroughly and openly at the coming meeting of Foreign Ministers in Mexico City. They have therefore suggested that a special committee be appointed to deal with this vital subject. Latin Americans feel that the mere exclusion of Argentina from the conference does not settle the highly complex problem of Nazi and Falangist infiltration. They wish to eradicate fascism from Argentina; but they also wish to stamp it out in every country where it has taken root. If the projected Committee on Fascist Activities materializes, the debates of the conference will not lack sensational revelations.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

BY CHANCE I got hold of a copy of "The Unquiet Grave," a book published in a limited edition by *Horizon*, the English literary monthly. It is identified as A Word Cycle by Palinurus, but I think that any reader of *Horizon* would recognize in its pages the style and temperament of the editor, Cyril Connolly. "The Unquiet Grave," to quote the jacket, "describes a year's journey through the mind of a writer who is haunted by the turbulent Mediterranean figure of Palinurus, the drowned pilot, whose uneasy ghost demands to be placated." It might also be described as the journal of a modern man who midway in the path of life found himself in a dark wood and sought to write his way out.

The book consists of three extended series of notations—statement, confession, reminiscence and evocation, regret, resolution, and epigram, including many quotations from the masters of Connolly's particular and personal choice. There is, finally, a rueful Epilogue in which the author studies "the Psychiatrist's confidential report" on Palinurus.

It is extraordinarily good reading, this "self-dismantling" of an intelligent, pleasure-loving, volatile, dismayed, but irrepressible spirit tossing in the unquiet grave of the modern world, for it speaks to all the moods, high and low, expansive and trivial, of other tossers. There are not many patently "cheerful thoughts" in Mr. Connolly's calendar, yet the end effect of this witty, penetrating, and often lyrical record of his attitudes toward art, love, nature, and religion is that of purgation, which can be very exhilarating. Even misery, in good company, can yield a bitter sweet of gaiety.

Connolly's selected masterpieces, which infuse the air he lives by, are, as he says, mostly high peaks of the secondary range—masterpieces which "contain the maximum of emotion compatible with a classical sense of form," such as the Odes and Epistles of Horace, the Eclogues and Georgics of Vergil, the Testament of Villon, the Essays of Montaigne, the Fables of La Fontaine, the Maxims of La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère, the "Fleurs du Mal" and Intimate Journals of Baudelaire, the poems of Pope and Leopardi, the Illuminations of Rimbaud, and Byron's "Don Juan." He does not include Pascal in his list, though he frequently invokes him. "We can deduce," he writes, "that the compiler of this list should set himself to write after these models. Even though none of the conditions for producing a masterpiece be present, he can at least attempt to work at the same level of intention. . . ."

He has made a good try, and in his *pensées* he has spared himself least of all. By rights he should now be on the plain of Purgatorio ready to ascend the mount.

MR. CONNOLLY SUFFERS, among other things, from the ordeal of being a civilian in war time. Not to be involved, or to be only indirectly involved, in the prevailing

condition of man, whatever one's opinion of that condition, is painful and frustrating. (That is at least one reason why the civilian has such a conscience about the G. I. Conversely, when the condition shifts to peace, his feeling of responsibility becomes much less acute if it doesn't disappear altogether.)

To have been in London since 1939 is not exactly to have been a noncombatant. Or a combatant either; there's the rub. In *Horizon* some months ago, Civilian, who sounds very much like Connolly, wrote a bitterly humorous letter to "Dear Victor" in the service, in which he gave vent to civilian "beefs":

. . . you raced through to Benghazi and back, while we pushed our way through broken glass and craters in the blackout and lay awake through those nights of the blitz in our huge dentist's waiting-room.

Of course all this time you had to fight. Don't think I am unaware of all this fighting; it is just that which churns the guilt round and round till it curdles into a kind of rancorous despair. You are always fighting for me, . . . Oh, why can't I fight for myself?

I know one is not supposed to say so, but I don't like flying bombs; . . . they are the final appointment in the dentist's chair, and, casualties apart, they have made London more dirty, more unsociable, more plague-stricken than ever. The civilians who remain grow more and more hunted and disagreeable. . . .

. . . shroud your future movements on French soil in military secrecy. You may liberate Europe, but you can't liberate me.

The advantage, forgetting for a moment the terrible disadvantages, of the person who is actively involved was carried home to me with great force when, a couple of weeks ago, I met three of the eight French journalists who are visiting this country. I hadn't met anyone from the French underground before. The three individuals—Mme Viollis, M. Lombard, and M. Jean-Paul Sartre—could hardly be more different from one another; what they had in common, and what set them apart from everyone else in the room, French or American, was a concentration of personality, so to speak, of feeling, intellect, and attention, which was clearly the result of their experience. Perhaps because they are French, they were quite free of the unpleasant fanaticism of the dedicated. They were humorous and gracious. But they also had the temper and edge of Toledo blades. One felt that every shred of complacency, deadness, dilettantism, whether of politics or art or life, had been burned away. At this moment Europe may be said to be composed of such tempered men and women, whatever their walk of life. But the finest steel gets dull quickly. Let's hope that in spite of the blunting, self-interested maneuvers of the State Department, the British Foreign Office, and the Kremlin the people of Europe will force through the necessary social changes before they relapse into a post-war state of weariness and slackened will.

I asked M. Sartre about Jean Bruller, also known as Vercors and Desvignes. He was indignant when I told him that "Silence of the Sea" had been suspected here of having

a collaborationist tinge. That charge, he said sternly, was disproved by the very fact that the book was published by Les Editions de Minuit, an underground press. He went on to say that the author had deliberately chosen to portray the "correct" Nazi in that book in order to make it crystal clear that the Frenchman would not and could not make peace even with the best of the "master race."

M. Lombard, who has a lean, ruddy Western American look, might easily be taken for the editor of the only liberal newspaper in Montana—which is in itself something of an underground activity, since there's seldom more than one extant and it's always on the point of being put out of business by the powers that be.

THE CITY OF KOENIGSBERG is much in the news these days. It is often cited as the birthplace of Prussianism and the capital of the Junkers. Joseph Bornstein has sent me a few paragraphs about Königsberg's other claim to fame, which should not be forgotten.

Few people seem to remember that Königsberg was also the birthplace of the philosopher Immanuel Kant and once the capital of very progressive ideas.

In Königsberg just 150 years ago Kant published a small book entitled "Zum Ewigen Frieden" or "Perpetual Peace." In it the author of the "Critique of Pure Reason" suggested that the nations should form "a special sort of alliance, what might be called a League of Peace." Although some critics, among them the famous Herder, objected that Kant's ideas were not very original, were indeed old stuff, "Perpetual Peace" became a best-seller in 1795. The first edition was sold out within a few weeks, and French, Danish, and English translations were published shortly afterward. Since that time no one has studied the problem of international security without discovering that the essential points had been considered as far back as 1793, in Königsberg.

"A true policy," wrote Kant, "will not take a step without first paying its homage to morality. United to morals, politics is no longer a difficult and complicated art; morality cuts the knot that policy is unable to untie. . . . We cannot divide ourselves between right and expediency. Policy must bow the knee before morality."

Prussianism and the power of the Junkers are perishing in disgrace; these other ideas from Königsberg are still alive—at least in the aspect of a dream that repeats itself again and again. Kant himself was no dreamer. The fate of the world in the one hundred and fiftieth year after the publication of "Perpetual Peace" would hardly surprise him. In one of his essays Kant pointed out that mankind might not be able to learn from experience, that relations between nations might therefore remain as they have always been, and that, in the end, the natural inclinations of the human race might "prepare for us a hell of evils in the midst of a state of highest civilization, destroying this state and all cultural progress by barbaric devastations."

But whether or not perpetual peace is possible, the philosopher of Königsberg maintained, the "moral-practical reason" requires that man should labor constantly toward this end. "It is," he wrote, "our duty."

A REFUGEE SEEKING CITIZENSHIP was asked to define the meaning of American liberty. He hesitated, as even a citizen might, and then replied, "Free enterprise." I'm not surprised. Every public performance these days—right, left, and center—seems to open and close with that magic phrase, "free enterprise."

## Concerning the Devil

THE DEVIL'S SHARE. By Denis de Rougemont. Pantheon Books. \$2.50.

THIS profound study of the reality and complexity of evil in human history was first published in French and is now presented in the English translation. Its thesis is an elaboration of the words of Baudelaire: "It is the devil's cleverest wile to convince us that he does not exist." In expounding this dictum De Rougemont is able not only to track down the general human trait of self-righteousness but to refute the tendency of modern culture to attribute evil in human life merely to ignorance, sickness, social maladjustment, or what not. De Rougemont believes that man has the capacity, because he has the freedom, to corrupt every virtue and to make any achievement the occasion for a new evil. The devil, he declares on scriptural authority, is legion. One way of obscuring the evil in us is to attribute it to natural necessity, when in fact it arises in the rational freedom of man. Another way is to find it embodied in a particular form in the enemy and therefore assume that it cannot be in us. Thus Hitler has contributed to illusions about evil in history because the depth of evil which he incarnated tempted us to believe that evil was inhuman.

"Hitler," declares De Rougemont, "was not outside humanity but within it. He was in us before he was against us. It is in ourselves that he rose up against us. And once he is dead he will occupy us without striking a blow if we do not admit that he is a part of us, the devil's part in our hearts." One need only consider the ubiquity of evils which arise from the impulse of domination and the various forms of racial and national pride which corrupt the democratic world to recognize the validity of this analysis.

De Rougemont does not, however, make the mistake of assuming that evil is equally embodied in all nations, classes, or individuals or that recognition of the internal and general character of potential evil makes it unnecessary to fight against the more flagrant forms of actualized evil. "If I resemble the criminal," he declares, "this does not justify the criminal but condemns me. . . . I will not let yonder criminal remain at large in order to give myself over to inner reforms." His doctrine is in short no quietistic escape from political and social tasks.

Many observers have called attention to the incipient forms of Nazism which are revealed in the democratic or civilized world in the impulse of imperialism and the pride of race, class, and nation. De Rougemont carries this analysis one step farther and proves that these social and political evils have their root in impulses of which no individual is wholly free.

Some modern readers will fail to profit by the author's profound analysis of the general sources of evil in human history and of the multifarious forms which it may take, because they will be affronted by the poetic and mythical symbols which he uses. But if they follow his logic they may find that these poetic symbols are practically essential tools of his analysis. If evil is thought of merely as cultural lag or natural inertia, these symbols are not necessary. But if we recognize historical evil as a corruption of human freedom, and not merely as some natural sloth which retards

freedom, it will become apparent that the "devil" is a meaningful symbol. The devil is a fallen angel, a corruption of something good; and the corruption is caused by an excess rather than a defect of some particular vitality of life.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### American Social History

JOHN ALLEN KROUT and the late Dixon Ryan Fox, in "The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830" (Macmillan, \$4), have written skilfully and entertainingly of the social history of the first forty years of the Republic. This volume completes the History of American Life series (twelve volumes, \$30) the first four volumes of which appeared eighteen years ago. Under the editorial guidance of Drs. Schlesinger and Fox, and of Carl Becker, who served as consulting editor, this series has become an important landmark in American historiography. The twelve volumes, written by competent historical scholars, nearly all of whom have added to their previous reputation by their contribution to this series, are especially notable for the first satisfactory synthesis of social history, the intelligent use and discussion of illustrations, and the completeness of their bibliographies.

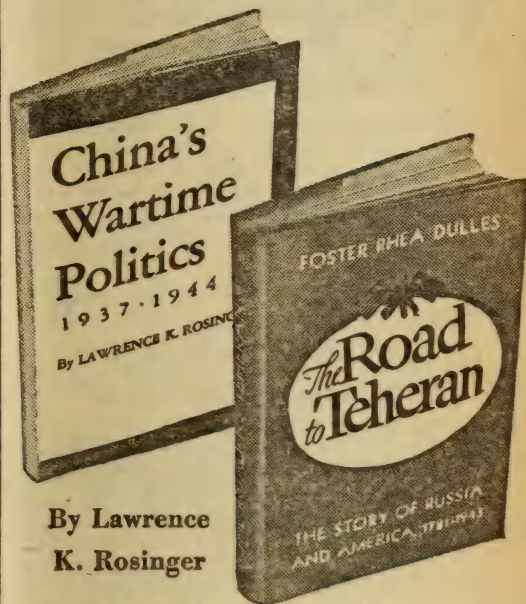
"The Completion of Independence" is one of the better volumes in this series. In 1790 we had established political independence and achieved a new form of government which has stood the test of time. The intellectual leaders of the era realized that that was not enough. They also had to establish cultural and economic independence. Dr. Benjamin Rush commented that the Revolution was not over; Noah Webster urged his countrymen to "unshackle your minds, and act like independent beings. . . . You have now an interest of your own to augment and defend. . . ." Largely ignoring conventional political history, this volume offers the best account we have of the manner in which Americans began the completion of their independence. Farmers and storekeepers, doctors and clergymen, factory hands and sea captains, frontiersmen and authors—these are the people whose way of living fills these pages. Andrew Jackson receives less attention than Jedidiah Morse; Jefferson's views on education get more space than the War of 1812. This book is marked by skilful synthesis, careful scholarship, and a style which varies from competent to brilliant. As with the entire series, this is an important contribution both to the better writing and teaching of American history and to its intelligent enjoyment by the layman.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

### Economic Fundamentalism

PROFESSOR EDWIN W. KEMMERER has delivered yet another sermon denouncing original monetary sin—deliberate currency depreciation—and calling on the nations to repent and return to the simple economic virtues of the Victorian era. In "Gold and the Gold Standard" (McGraw-Hill, \$2.50) he reviews the use of gold as money through the ages, noting sorrowfully the perennial disposition of governments to tamper with the coinage. As early as the fourth

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century B. C. he finds "a case of monetary debasement suggestive of our American debasement of 1933 to 1934."

Unfortunately, like most preachers, Professor Kemmerer has been content to castigate depravity as depravity and has not troubled to inquire why depreciation, like fornication, has been practiced throughout history as consistently as it has been deplored. Is the reason, perhaps, a fundamental antagonism between a monetary system based on a sporadic supply of precious metals and the monetary needs of a gradually expanding economy? Is there a connection between the historical tendency to depreciate and the desire to escape from the tyranny of compound interest?

For Professor Kemmerer the real Golden Age was the period from 1821 to 1914, during which Britain maintained the full gold standard and the leading countries of the world one by one followed its example. Certainly, this was a period of rapid economic progress; it was also an era of successive discoveries of new gold fields. Without the resultant constant addition to the metallic base of the currency, it seems more than probable either that progress would have been severely checked or that the gold standard would have been overthrown. In the seventies and eighties there was both a slackening in world gold production and a serious deflation of prices. The United States, a new adherent to the gold standard, very nearly abandoned it under pressure from producers of primary commodities. Probably it was only the discovery of the Rand that saved the day and kept Bryan out of the White House.

If Professor Kemmerer wants to restore and maintain the gold standard, he must arrange for a steadily increasing supply of the metal. Providence hasn't been very helpful in this respect, but perhaps the scientists with their atomic alchemies will provide a solution. Unfortunately, however, that might well cause gold to become so common that it would cease to symbolize virtue.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## The Great Crusade

JUST AS FRANCES WILLARD was being edged out of her job as dean of the Woman's College of Northwestern University by male members of the faculty who thought her too "uppity," a band of determined women marched down the main street of Hillsboro, Ohio, headed for John's Saloon. In the group were the wives and daughters of the best families of Hillsboro. The time was December, 1873, and the ladies were about to pray, not drink, John out of business.

This was the beginning of the "crusade" which spread so quickly across the prairies that *The Nation* of March 19, 1874, reported that in the eleven internal-revenue districts of Ohio and Indiana the movement had caused a falling off in receipts for January and February of that year of more than \$350,000.

Dean Willard did not take part in the original crusade; but like the war horses in the Bible she could smell a battle from afar, and when the temperance sentiment stirred up by the crusade was organized into the Women's National Christian Temperance Union at a Cleveland convention in November, 1874, Miss Willard joined up. Five years later she was elected president of what was to become under her militant leadership easily the most powerful national and



international organization of women the world had yet seen.

The story of her career is set forth in "Frances Willard, from Prayers to Politics" by Mary Earhart (University of Chicago Press, \$3.75), and it makes fascinating reading. Under her slogan of "Gospel politics" she took the temperance movement into the dusty arena of third-party politics, worked for a while with the Prohibition Party, went along with the Knights of Labor in their semi-mystical program of temperance, cooperation, trade-union organization, and agitation for the eight-hour day, mesmerized some pretty tough labor leaders into bewildered support of her campaign for sex purity, and always and always worked for suffrage. At one time or another this eloquent, often witty, undeniably charming woman went in for Christian and Fabian socialism, transcendentalism, theosophy, phrenology, and vegetarianism, in addition to her chief interests—temperance, suffrage, and equal rights.

Miss Earhart, a member of the faculty of political science at Northwestern, has done a man-sized (oops, sorry, a woman-sized) job in bringing together these diverse pigments for a sympathetic portrait of an awe-inspiring personality.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

## Latin America—Long-Range View

SHORTLY AFTER THE RECOGNITION of the Soviet Union by the United States a Russian economist, then famous, was discussing the future of this country with a group of American liberals. The Russian had little faith in the ability of the United States to avoid a not very distant catastrophe. Pressed as to whether there was any solution, he thought for a moment and replied, "There is, but you won't take it—the industrialization of Latin America."

"Latin America in the Future World," by George Soule, David Efron, and Norman T. Ness (Farrar and Rinehart, \$3.50), recalls that occasion. This is a solid, cooperative effort toward the definition and possible solution of the economic problems of Latin America. It is a thoroughly competent piece of work, as authoritative for the Southern Hemisphere as a whole as Felix Weil's recent book was for the Argentine. It is, perhaps, hardly an entertaining book, though its unencumbered precision and square-standing judgments quite remove it from the category of academic exercise. It contains three parts, of which the first is a documented analysis of the basic problem. Colonial economy and the large-scale ownership of land, inherited from imperial days, have led to appalling poverty and backwardness. Part II studies the effect of the war on this situation, and the final and briefest section contains a review of recommended policies, not exclusively as they concern the United States. Nevertheless, it is clearly understood that the desired industrialization must be brought about in cooperation with North American financial institutions under public control. There is no serious attempt to estimate whether the Soviet economist's negative prophecy will be borne out. Nor does the book estimate the immediacy of the returns upon the policies it suggests. Its utility is perhaps of two sorts: it is a rich storehouse of facts about Latin American society, and it gives a mature, long-range historical view of the problem of hemisphere relations.

RALPH BATES

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## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

NEVER having read the novel, I can consider "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" only in its movie version. I think it a more interesting and likable movie than most. It concentrates on poverty, on some crucial aspects of early puberty, on domestic relationships, and on life in a big city, which are rarely undertaken on the American screen, with considerable enthusiasm, tenderness, discipline, and intelligence. It even presents and accepts the idea, unpopular enough even in contemporary fiction, that some antagonisms and inadequacies are too deeply rooted to be wholly explicable or curable. It also develops its main love interest between a little girl and her father, and it presents a drunkard, the father, for once without moralizing about him or reforming him. (The agencies concerned about this are doubtless satisfied with his death.) The film is so interested in taking its proper time, with and between each scene, that a number of important scenes had, I infer, to be dropped for length; I don't otherwise understand such a thing as the barely illustrated relationship between mother and son, in a screen play so obviously careful—not to mention the virtual absence of the symbolic tree of the title, which could have been accounted for in about three extra shots.

The tenement sets and city streets of the movie are as lovingly and exhaustively detailed and as solid-looking as any I can remember. Most of the players, like those in the same studio's "Ox-Bow Incident," clearly believed they had special duties, opportunities, and privileges. I was especially moved and impressed by James Dunn as the father and by the ways, visible and sometimes stammering though they were, in which Peggy Ann Garner and the director Elia Kazan handled what I take to be her rigidity as an actress, turning it into a part of her personal and visual charm, and of the role she is in those respects so well suited for. "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" also contains single moments or shots so extraordinarily good that they make me wonder why the rest, granted the same eye that made or saved these, need have fallen short. There is a shot of the girl hesitant on a curb which has the lovely authenticity of a wild animal startled by a flashbulb—or of the same shot made by a concealed camera

in a real street. There is a shot of Dunn, ghastly drunk in his inky waiter's suit, as painfully inappropriate to daylight, being shoved and shouted along his home street, which is as poetic and individualized an image of a state beneath humiliation as I have seen. There is a shot of Joan Blondell's bent hustling back, the thin dress propped and ridged through her underwear, as she goes in to help deliver her sister of a baby, which is equally successful in its evocation of women in a special and final class and world and predicament.

Yet "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" is as much a disappointment—even an annoyance—as a pleasure. My heart goes out to the people who reproduced the Brooklyn streets—I could probably lose every other interest in life in the love for just such detail—but try as they will, they only prove, more convincingly because more masterfully than I have seen it proved before, that the best you can do in that way is as dead as an inch-by-inch description or a perfectly naturalistic painting, compared with accepting instead the still scarcely imagined difficulties and the enormous advantages of submerging your actors in the real thing, full of its irreducible present tense and its unpredictable proliferations of energy and beauty. I regret too that with sets even as good as they had they gave only token shots of the city for its own sake, free from the advancement of the plot or the complications of a character; what a wonderful chance they missed to take fifteen or twenty minutes' vacation from the story for, say, the free-gliding, picaresque, and perfect eye for a Saturday schoolchild's cruising of the city. I'm afraid too that they were too calculated in their use of offscreen noise and music, and in those scenes for which there were no accidental offscreen noises.

For the rest, trusting what friends who have also seen the film tell me of the novel, one must be dubious of both, if not with such full hatred, still with some of the same distaste which is inspired by an advertising artist's use of everything that was sweated out from Cézanne on. Ever since certain kinds of sexual sophistication began to qualify for the big-money market in "Anthony Adverse"—very likely it began before that—I have been bothered by how easy it was, cynically or in Miss Smith's case I would believe innocently, to make palatable to the irredeemable enemies of all courage and adventurous perception matters which they had helped crush more original artists and scientists for

daring, however unprofitably, to take notice of. "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" is "realistic" in a way which would have been loathed by the people who will now accept it if they had lived even a short while ago; and if a measure of its still fundamental cautiousness is needed, you can be sure they would still loathe "Greed," for with all its own faults "Greed" never in the least degree tempered its wind to any part of its public.

"The Tree's" attention to poverty and need, though frank as such things go in films, is also temperate compared with the staring facts of poverty and need; the comfortable have always been able to lick their chops over the hunger of others if that hunger is presented with the right sort of humorous or pathetic charm; if certain Christian or Marxian glands are tactfully enough stimulated, they will drool as well. The father-daughter, mother-son relationships in the movie follow a classic Freudian pattern and for once make no phony scientific capital of the fact, but I found the classicism even more pat than it sometimes looks in Freud, and a lot more safely dressed up. The characters themselves bother me most, but here I have an even harder time defining my mistrust of them. It is, roughly, that the imagination has been used a little too glibly to blow up and trim off the presumptive originals of these characters into very comfortably readable, actable, easily understandable creatures, whose faults and virtues are all tagged or neatly braided. I don't forget mentioning that within themselves and in their relationships they are more complex and intransigent than is usual now—and far less vulgarly designed to expound some sociological or political or psychological doctrine. But even this, the respectable beginning at least of a return toward trying to represent human existence, can be so handled as to make it one more asset of a piece of fool-proof entertainment—like those novels whose authors go through half the pockets of the astounded Christian world merely by writing a few hundred pages house-breaking ten lion-like words from the New Testament.

For reasons such as these—or because, like me, they have automatically neglected to read a best-seller—I won't wonder if a good many intelligent people pass up this movie or, even if they see it, dismiss it. For all I regret or dislike about it, I don't think it is to be dismissed.

## Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

IT HAS been my feeling that the basis of Morris Graves's art would not be sufficient to carry it beyond its first impulse. In the first place, nature worship can furnish but scanty and rather irrelevant material in these times—when the main and inescapable problem is urban life; in the second place, gouache on thin paper can do only so much in any one artist's hands; in the third place, the tradition in which Graves works—Chinese painting and Klee—is too narrow and too far removed from the main stream. It was large enough for him to demonstrate that he was talented and original to begin with; but once the demonstration was made there was no place left to go.

Graves's art already began to hesitate several years ago as it eked out its first substance with a strong dosage of Klee. In his latest show at the Willard Gallery (through February 24) it manifests what is almost a collapse. His new *kakemonos*, which are paintings vertical

in design and "mounted on scrolls," either are too derivative of Oriental art or waver awkwardly between decoration and easel-painting. Not enough plastic material is present to indicate, much less fulfil, his intentions—not enough tone, not enough compositional elements. The same poverty weakens his framed gouaches. Graves is subtle—he has to be within the narrow limits set for himself—but subtlety is of no avail when it has to deal with matter so evanescent as hardly to attain the status of the visible. Something very spontaneous, very valid, moves at the bottom of his art, but for the present it does not materialize as anything much more than an impulse, an initial impulse—sometimes only the demi-semi-quaver of an impulse.

Modern experience sets the bounds within which modern art must be practiced. These bounds are considerably wider than those of Graves's painting, but wide as they may be, relatively, they have, since the death of Klee, excluded birds, fishes, and trees. For all its emphasis on inwardness, Graves's eye is not really inward enough; if it were, it would be a *positive* eye that saw through and beyond pantheism.

## • NEXT WEEK •

### The Nation's Mid-Winter Book Number

A SPECIAL 40-PAGE ISSUE

#### SERMON ON A TEXT FROM WHITMAN

An essay by LIONEL TRILLING

#### THE WIDE PROSPECT

A poem by RANDALL JARRELL

#### NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

#### FICTION IN REVIEW

By DIANA TRILLING

#### THE ARTS IN REVIEW

By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, JAMES AGEE  
CLEMENT GREENBERG, B. H. HAGGIN

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

WHILE Lehmann was singing Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" cycle at a concert of the New Friends of Music, I was listening to Toscanini's performance of Berlioz's "Queen Mab" in Studio 8H. No music has in this studio the normal sound that it has in the concert hall; but nothing I have heard has been altered as much and as harmfully as Berlioz's magical scherzo. To avoid the harsh reverberance of the sound on the main floor I sat in the balcony; but there the piece was deprived of much of its evocative effect by the dry, toneless distinctness of the sound, the lack of splendor at the climaxes. N. B. C. may claim the performance had the right sound and effect as it came out of the radios in homes; but the performance of the piece which I heard from my radio last spring sounded only better, not wholly right. From the beginning of Toscanini's broadcasts N. B. C. has contended that what was wrong with the sound in Studio 8H was necessary to make it right for the ears of radio listeners; but that certainly was not true in the first years, when the radio brought into one's home the dry, unresonant sound that had been picked up in the acoustically dead studio; nor has it been true since the change to liveness and reverberance

in the studio, which has made a tremendous improvement in the sound from the radio. That sound would be even better without the studio's present harshness; and the best orchestral sound from a radio is the one that is the best at its place of origin—the normal sound of the orchestra in a concert hall. I am sure that a broadcast performance of Berlioz's "Queen Mab" picked up from Carnegie Hall would sound wholly right.

Provided, of course, that it was transmitted properly. Two years ago I heard the all-important balances which Toscanini had labored to create in the performance of Debussy's "La Mer" altered in transmission. Last year a number of broadcasts were afflicted by distortion in the sounds of high pitch, which an engineer I know, with sharp ears for musical sound in addition to his technical knowledge, thought was caused by defective transmitting apparatus. This year I have listened to the performances in the studio; but he has reported to me that the few broadcasts he has heard have sounded dull, unbalanced, and unclear, and that filter tests have shown that the standard broadcasts of the concerts were being sent out with their frequency-range reduced from the 11,000 cycles that is the limit of the transmitting equipment to something around 6,000. He has found this to be true of other N. B. C. programs, such as the celebrated Telephone Hour—which has made it look like policy rather than accident. In this connection he has recalled an article in *Electronics* of last August, in which O. B. Hansen, N. B. C.'s vice-president in charge of engineering, talked about what was theoretically possible in high fidelity and what was practically attainable and desirable, and reached the conclusion that much less was practically attainable and desirable than was theoretically possible. And Hansen, my engineer friend speculates, may be proving with the reduced range of N. B. C.'s broadcasts that even a frequency range of 6,000 cycles is satisfactory to the public; hence that the 10,000 attainable by standard broadcasting is all that is needed; and—only by implication, of course—that the 20,000 offered by Frequency Modulation broadcasting is not needed. Not, he agrees, that N. B. C. can have any hope of eliminating FM broadcasting; but that it can try to eliminate the possibility of competition from new post-war FM chains.

P. S.: My engineer friend reports that the February 4 broadcast sounded much

better—though "Queen Mab" was not wholly satisfactory; and that he found the frequency range extended to about 7,500.

Since this has become a technical article I will end it with a couple of paragraphs for which I had no room in my last record-review. In the first place, I find it advisable to warn readers that recordings which were excellent when they were issued several years ago may be less good when they are bought today. I have already reported a loss of brightness in recent pressings of Columbia recordings of Mozart's Concerto K. 491 and Overture to "Don Giovanni"; a reader informs me that a copy of Columbia's recording of the Concerto K. 271 that he bought recently proved to be "useless"; and a few weeks ago I listened to a new copy of Victor's recording of the Concerto K. 482 and found it difficult to hear the music of the slow movement through the noises that accompanied it. I gather that in some instances the masters (or whatever it is the stampers are made from) have become defective; that in others it is unskilled or inefficient labor that has turned out defective pressings; and that it will probably be some time before replacements of the masters can be secured from Europe and the companies will again be operating with competent labor.

Also, good needles are hard to get nowadays. Apparently ordinary steel needles are no longer being manufactured; but they can still be found in out-of-the-way places, and are worth looking for, since a fresh steel needle for each record-side is still the best. If you must have a longer-playing needle—for example, for a record-changer—look for chromium-tipped needles, which are scarce but obtainable (the Columbia chromiums I used recently wore down much too quickly; I am trying out Victor now). The Rec-O-Ton and Victor Red Seal needles which the stores are well-stocked with give very poor reproduction and have other objectionable features; use them only as a last resort. "Permanent" needles, sapphire or metal, are a great temptation; but resist: my engineer friend, reading the money-back offer for the needle in one of the alluring advertisements, murmured: "And will they give you your money back for the damaged records?" And cactus and other thorn needles also should be avoided: they give very poor reproduction, and after repointing wear down very quickly and can damage a record as much as a worn steel needle.



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# Letters to the Editors

## Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: Lee Morris's scathing rebuke, in your letter columns of January 13, to my analysis of the causes underlying the enactment of Florida's anti-closed-shop amendment does not discredit one word of my statement. His attack on the state's A. F. of L. unions is a colossal distortion. The very labor organizations so severely berated by Mr. Morris were almost solely responsible for the near defeat of the hateful amendment, despite the overwhelming support given it by the newspapers of the state, both urban and rural.

However unpleasant the idea may be to Mr. Morris, it is a clear, recognized, and easily ascertainable fact that the urban press of Florida is conservative, pro-business, and anti-labor. By no stretch of the imagination could the *Ocala Star-Banner* or the *Miami Daily News* be placed in the liberal fold. The perusal, issue by issue, of their editorial pages discloses that between October 1 and November 7 neither the *Ocala Star-Banner* nor the *Miami Daily News* opposed the anti-closed-shop amendment.

On the contrary, on October 25 the *Star-Banner* supported the proposal with an editorial whose Pegler-like conclusion was, "Whether the amendment carries or is defeated, it will serve as a warning to union labor to clean house, and doubtless some of the abuses which have given union labor a black eye can and will be corrected by statute at the next session of the legislature." In the same issue another colored editorial slashed at labor for striking for higher wages while soldiers are dying overseas. From October 1 until November 7, the crucial days of the election, the *Miami Daily News* did not carry a single editorial against the anti-closed-shop amendment.

Unfortunately, copies of the *St. Petersburg Independent* are not on file in the University of Florida library, but any intelligent Florida citizen would greet with nose-holding skepticism Mr. Morris's contention that the *St. Petersburg Independent* is as liberal and progressive as Nelson Poynter's *St. Petersburg Times*.

Mr. Morris calls "unfair" what he incorrecly terms my "condemnation" of

Florida's labor unions for tardy action against the anti-closed-shop amendment. He then breaches every code of fairness with the irresponsible and untrue charge that "the state A. F. of L. in Florida is thoroughly illiberal and racket-ridden and is more energetic in fighting democracy within its own organization than in any fight for principle." While boasting that his newspaper fought Franco, Mr. Morris forgets that the Tampa A. F. of L. cigarmakers' unions contributed so much to Loyalist Spain that Tampa is recognized as having done as much comparatively as any other city in the United States to uphold democracy in the Spanish Republic. Señor J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister of Loyalist Spain, personally appeared in Tampa to thank our laboring people for their assistance.

After Florida's labor unions awakened to the danger that was upon them in the last election, they fought a good fight but lost. In the future they can win if they strike early and hard at their enemies. Is it wrong to try to help our state's young labor movement by exposing the dangers it must overcome? It may be proper for Mr. Morris to use the columns of *The Nation* to defend a newspaper in which he has a personal interest, but it is highly improper of him to make that defense a springboard for a leap at the throat of organized labor.

WILLIAM H. JOUBERT

Gainesville, Fla., January 23

## Mr. Eliot and Mr. Hook

Dear Sirs: I read with interest in the issue of January 20 Sidney Hook's *The Dilemma* of T. S. Eliot, and if I understand it and Mr. Eliot's essay correctly, I wonder why a future "organic" world culture should depend either on a supernatural religious faith equipped with an ecclesiastical élite or a revamped medieval pattern, or on a purely secular belief in international economic planning, democracy, and the scientific method.

These last seem to me to be necessary means of accomplishing the desired end of a peaceful and fruitful world society, but are not in themselves, I think, capable of supplying their own motive power on a world scale.

That must come, as Mr. Eliot says, through a common religious faith whose values unify life. But this religious faith

must be all-inclusive, equally understandable by and equally significant to all peoples of whatever race or degree of cultural development. It must have no administrative élite or priestly class, selected on any basis whatever—only voluntary interpreters.

There may be an idea capable of such universal application in some religion with which I am not familiar; there is such a one, I believe, in the teachings of Jesus, namely, the Universal Fatherhood of God and the Universal Brotherhood of Man. This surely can be a common denominator of all religious beliefs. Special techniques are given for the individual expression of these beliefs in the two great Commandments: Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind; and Love thy neighbor as thyself.

The First Commandment gives complete freedom for individual interpretations of God; it allows scope for all kinds of intellectual theological structures, apparently necessary to some people; it satisfies the mystics, who in all ages, including our own, have felt a divine spirit "closer to them than breathing, nearer than hands and feet"; it releases a great motivating force, capable of achieving economic and political democracy by the scientific method, if the Second Commandment is interpreted in the largest social sense.

Who is to do the interpreting? I agree with Mr. Hook that the teacher, not the priest, will have most to do with strengthening and enriching a common faith, but the teacher must not overlook sources of spiritual power—and the teacher must be a prophet, not a hireling.

LOUISE W. GROVER

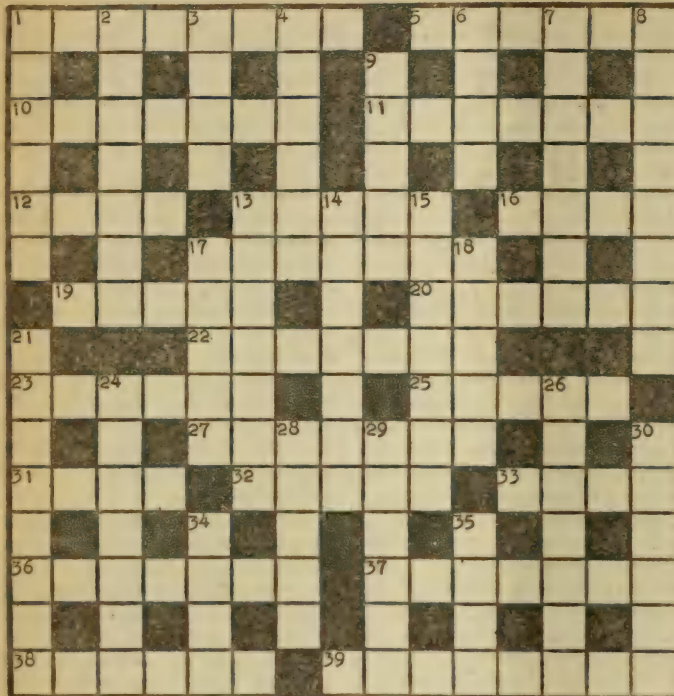
Gloversville, N. Y., January 24

## Explanation

Dear Sirs: In the December 2, 1944, issue of *The Nation* appeared an article submitted by Overseas Press, Inc., entitled *Europe's Road to Peace*, by Dr. Jan Masaryk, which was supposed to represent the present views on international affairs of Dr. Masaryk, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister. The facts, however, are that the article had been written by Dr. Masaryk at the beginning of 1943, and obviously, inasmuch

## Crossword Puzzle No. 103

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 "A drefle smart man" who was true to one party, and that was himself (*Biglow Papers*) (two words, 7 & 1)  
 5 Tom's a/c brings good luck  
 10 Where charity is practiced, and almost a nuttury  
 11 The Ghost came between her and Hamlet  
 12 Copper-hued maiden?  
 13 Once given credit for increased corn production  
 16 Building in which a cat would be proverbially jumpy  
 17 Her name is proverbial for filial ingratitude  
 19 She has letters for Alice  
 20 Nationality of the first duellists  
 22 Sustenance for the inner man  
 23 The trouble, we find, with ----- is that you can't see where you're going  
 25 Ithrae (anag.)  
 27 Jeremy, Bayard and Zach  
 31 It goes with hops  
 32 Drinks that make you so sad  
 33 It's a lot, but under a hundred it's reasonable  
 36 Equivocation  
 37 The "distressful isle"  
 38 Might call it an illustrated book, since it's full of figures  
 39 Just the fellow to give you a whale of a hiding

## DOWN

- 1 Be off with you! (two words, 2 & 4)  
 2 The one named opens with a negative  
 3 Squared circle familiar to The Fancy

- 4 Suitable jar in which to keep electric eels?  
 6 Each is present here  
 7 Is always in the limelight  
 8 Rat in gin (anag.)  
 9 All the world loves ----- (especially the jeweler, the florist and the confectioner)  
 13 Has been rather put out since the advent of electricity (two words, 4 and 3)  
 14 The richest soil (two words, 3 and 4)  
 15 Italians who start out with a character  
 17 Gulliver became one in Lilliput  
 18 Balts who sound willing  
 21 "Paint me, warts and all," he said  
 24 Jack Dempsey took the title from him  
 26 A winker  
 23 Offspring seems to declare you no good with brutal brevity  
 29 "O, a fish? How idiotic!"  
 30 Gave an invitation to another insect  
 34 We wouldn't want to be taken for one  
 35 She sounds comparatively thin

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 103

ACROSS: 1 MARTYRS; 5 ASHANTI; 9 REFURGE; 10 ANTONIO; 11 EBB; 13 LAUNCH; 15 FOMINE; 16 KIPLING; 17 TREP; 19 BUGS; 20 TIT WILLOW; 21 FLEA; 23 EARP; 26 STARING; 28 RIDDLE; 29 GADGET; 30 ASA; 32 ENRAGED; 33 CHINESE; 34 SAYINGS; 35 SIGNS IT.  
 DOWN: 1 MARPLOT; 2 RAPTURE; 3 YORICK; 4 SNEE; 5 ALAB; 6 HOT DOG; 7 NANKING; 8 IRONERS; 12 BILLARDS; 14 HITTITE; 15 INKING; 18 ETA; 19 EWE; 21 FORGERS; 22 ELDERLY; 24 ALGIERS; 26 PATIENT; 28 SLOGAN; 29 GAZING; 30 ADDS; 31 ACTS.

as the political and military situation had changed in the meantime, the article misrepresented Dr. Masaryk's views on current developments as well as the Czechoslovak position.

The responsibility for publishing Dr. Masaryk's article was ours entirely. Through some negligence the Masaryk piece, which dealt with general questions of post-war reconstruction in Europe, got among our current manuscripts and was submitted to *The Nation* as a newly written story.

We sincerely regret any embarrassment which may have been caused to Dr. Masaryk, the Czechoslovak government, or *The Nation* by this unfortunate negligence on our part.

OVERSEAS PRESS, INC.

New York, January 31

## Good News

Dear Sirs: Qualified Negro nurses are accepted by both the army and the navy. Any who wish to volunteer should write to the Army Nurse Corps or the Navy Nurse Corps, Washington, D. C., to avoid possible local opposition.

If any discrimination is encountered, notify Mrs. Mabelle K. Staupers, president of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, 1790 Broadway, New York.

ETHEL CLYDE

New York, February 5

## CONTRIBUTORS

MARGARET STEWART is labor editor of the *London Economist*.

ANDREE VIOLLIS is one of the eight French journalists now visiting this country at the invitation of the OWI. She represents *Le Soir*. During the occupation of France she wrote for the underground press.

EDGAR SNOW has been a newspaper and magazine correspondent in the Far East since 1929, most of the time in China. Among his books are "Far Eastern Front," "Red Star Over China," and "People on Our Side." He is also the author of a book in Chinese, "Impressions of the Northwest."

HORST MENDERSHAUSEN is a professor of political economy at Bennington College and author of "The Economics of War."

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

UNTIL WALLACE IS CONFIRMED AS SECRETARY of Commerce, it would be most unwise for liberal and labor, forces to relax their efforts in his behalf. As we go to press, Minority Leader White of the Senate has declared that he will oppose confirmation, and Senator Taft has announced that he will make a major speech in opposition to Wallace. McKellar of Tennessee is the first of the "Republicrats" to announce that he will vote against Wallace's appointment even to the Secretaryship as curtailed by the George Bill, and no doubt some other right-wing Southern Democrats will follow his example. In the House, passage of the George bill without further crippling Republican amendments was not only a triumph for Wallace but a smashing defeat for Jew-baiter Rankin of Mississippi. Rankin had hoped to lead his Republican-Southern Democratic coalition to another great victory and to block the Wallace nomination by blocking the George bill. Speaker Rayburn deserves hearty congratulations on his successful leadership. *The Nation* likewise applauds Representatives James G. Fulton of Pennsylvania and Richard J. Welch of California, the only two Republican members who resisted the intense pressure of their party leadership and voted against recommitment of the George bill. We believe Wallace will win in the Senate, but we urge his supporters to keep fighting and take nothing for granted. *Nation* readers should attend the mass rallies for Wallace now being held in all important cities throughout the country. In New York, the Union for Democratic Action is sponsoring a Fight-for-Wallace Rally at the Town Hall on Monday, February 26, at 8 p.m., at which the principal speaker will be Leon Henderson.

★

THE PRESIDENT IS SAID TO BE MAKING A personal survey of the civilian-relief problem in Europe. We hope this report is true, for the economic situation of the liberated countries is becoming increasingly desperate. Both France and Belgium are threatened with further cuts in their meager rations, and both countries are afflicted by serious unemployment almost wholly because of lack of raw materials for their factories. This question has been under discussion for months between high-ranking American and British officials, but as in the case of the President's directive to increase bread rations in Italy, decisions reached in London and Washington fail to get translated into action. France was promised twenty-six shiploads of goods during the first quarter of this year; with half this period elapsed, eight ships have actually reached French ports. Shipping is obviously the crux of the difficulty, and this is the excuse for the reported negotiations between the UNRRA and Spain for an arrangement by which raw wool and cotton would be ex-

ported in Spanish ships and manufactured in Spanish mills into blankets and clothing for relief purposes. We imagine Franco is quite delighted with this idea, which would allow him to tag along with the United Nations in a humanitarian disguise. But we can think of nothing that would prove more infuriating to the hundreds of thousands of idle French and Belgian textile workers than to give such a preference to a tricky and unfriendly "neutral." If there are Spanish ships available for carrying such raw materials, let us insist that they be chartered to carry goods to France and Belgium as a condition of continuing trade at all with Spain. And if we must look to any neutral for assistance with relief clothing, let us rather consider Switzerland, which has idle textile machinery and ships of its own plying between America and Lisbon. Switzerland, it may be noted, has just made a friendly gesture to the Allies by blocking German bank balances.

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IN REFUSING AN INVITATION TO MEET THE President "somewhere in the Mediterranean" in order to receive a first-hand account of the Crimea Conference, General de Gaulle is reported to have cited French economic difficulties as a reason why he could not leave Paris at this time. No doubt his object was to remind Mr. Roosevelt of the plight of France, though the deeper purpose of his refusal was to express a sense of grievance at exclusion from Yalta. That France has a genuine grievance cannot be doubted. The principal subject under discussion by the Big Three was the future of Germany, in which no country has a greater stake than France; of almost equal importance on their agenda was the problem of the organization of Europe, and as General de Gaulle has repeatedly and rightly asserted, nobody can run Europe without France. Again, while the official communiqué made no reference to the matter, it is reported that the Big Three also talked about "trusteeships" for colonies—a question in which France, as the second-largest colonial power, is vitally interested. But, while we deeply regret the absence of France at Yalta, we shall be sorry if hurt feelings lead the French government to disassociate itself from the decisions reached there. For the Big Three did take a step forward by seeking to include France in the executive commissions they decided to institute. We hope General de Gaulle and his Cabinet will not reject this opportunity but will use it as a springboard from which to reach the select circle of policy-makers.

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THE FRUITS OF YALTA BEGIN TO APPEAR—SOME sweet, some bitter. . . . Take Poland. Liberals as a whole have welcomed the Yalta statement which replaces unilateral by joint Allied decision and provides at least a framework for the creation of a democratic Polish state. The London government-in-exile has firmly said no to the Big Three and has received support from General Anders, commander of the Polish Army Corps which has fought with great distinction in Italy. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former Premier and leader of the Peasant Party, after expressing general support of the Yalta statement, took exception to certain details in a letter addressed to the London *Daily Herald*. It is to be hoped that he will consent to go to Warsaw and work out the differences inside the government when it is enlarged to

include "other democratic leaders from within Poland and abroad." Meanwhile, *Pravda* has lost no time in attacking Mikolajczyk and classing him with anti-Russian Premier Arciszewski. This is clearly unfair. In the next weeks, *Pravda* might well think twice before hurling "fascist" at anyone who dares touch the sacred ark of the Yalta covenant. In democratic practice, criticism of detail is not equivalent to rejection of principle. The elements of disastrous civil strife are still present in the Polish situation. Whether that strife can be avoided depends upon the maintenance of Allied unity and on the emergence of Polish leaders of sufficient vision to take full advantage of the Yalta proposals.

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WHAT IS TO BE THE ROLE OF SWEDEN IN THE final stages of the war? The Swedish press has been discussing this question, and the general conclusion appears to be that while Sweden should not actually enter the war, it should be prepared to intervene "so as to uphold order and save lives," as the conservative *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* of Malmö puts it. This may seem a distinction without a difference, but what the Swedes appear to have in mind is the possibility that the north of Germany will be overrun and the Nazi garrisons in Denmark and Norway cut off from escape. The German military and civil leaders in these countries, together with the local quislings, knowing they could expect no mercy, would no doubt seek to fight to the bitter end: the Norwegian and Danish partisans, ill armed as they are, would certainly redouble their efforts to destroy their oppressors. Since the Western Allies are unlikely to have troops to spare for a relief expedition to the north, the result might well be a period of bloody and uneven guerrilla war in which many Norwegians and Danes would be massacred and their countries still more devastated. It is at this stage that the Swedes might undertake "police measures," for the purpose, as the liberal monthly *Nordens Frihet* says, "of preventing the Germans after their collapse from causing chaos and destruction." To this end, this magazine recommends that Sweden "immediately inquire of the Norwegian government and the Allied High Command how best she could coordinate her efforts with theirs in order to bring about as rapid and painless an end as possible to Norwegian slavery." Even the once pro-Nazi *Aftonbladet* suggests that "humanitarian obligations" may make Swedish intervention necessary. On these grounds it could hardly come soon enough, for the Norwegians are suffering bitterly from terror and starvation. Sweden's neutrality, whatever good arguments there may have been for preserving it, has not enhanced its moral prestige. Positive action, even at this eleventh hour, to succor its neighbors might do much to restore it.

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PROSPECTS FOR SETTLING CHINA'S INTERNAL conflict have again dimmed as a result of a virtual breakdown in Kuomintang-Communist negotiations. In an effort to place responsibility for the breakdown on the Communists, the Chungking government has issued an official statement declaring that the terms rejected by Yen-an included (1) recognition of the Chinese Communist Party, (2) inclusion of a Communist official in the national military council, (3) inclusion of Communist and non-Kuomintang representa-

tives in the Executive Yuan (the Chinese Cabinet), and (4) creation of a committee with an American as chairman to consider the reorganization of the Communist army. On the surface these terms appear to be extremely liberal and to approximate the kind of settlement which many Americans have long desired. But Chou En-lai, Yen-an's representative in the negotiations, points out that there was a catch in each of Chungking's "concessions." For example, the offer to grant legal status to the Communist Party was made contingent on the surrender of the command of the Eighth Route Army to Kuomintang officers, while the inclusion of a Communist in the national military council was meaningless because that body had never met. Even membership in the Executive Yuan has little significance since the actual powers of government in China rest elsewhere. The crucial issue is whether the 500,000 or more men in the Eighth Route Army are to be equipped and utilized on the same basis as Kuomintang troops or absorbed and destroyed as the armies of Chang Hsueh-liang were destroyed after the Sian incident in 1936. Yen-an is not unreasonable in asking that a true coalition government be established before it places its army under direct Chungking control.

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SIR WALTER CITRINE HAS NEVER BEEN KNOWN as one of the more radical spirits in the British labor movement. Consequently, observers at the Blackpool meeting of the Trade Union Congress last October were rather mystified by the warmth of his entente with the Russian fraternal delegation there. He backed the program of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee for a "hard peace" with great fervor, persuading the Congress to reverse its previous stand on this question, and acted in complete amity with the Russians in concerting plans for an all-inclusive United Nations trade union conference. Although this second step was bound to strain relations between the T. U. C. and the A. F. of L., which had bluntly refused any truck with a meeting that included either the C. I. O. or the Russian trade unions, Sir Walter did not flinch. That was four months ago: when the world conference actually convened on February 6, his ardor appeared to have cooled a little. On a number of minor questions he opposed Russian views and on the major question of future international organization of labor he seemed anxious to block any step which would torpedo the somewhat senile International Federation of Trade Unions. Since both the Russians and the C. I. O. are excluded from this body, they not unnaturally want an entirely new world organization. Sir Walter, however, defended the I. F. T. U. and even said a few kind words for the A. F. of L., with the result that the conference was somewhat confused. At any rate, it appears that the general secretary of the Trade Union Congress has swung back to his normal position right of center. This, no doubt, makes him more eligible for such whitewashing jobs as his mission to Greece on behalf of the British government.

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THE WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE INCIDENT acquires significance from the fact that in the oldest college of the South, founded in 1693, a student editor, with the support of a minority of the faculty and a majority of the

student body, should have written an editorial suggesting that the time may come when Negroes will mingle freely with their fellows on that Virginia campus and even "marry among us." Newspaper accounts of the incident failed to recognize that while Miss Kaemmerle's editorial was more forthright than is usually the case, it was by no means an exceptional statement for a Southern campus publication. Not so long ago, for example, an editorial appeared in the student publication at Louisiana State University entitled *White Supremacy Must Go*. Of particular significance in the William and Mary case, however, is the fact that two Williamsburg clergymen, the Reverend Charles M. Pratt, Presbyterian minister, and the Reverend F. H. Craighill, of the local Episcopal church, promptly supported the students. In fact the Reverend Dr. Pratt proceeded to preach a sermon on racial equality. Student and campus organizations in all sections of the country have rallied to the support of the William and Mary contingent. In view of these circumstances it is disturbing but by no means surprising to note that Virginian Dabney wrote in the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* that the editorial "has made sound and conservative progress toward better race relations more difficult." Miss Kaemmerle's editorial may well have made "sound and conservative progress" somewhat more difficult in the South; but that it represents progress can hardly be questioned. Not the least important aspect of the matter is that the appearance of such an editorial in a Southern campus publication has greatly encouraged advocates of racial equality in other sections of the country to believe that their point of view is not without support in the South. As one editorial expressed it, "it is as though a bridge had been thrown across a formidable stream while we slept." Bridges are being thrown across this stream every day—while the Southern "liberals" sleep. It is part of the irony of the situation that these liberals may some day rise from their slumbers only to discover that an important vanguard of Southern opinion has already crossed one or another of these bridges.

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NEW YORK STATE'S ANTI-DISCRIMINATION BILL has encountered bitter opposition, though the active support of all the Democratic members of the legislature has now been augmented by that of Governor Dewey and some of the Republican leaders. Although significant as a pioneer attempt to outlaw racial and religious discrimination by law, the bill is relatively a weak one. Unlike the Wicks bill of a year ago, it is limited to job discrimination. It declares that opportunity for employment without discrimination because of color or creed is a "civil right" and provides for the creation of a five-man commission to enforce that right. But no penalties can be imposed on an employer who violates that right until "conference, conciliation, and persuasion" have been tried and failed. Employers who refuse to yield to mediation face a maximum penalty of \$500 fine or a year in jail. Opposition to the bill has come chiefly from business groups led by the state chamber of commerce, but also from the railroad unions. While no one has yet come forward in defense of discrimination as a principle, opponents insist that attempts to enforce an anti-discrimination policy by law will intensify racial hatred and friction and "make New York a less desirable place for business." Actually the bill

not only subordinates penalties to conciliation but sets up elaborate machinery for education as a first defense against racial and religious bias. Experience in the field of labor relations has demonstrated that fair employment practices can be obtained by mediation and educational procedures only if there are legal penalties in the background. Without these legal sanctions, the rights of minorities cannot possibly be protected effectively.

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**ON A HOLIDAY THAT HAPPENS TO BE MONDAY** as well, a newspaper turns up a wonderful collection of odd items. Lincoln's Birthday was particularly fruitful. We selected a few for our own wall newspaper:

**MUSICAL EVENT:** When a famous Scottish regiment opened up with bagpipes on the western front, a group of Germans, terrified, threw themselves on the mercy of the attackers and walked meekly to the prisoner cages.

**EMPIRE STATISTICS:** A British report "on the health of Indian Congress Party leaders" revealed that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in prison since 1942, has lost nine pounds.

**POST-WAR PLANNING:** A C. B. S. correspondent reported from Stockholm that the German announcement of the execution and imprisonment of former party leaders in Bydgoszcz [Bromberg], Poland, was merely a cover for those men to join the organization that the Germans plan to use after the war.

**CROP ESTIMATE:** "U. S. Seeks Spain's Fruit for Allies."

**G. I. HUMOR:** A Russian who had been captured at Kharkov and taken to Germany, escaped in September and had been hiding for five months in a pile of grain when the Americans came. The men who found him said he was rolled up "in the shape of a foxhole." . . . "The Ledo stretch, from Ledo in Assam, India, through Myitkyina and Bhamo in Burma and thence to Wanting on the Burma Road in Yunnan Province, China, has been nicknamed 'Pick's Pike' after its builder, Brigadier General Lewis A. Pick, Corps of Engineers, United States Army."

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**HENRIETTA SZOLD'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE** Zionist movement and to the Jewish people transcends the accomplishments of Hadassah during the past three decades. For the idealism with which her quiet personality inspired the organization she founded, both here and in Palestine, and the fruitfulness of her keen, patient mind have already become part of the Jewish culture and heritage. In the next issue of *The Nation*, Marvin Lowenthal will tell the significance of Miss Szold's career. Here we mark the passing of a distinguished woman, who has created a legend of devotion to a cause.

## The Mexico Conference

**T**HE Foreign Ministers' meeting which opened in Mexico this week may well prove more important than all previous Pan-American conferences. There are many political and economic problems concerning the transition from war to peace which require full and frank discussion between this country and its Latin American neighbors. Among the political issues, the primary one is to prevent fascism from entrenching itself in the Western Hemisphere after its defeat in Europe. Despite measures taken since Pearl Harbor to suppress espionage and enemy propaganda, the fact remains that on the eve of victory the Latin American countries like the United States have yet to rid themselves of Nazi agents. Two factors have contributed to this: Argentina's pro-fascist regime has converted that nation into a general headquarters for Nazi activity in America; while our friendship with

Franco has resulted in his flooding Latin America with agents and with daily broadcasts designed to increase distrust of the United States and to sabotage inter-American solidarity.

Argentina and Franco Spain are, therefore, two topics which will provide abundant material for discussion at the Mexico conference. Several countries, notably Colombia, at first insisted that Argentina be invited. This did not imply friendship for the Farrell regime but rather the desire to have it appear before the other republics to answer the charges made against it. Washington, however, maintained that exclusion would constitute a more severe condemnation of Argentina's failure to support continental solidarity. But even in its absence the problems raised by the fascist position of the Argentine government will be thoroughly thrashed out. It is not likely that the Farrell-Perón attempt to change the atmosphere of the conference by suggesting the imminence of a declaration of war against Germany will fool anyone at this late date.

Various Latin American spokesmen have rightly maintained that the discussion of the case of Argentina will not dispose of the issue of Nazi penetration in America. We share their belief that the conference must also come to grips with the situation in Bolivia, Brazil, and all countries where dual attitudes exist, combining an official policy of cooperation with the United Nations with fascist methods and dreams of a totalitarian continent. They believe it a matter of special importance that the problem of putting an end to Falange activities be squarely faced. In the opinion of Latin Americans the only way of cutting off this evil at its source is to break relations with Franco.

Several delegations are planning to present resolutions asking for a break. The fact that this feeling is widespread is proved by the unanimity with which leaders of the political parties represented at the recent meeting called by President Grau San Martin in Havana requested that Cuba demand at Mexico collective rupture of diplomatic relations with Franco. When that happens our delegation will find itself in a most awkward position if at the same time the United States is busy concocting a new deal with Franco in order to provide supplies to UNRRA or for any other purpose.

The principal economic issue that the conference will have to consider is that of the transition from war to peacetime conditions, and it will have to develop a plan to meet this coming period of readjustment. United States resistance to the very idea of such a plan, especially among industrialists and business men, is well known. But in the opinion of outstanding Latin American experts, unless a plan is agreed to the process of transition is destined to create innumerable difficulties and much friction between the United States and Latin America. The problems are varied and difficult. Many Latin American countries fear that, once the war is over, we are going to pursue a policy of "dumping" cheap goods that will ruin their newly created industries, many of which were built up at our suggestion and with our help to serve wartime needs. Others fear that, due to pressure from farmers' groups, the United States will close its doors more firmly than before against Latin-American wheat and meat. The only way out is a plan that will place

above the particular interests of any group the public interest of the United States and of the Latin American countries.

Americans will do well to follow what is happening in Mexico with close attention and to realize once and for all that Latin America is emerging from this war fully conscious of its rights and not in the least disposed to be satisfied with a few phrases about our generosity and the virtues of the Good Neighbor policy. The first requisite for this policy's success is that not only we, but also the Latin Americans believe in it.

## Yalta and San Francisco

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IT WOULD be fine if we could take the events of the past months and all the problems stretching from Yalta to San Francisco and beyond and remake them to suit our liberal notions of a good world. The editors of *The Nation*, all by themselves, could if they had the chance cook up a fine set of policies, a splendid collection of happenings. Here at home, for instance, we could at a blow wipe out isolationists and conservatives of both parties. Then, hastily reconstructing our foreign policy to insure the early victory of democratic forces everywhere, we would rewrite the Dumbarton Oaks proposals so as to create a world organization with political power and armed force and a procedure guaranteed to apply with swift certainty any measures necessary to keep the peace. England would have a left Labor government pledged to the orderly abolition of the colonial system and the establishment of friendly relations with new popular governments in Greece and Italy and Spain. Just as a beginning. And Russia, freed of its generation-old fears of capitalist-fascist coalitions, would abandon all unilateral security measures in full, warm-hearted acceptance of the new plans for collective security. As for China and Latin America. . . .

But what's the use? Nobody asked us to fix things; instead, we find ourselves faced with a world that is as it is: a pretty nearly Tory government in England mistakenly trying to shore up its slipping imperial structure by reactionary props at the weak spots; in America a State Department sunk in practices and attitudes obsolete even before fascism was invented and a public opinion heading in the general direction of world cooperation but held back by a heavy sea-anchor of isolationist suspicion; and a Russia determined to protect its bitterly won integrity and power by its own strength—at least until it is finally convinced that Munich is not only a dead city but a dead idea.

Already voices—honest ones—are questioning the Crimean agreement. It included good words about the extirpation of fascism everywhere: but Franco was not mentioned; and when Churchill stopped at Athens on the way home he patted Britain on the back for its share in leading Greece out of civil war. Is this the meaning of the pledge at Yalta—British tanks to establish Tory concepts of freedom? And Poland. Was the agreement about Poland anything more than unconditional surrender to Russia, a unilateral act draped in the language of collective decision? As for the modification of the Dumbarton Oaks decision, what did it amount to since,

as far as the facts have been made known, any one of the inner council of major powers will still be able to veto decisions that involve the use of force?

Between now and the meeting at San Francisco lie nine weeks. In this time millions of words will be spoken about the hope of peace and the fate of democracy. But all will be wasted unless they emerge from a desire, stronger even than the desire for absolute justice, to preserve the union that was fortified by the decisions at Yalta. That coalition of force and agreement between the three chief fighting nations is the minimum necessary without which nothing at all will be possible—no post-war security organization, no economic understanding, no relief of starving and homeless people, no fair boundaries, no democracy anywhere, nothing but a horrible collapse into new oppressions, new terror, new wars.

The consolidation of effort effected at Yalta must not be chiseled away by talk which ignores or minimizes this incapable fact.

*The Nation* has tried with stubborn persistence to prove the indivisible nature of this war. We believe today as we did in 1936 that the fascist revolution can only be defeated when the nations are ready to fight it by revolutionary means. When Churchill makes deals with the House of Savoy in Italy and the State Department throws its support to a fascist dictatorship in Bolivia or even El Salvador, the progress of the war as a whole receives a setback. But we have never given a moment's countenance to the theory that the failure of the Allied powers to support the democratic cause in Italy or El Salvador exempted us from supporting the Allied cause in the war.

This does not mean that we should censor our views on the sort of world that is necessary if peace is to last. Just as the coalition for war has been weakened and its progress hampered by the political mistakes that have cluttered every inch of the road toward victory, so the coalition for peace will be badly impeded if those mistakes continue. The decisions taken at Yalta marked an enormous political step forward; I believe that even the Polish settlement, so galling to many liberals, was a pretty decent compromise. But wherever one looks one sees the debris of Allied political policy piled like the rubble of shell-torn masonry across the map of Europe. Far from believing that the need of inter-Allied unity dictates silence about these mistakes, I consider it necessary that we work harder than ever to clear them out.

To support intelligently the decisions of Yalta, to make fruitful the meeting at San Francisco, we must do our utmost to force a democratic policy toward Europe. Mr. Roosevelt and his colleagues will never make good the promises implicit in the Crimea pronouncement by working through the Comité des Forges or the House of Savoy or a Spanish Bourbon prince or through the remnants of the German cartels. Those instruments are not only anachronistic and out of date; they are dangerous, as an obsolete fighting plane is dangerous. The movement of opinion in Europe, as Harry Hopkins told a surprised audience in Rome, is toward the left. A solid peace cannot be made by opposing that inevitable tendency. The success of the Allied coalition will depend upon its ability to work along with the forces that have proved their strength and their tough dependability during these bitter years of resistance.

# The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE daring and sustained attack on Tokyo by carrier-based aircraft opens a new and decisive phase of the Pacific war. The immediate conclusion to be drawn from the event is that an invasion of the Japanese home islands is not only possible but probable without a previous landing on the China coast.

Great as the potentialities are, the performance itself and its immediate consequences are thrilling and grandiose enough. The task group which paraded up and down only three hundred miles off the coast of Honshu stretched out two hundred miles over the sea. The size of Admiral Mitscher's force—our old friend Task Force 58—may be judged from the reports of Superfortress pilots who were over Tokyo on the first day of the attack: they estimated that 1,200 carrier-based planes were in the air at one time. Essex-class carriers—the big ones—carry about 90 aircraft; CVE's—"baby flat-tops"—about 36. However you divide 90 and 36 into 1,200, this means a lot of carriers.

Airfields in the Tokyo area apparently suffered heavily, with the American fighters going in low and fast to strafe parked Japanese planes, hangars, ammunition buildings, and supply dumps. The carriers also launch dive-bombers, which can attack airfield installations, factories in the industrial area, docks and shipping in the big harbor. Torpedo bombers are used against shipping or as though they were bombers against ground installations. These three prime weapons make an extraordinarily versatile and flexible team for destruction. The high degree of concentration which is possible in attacks of this kind tends to saturate the enemy's defenses, especially in anti-aircraft batteries; and the carefully timed schedule for bringing planes in over a period of hours tends even more strongly to exhaust the defenders and to compound the difficulties of keeping interceptors aloft and ground fires under control.

Mitscher's carriers, his striking weapons, are well protected by battleships and the other components of a screening force—cruisers, destroyers, destroyer escorts. Effective reconnaissance of the surrounding waters is provided by wide-ranging navy patrol planes and by outlying submarines—tentacles through which no sizable enemy force has much chance of slipping undetected. If such a force should come, we have the word of an official navy spokesman in Washington that Mitscher's force alone is stronger than the entire Japanese navy—that once-mighty fleet which now, to American naval men, is nothing more than "a good-sized task force." This is true despite the fact that all the Japanese ships damaged in the Battle for Leyte Gulf (the second battle of the Philippines) in October have now been repaired. The rising sun has sunk pretty low—not simply through the destruction of so many combat ships in the two battles of the Philippines Sea, but primarily through the astonishing growth of the United States navy. Those low and vulgar fellows the shipyard workers, so often berated for accepting the high war-time

wages offered them, might well be given a rising vote of thanks for the tremendous job of construction they have performed.

That construction job means that while Mitscher's fliers are belaboring the whole Tokyo area and his surface-ship men are ready to take on the entire Japanese navy, other ships of Admiral Spruance's Fifth Fleet can bombard Iwo Jima, while ships of the Seventh Fleet cover the army's landing on Bataan. (Spruance's command is designated the Fifth Fleet, Halsey's the Third Fleet; Mitscher's task force is under them alternately.) Hard fighting and a lot of mopping-up still remain to be done on Luzon, and in Manila itself, two weeks after General MacArthur announced the liberation of the city. But already the center of gravity of the Pacific war has moved north and east—back toward Pearl Harbor, by a twist of geography and strategy—to the Volcano Islands. Here Admiral Blandy's task force has been bombarding, after more than seventy consecutive days of air attacks on the same target. Here also is where some of the bloodiest fighting of the Pacific will take place, now that the invasion troops have gone ashore to wrest a fine prize from the enemy.

Iwo Jima is nothing but a concentration of military strength, of enormous value to whoever holds it. From it the Japanese have been able to detect and intercept our Superfortress flights from Saipan and from Tinian, now revealed to be the site of the world's largest airdrome. From it the United States Army Air Forces can bring Japan's war industries under daily attack. The 1,500-mile round-trip flight to Tokyo can be made comfortably not only by what General Arnold likes to call "the last of the small heavy bombers" (Liberators) but by regular medium bombers such as the Mitchell, and especially by long-range fighters. One can safely predict a pattern of aerial bombing over Honshu which will interrelate the missions of very heavy, heavy, and medium bombers, all of them escorted by fighters (Marianas-based Superfortresses will rendezvous with fighters from Iwo Jima en route).

The dispersal of Japanese industry, aircraft industry in particular, has already begun. The landing in the Volcanos will undoubtedly hasten the work. The enemy is still able to produce about 1,500 aircraft a month, more than we are currently destroying: so the situation now becomes a race for time, with the Japanese trying to break down their production into sub-assemblies and the Americans trying to get Iwo Jima's airstrips into operation in time to prevent this.

Tokyo Radio said last week that the United States is trying to destroy the Japanese air force. The naval spokesman in Washington said the enemy might be correct in that surmise. This makes it unanimous.

These developments indicate a gratifying speed-up in the Pacific war. Mitscher's insolent pee-rade off Tokyo demonstrates the extent to which the Pacific fleet has won control of the western Pacific: we now actually have freedom of

movement right to Japan's front door. Provided we continue to send out such large numbers of ships, it is hard to see what will tempt the Japanese fleet into action. It has no real hope of inflicting damage serious enough to cripple our moves: even after a fleet engagement in which we traded losses ship for ship, our Pacific fleet would still be the

strongest in the world. Some sort of *banzai* sally is probably to be expected, but it can have no strategic significance.

The difficult and bloody months ahead should see the transformation of the Volcanos from a Japanese bastion to an American springboard. Off the springboard lie the Bonins, even closer to Tokyo; and then Honshu itself.

## The Pell Affair

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, February 18*

**I** POINTED out in last week's letter that the one disappointment in the Crimea communiqué was the failure of the Big Three to agree on joint action for the punishment of war criminals. There are obstacles to effective action in this field. One is the British Foreign Office, and the other is the American State Department. There are three reasons why progressive and labor pressure ought to be brought to bear against these obstacles. One is that the lives of several million prisoners of war and slave workers in the Reich may be endangered if the Nazis are led to believe that the British and American governments will be half-hearted in dealing with war criminals. The slaughter of slave workers, perhaps also of war prisoners, in the final hours before the Reich's fall would fit in with German plans to kill off as many of the non-German peoples of Europe as possible in preparation for a third attempt at world conquest. The second reason for acting quickly and effectively to punish Nazi war criminals is that we can thereby eliminate many of the party stalwarts who intend to go underground and prepare for the next war. The third reason is that the best way to lay the foundations for world security is to punish those responsible for the war and for the crimes committed in it.

The focus of progressive and labor pressure might well be the curious case of Herbert C. Pell, who was the American representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London. Pell's return to London would be a victory for common sense and human decency. Pell was a Bull Moose Republican in 1912, later becoming a Democrat. He served a term in Congress after the last war, served as chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee from 1921 to 1926, and was vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1936. In 1937 he was appointed Minister to Portugal and in 1941 to Hungary. He seems to be a man of considerable wealth and culture, and seven years in the foreign service have failed to harden his spiritual arteries. He was one of the few men in the service who was sympathetic to Jewish and other refugees, and it is quite clear he is not in agreement with the ultra-legalistic Nervous Nellies who seem to dominate interpretation of international law at the State Department and the British Foreign Office. Sir Cecil Hurst and Pell were the leading figures on the War Crimes Commission, and both were for effective action to punish war criminals. Sir Cecil resigned in disgust with the attitude of the Foreign Office. What happened to Pell is still something of a mystery.

There are, roughly speaking, three kinds of war crimes. In the first category are crimes against the civilians or captured soldiers of the United Nations; the men accused of these crimes are to be returned for trial to the country against whose nationals the crimes were committed. This category is the simplest from the standpoint of law and procedure, though British and American international lawyers may be counted on to mess it up with multitudinous technicalities. In the second category are the deeds of Axis higher-ups responsible for the policies of mass murder, looting, prostitution, and moral corruption applied in occupied countries as part of the German and Japanese war programs. For these criminals, whose crimes were not limited to any one country, special courts and special procedure will be required. The third category, the most difficult from a conventional legal point of view, is made up of crimes committed by the Nazis and German nationals on account of race, creed, or politics. The Foreign Office and State Department seem to be still in a dither on the second and third categories. Pell, like Sir Cecil and unlike many of the legalists, was for punishment of both these categories and returned here in December for further instructions.

As the American representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission Pell was a Presidential and not a State Department appointee. He saw the President at the White House on the morning of January 9. He found Mr. Roosevelt in agreement with his views. Pell was encouraged and went to the State Department on the afternoon of that same day to pay his respects to Secretary of State Stettinius before returning to London. Stettinius told Pell he could not return to London because Congress had failed to make an appropriation to cover his salary and expenses. When Pell offered to pay his own way and serve without charge, he was told this would be illegal. The expenses of participation in the United Nations War Crimes Commission had been paid out of the President's emergency fund, but under the Russell amendment to the 1944 Appropriation Act Congressional authorization is required for such payments and activities. An authorization of \$30,000 asked for the first half of this year had been refused by the House Appropriations Committee, approved by the Senate Appropriations Committee, and then eliminated in conference committee.

It seems strange that so small an item would create such difficulties. A minor State Department official testified before the House committee; Stettinius himself sent a letter to the Senate committee. Could it be that some State Department

official privately egged the House committee on to kill this item? Such things happen in Washington. The conference committee eliminated the \$30,000 item on December 16. Pell saw the President on January 9; neither knew at the time that the item had been eliminated. Why weren't the President and Pell informed earlier? The State Department interprets the Russell amendment as meaning that where Congress fails to provide an appropriation it automatically withdraws authorization for the activity which would be financed by that appropriation. But if this is the correct interpretation, why did Acting Secretary Grew announce on January 26 that the United States would be represented on the War Crimes Commission by Pell's former deputy, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph V. Hodgson, former Attorney General of Hawaii?

If Pell's elimination is merely due to Congressional action and not to State Department hostility, why did Grew decline to answer when asked whether Pell would return to London if Congress reconsidered and made the \$30,000 available? Finally, I would like to note that Chairman Anderson of the House committee says he was under the impression that the State Department did not need the \$30,000 but had enough to carry on until the fiscal year beginning July 1. Where did he get that impression? The chairman indicated that he would take a favorable attitude toward a request for a deficiency appropriation in the pending deficiency bill. But though other deficiency items from the State Department were sent to the committee ten days ago, the \$30,000 item was not among them. The department blames the Bureau of the Budget. There is something fishy here.

"There will be no diminution," Grew said augustly in the Pell announcement on January 26, "in the interest or activity of this government in the general subject of the punishment of war criminals." Would the editors of *The Nation* (page the shade of Godkin) permit me less augustly to say "horse feathers"? Pell had been back from London almost two months at the time that statement was made; yet the department hadn't been interested enough to arrange a conference at which Pell and Roosevelt would have a chance to discuss Pell's experience and problems in London with legal and other officers of the department. Nor was Pell given a chance to discuss them with Stettinius or Grew. Grew is the main source of our tender concern for Hirohito, and the State Department's international lawyers live in the shadow of the late James Brown Scott, who joined with the Japanese at the Versailles conference to help save the Kaiser and other heads of state from responsibility for war crimes. These departmental lawyers are more concerned with the hallowed antiquarianisms of academic international law than with punishing war criminals. International law today, like the common law and equity in the past, calls for robust and creative minds with enough faith in themselves to adapt past concepts to new needs. There is little evidence of either quality in the State Department. In London I am sure many Tories fear war-crime trials; were Hess or Ribbentrop to take the stand in his own defense, either might involve a good many members of the British aristocracy. There is also an undercurrent of Anglo-American upper-class hostility to the trial of war criminals; once begun, it would be almost impossible to protect financial and business opposite numbers in the Axis

countries from punishment. There is a subtle international solidarity here that is not the least of the obstacles to just punishment of Axis murderers and the men who profited by Axis crimes.

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

**A** NEGRO, Mr. Revels, has been elected Senator from Mississippi, and is awaiting the admission of the state to take his seat. . . . There is a touch of the comic in Mr. Revels's being the successor of Jefferson Davis.—*February 3, 1870.*

**SALNAVE**, the Haitian political chief, has just died what may be called the natural death of noted Spanish American politicians . . . for he was shot the other day by a file of soldiers.—*February 3, 1870.*

**THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT**—which provides that "the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and that "Congress shall have power to enforce this prohibition by appropriate legislation"—has received the ratification of the requisite number of states.—*February 10, 1870.*

**WHETHER THE PRESIDENT** [Grant] and his Cabinet are so incompetent as Congress seems to think, is a point we will not discuss. Like Horace Walpole, we wonder whether, after all, there may not be a vast deal of cleverness in getting along at all without brains. But, whatever may be the capacity of the present executive officers, it is quite certain that the House of Representatives is not so overstocked with genius as to be able to look down from any lofty height upon them.—*February 10, 1870.*

**ONE OF THE MOST** promising signs in the Reconstruction process is an interchange of amenities which lately took place in the United States District Court at Richmond between Judge Underwood and Mr. Henry A. Wise, sometime Governor and more recently rebel general, who appeared as counsel at the bar in an action for damages. . . . The lawyers were somewhat astonished by it, and no wonder, considering the cold, heartless character which legal proceedings have hitherto had. We look forward to see the day when the tedium of every trial will be lightened by instrumental music, an occasional song or anecdote from the bench, and perhaps readings or recitations now and then from female members of the bar, and the introduction of a baby or two to be passed around toward lunch-time.—*February 17, 1870.* [Ed. Note: Henry A. Wise was the Governor of Virginia who refused to reprieve John Brown.]

**AFTER STRENUOUS DEBATE**, when debate was surely superfluous, the bill to admit Mississippi was passed on Thursday by the Senate, as it came from the House, by a vote of fifty to eleven.—*February 24, 1870.*

**BOOKS OF THE MONTH:** William Morris, "The Earthly Paradise, Part III"; Alfred, Lord Tennyson, "The Holy Grail, and Other Poems."

# The Legal Case Against Hitler

BY RAPHAEL LEMKIN

## I

INTERNATIONAL law is a body of flexible and uncodified rules of behavior among nations, based upon precedents, customs, treaties, and ethical concepts (laws of humanity). A comparatively new phenomenon in world history, it arose from the enlarged recognition of the need of civilized and sovereign states to live in harmony and justice with one another. The evolution of international law presupposed that states would protect individuals on the basis of acceptable moral standards. The repugnant philosophy of National Socialism has repudiated that implicit responsibility, and it is now necessary for the moral and social health of the civilized community that international law enforce concepts already existing in law and morality. Murder, enforced prostitution, and theft are crimes.

### THE EX POST FACTO ARGUMENT

One of the legalistic arguments used against trying Hitler and his associates for war crimes and crimes against humanity is that international law has not provided sufficient procedures and definitions for this purpose. It is suggested that if such machinery should be provided now, it would constitute *ex post facto* law, and therefore it would be contrary to all legal principles. The principle of *ex post facto* in criminal law tends to protect the individual's liberty. A person should not be oppressed by the state when he commits an act which seems to him fair and decent and which becomes a crime only through subsequent legislation. Is that the case in the matter we are discussing? Murders and atrocities as such were prohibited also in Germany. Hitler simply exempted his henchmen and himself of responsibility for such crimes. Is the restoration of such responsibility for crime an *ex post facto* law? Is it a destruction of the guarantees of individual liberty? Do we not adhere to the principle that no liberty can justify crime, oppression, and cruelty? The interpretation of law must have a social and human meaning; otherwise it overrules itself intellectually—it destroys the very foundations of its own existence. Therefore the necessary formulation of international procedures based on preexisting conceptions of right and wrong cannot be interpreted as *ex post facto* law. Legal technicalities and niceties in international law have been and must continue to be subordinate to the basic principles of human conscience and responsibility. International law should be an instrument for human progress and justice, not an obstacle to them.

When any unprecedented situation in international relations occurs, a parallel necessity for enlarging the scope of international law is presented. After the signing of the Briand-Kellogg pact Secretary Stimson urged the lawyers to work on the implementation of this great international act outlawing war. Unfortunately, not much was done. There is now again an opportunity to enlarge and implement international law. Shall we fail again?

### HITLER: HEAD OF STATE AND COMMON CRIMINAL

The argument most frequently invoked and superficially most impressive is that Adolf Hitler has acted in the name of a sovereign state as the head of that state, and that he is thereby relieved of individual responsibility. The immunity of heads of states is based upon international comity and courtesy, and presupposes mutual acceptance. It also presupposes that the head of a state will exercise his powers within the normal framework of civilized society. If we admit that by assuming the immunity habitually accorded heads of states Hitler, or any person, may commit acts which for others are considered crimes, we undermine the very foundations of our society. If, moreover, a sovereign seeks office with a program of crimes against humanity, then his office and his functions become a danger to international life and preclude him from enjoying the privileges granted by the comity of nations. International courtesy cannot go so far as to permit freely the murder of other nations. We should not overlook the fact that in the final analysis what Hitler was advocating in "Mein Kampf" was the destruction of whole nations and peoples. Many authorities on international law also suggest that a head of a state does not continue to enjoy immunity after he has been deposed from office.

Hitler has himself proclaimed his personal responsibility for his program, its enforcement and its authority. By his own declaration, he was the source of the policies of mass execution, starvation through racial discrimination, separation of families, forced labor and slavery, not simply as a necessity of war but primarily as the expression of his mystical vision of the German super-race. The military commanders and the Reich commissioners in the occupied countries were made directly responsible to him, which indicates the importance Hitler attached to the administration of these countries and the extent of his personal responsibility therefor.

Hitler acted with premeditation and deliberation in every one of the crimes that he instigated. He is guilty of organizing murder and torture, prostitution of women, abduction of children, blackmail, pillage, extortion, arson, receiving stolen goods, and false imprisonment. He revived slavery in the technical legal sense, as prohibited by international law. A decree which was promulgated in Riga on March 19, 1942, read:

Section 1. The Jews themselves shall not receive any wages.

Section 2 (1). Employers of Jewish labor shall pay a fee to the Financial Department of the competent District Commissioner, which shall be in accordance with established wage rates. . . .

The effect of such a decree is to make, legally, chattels of human beings. The Jews were put in the same category as work animals, whose owners—the German state—have the

sole right to compensation. One should not overlook the fact that slavery is expressly recognized by international law as a specific international crime and that jurisdiction for the trial and punishment of such crime is available before the courts of the nation in which the person accused is apprehended.

Traffic in women, which Hitler fostered for the use of his armies, is also a specific international crime with admissible jurisdiction before courts of other countries.

It is recognized in international law that if a criminal, acting from political motives, commits a crime of an especially heinous character, he cannot claim the privilege of being a political criminal. Hitler must therefore be considered a common criminal. When one man is murdered, it is murder. We cannot accept the proposition that organizing the murder of millions is less than murder.

#### THE PLEAS OF SUPERIOR ORDERS AND ACTS OF STATE

The crimes of Hitler's associates will probably be defended on the pleas of superior orders and the carrying out of acts of state. A subordinate who carries out the orders of his superior in command may plead that the responsibility for his act cannot rest with him but with the person who issued the order. In German military law this plea is not accepted as an absolute defense. Even within the terms of their own law, members of the German military forces cannot successfully invoke such a plea.

The greatest and most atrocious crimes, however, have been

committed by the S. S. and the Gestapo. The special character of these organizations precludes their members from invoking the plea of superior orders. The purposes of the S. S. and the Gestapo were understood by all Germans. They are organizations dedicated to murder, loot, and torture, outside of any civilized legal order. Enlistment was voluntary, and even if the volunteer was naive before his enlistment, the extended probationary and training period made inescapably clear the criminal character of the duties he undertook to perform. Persons professionally engaged in crime cannot defend themselves by pretending to have acted under legal compulsion.

All Hitler's associates will probably also use, in their defense, the argument that their deeds were acts of the German state. In international relations it has been an accepted principle that a person acting in the name of his state and with the authority of that state is responsible for such acts only before the courts of his own state, not before the courts of other states. This defense is inapplicable to Hitler's associates in relation to the crimes they committed while in office. To begin with, the state, as a legal entity, cannot be held criminally liable, and can offer only civil satisfaction. Crime is individual and personal. The exclusive responsibility of the state for its servants before international law can be admitted only if there are substantial grounds for trusting that the state will act in good faith against the criminal involved. It is obvious that these grounds will not exist in



Germany. Even in the democratic Germany that emerged from the last war, before the judiciary was corrupted by Nazism, the war-crime trials were farcical.

These genuine technical and political considerations are conclusive. But even more fundamental is the fact that by accepting such a plea we should recognize the implied

principle that a state can sanction crime. No civilized order can admit this principle without destroying the very basis of organized society.

[In a second article Dr. Lemkin will take up the question of crimes committed inside Germany against German citizens and of the judicial or political machinery to be applied.]

## Wise Up, Civilian!

BY ROBERT FLEISHER

### *On the Italian Front*

**A**BOUT one month after the assault on the Gothic Line began; a soldier at the front received a letter from his wife. It had been a month of bitter fighting under the worst possible conditions of weather and terrain. We had suffered during that month some of our highest casualties. "Listen to this," the soldier said. "Listen to what my wife writes: 'I am so glad you are in Italy instead of in France where all the fighting is.'"

The general laughter which followed was the loud, spontaneous laughter of the doughboy who has never really lost his sense of humor, but there was an undertone of bitterness in it that was not pleasant to hear. The soldier's letter might have been from a stranger.

Of course there has never been a war when a certain cleavage did not exist between service men and civilians. The division is the natural result of two completely different ways of life which produce a corresponding difference in outlook and perspective. But with millions of soldiers going into their second or third year overseas, the cleavage today is more pronounced and dangerous than ever before.

Any discussion of this phenomenon from the G. I. point of view must necessarily deal with specific gripes rather than with largely unavoidable contributing factors. No one can do anything about the natural resentment of the soldier who feels that others are making less of a sacrifice than he. It is this feeling that leads the rifleman to resent the company clerk, the company clerk to resent battalion headquarters, battalion headquarters to resent the base sections, and so on down the line until the whole army resents the civilian. And it is equally futile to try to stem the general weakening of even the closest ties with home caused by the long separation and a dozen other factors.

What the doughboy is specifically concerned with is the war-time mood of America as it reaches him through the motion picture, the radio, the press, and letters from friends and family. What is the country thinking about the war and about him; what can he expect in the future? In the absence of personal contacts over a long period of time, the soldier tends to rely on public forms of expression in feeling his country's pulse. And it is unfortunate that the same media which once presented America to the rest of the world as a country filled with cowboys, gangsters, and emotionally adolescent millionaires today present America to its soldiers overseas as a country filled with thoughtless, uncomprehending, still emotionally adolescent people who

don't understand either them or the war and who don't seem to be bothered by it.

The man at the front is much too deep in misery, in death and blood and burned-out youth, to be dispassionate about any aspect of the war. And whether or not he is getting a true picture of home-front attitudes, he reacts bitterly to evidences of misunderstanding and ulterior motives. He hates his life, but he wants people to understand it. His war is the war around his hole. If he has a quiet day and comes through unhurt, then it's a good war. But if he catches hell and his buddy is blown up by a mine, then it's been tough, even though the day's activities may rate only an "all quiet" paragraph in American newspapers.

It doesn't help his frame of mind to learn that Hollywood, Crispy Crackers, and the Stitchless Sewing Machine Company are, by their own admission, making every sacrifice for victory. Too many people, he feels, are slapping each other, and themselves, on the back for the fine job they are doing, while nobody takes the trouble to learn what he is up against. It may be a selfish attitude, but he knows that his is the greater sacrifice, and recognition and true understanding are among his few rewards.

I once heard a soldier say with great bitterness after viewing a particularly bad war movie, "They make us look like fools. What do they think we're doing over here anyway?" It is typical of the motion-picture industry as a whole that it maintains an expensive research staff to be certain that the medals on King Henry's chest are the correct number of inches from his lapel, yet makes no effort to attain more than fleeting moments of accuracy in filming modern war scenes. And boundless is the soldier's irritation at the steady stream of "look what we are doing for the boys at the front" pictures.

Aside from his natural annoyance at being portrayed in a false light, the G. I. is upset by the thought that the people back home, his family and friends, accept these inaccuracies as gospel. A soldier does not go into battle wearing his ribbons, with his helmet strap buckled under his clean-shaven chin, and with a glory-bound look on his face. He does not stand formations and salute his officers under the eyes of the enemy. Above all, he does not say the things or think the thoughts which seem the stock in trade of Hollywood's war-time movies. The G. I. is firmly convinced that the whole country has these misconceptions. "That is what they are told and that is what they believe." When he says, "They don't know there is a war on," he means that civil-

ians would rather believe the popular fables of the day than suffer the jolt of learning the real thing.

To a lesser extent radio programs and magazine articles, with the accompanying advertisements, are causing the same type of resentment here. Most of our radio programs are non-commercial rebroadcasts, and many magazines have overseas editions stripped of all advertising, but regular editions also find their way here and are so widely passed around that soldiers become familiar with the general character of their contents. In magazines the G. I. is interested primarily in things which pertain directly to him as a soldier—fiction in which the main characters are soldiers, articles about the army or about the soldier and the war. But he is embittered and frustrated by what he reads. Popular magazine war fiction, frankly escapist in nature and meant for home consumption, is no longer wanted even in places where reading matter of any kind is at a premium. The physically miserable and spiritually exhausted doughboy cannot stomach the wonderful life of the fiction soldier with his opportune furloughs to marry the heroine and his experiences that could never happen to a combat infantryman.

Even more antagonizing are the run-of-the-mill war-effort advertisements. The doughboy is proud of his equipment. He recognizes the production miracle which has provided the arms for him and the soldiers of a dozen other nations. But he has little sympathy with companies which feel it necessary to spend thousands of dollars a month to tell the world that their contributions are the backbone of every fight, that they too are making sacrifices, and that they will continue to make sacrifices until the war is over. And when soldiers themselves appear in the advertisement as part of the text or art work, the G. I. looks in vain for a shred of similarity between him and "those guys."

## Racial Dialectic: Missouri Style

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN December, 1938, the United States Supreme Court ruled that Missouri must either admit Lloyd Gaines, a Negro, to the law school of the University of Missouri or provide, within the state, educational facilities equal in every respect to those available at the state university. The state court made a similar ruling in 1940 on the application of Lucille Bluford to attend the school of journalism at the University of Missouri.

The implications of the two decisions not only for the border state of Missouri but for the entire South were immediately recognized. The leading Southern newspapers expressed the view that there was no point in trying to evade them and that "skeleton graduate courses" for Negroes would eventually have to be established in all state universities. "Time," said the Raleigh, Missouri, *News-Observer*, "has moved under our feet."

The smallest law school in the world is now functioning at 4300 Ferdinand Street, in the heart of the Negro district of St. Louis. It is the law school which Lincoln University,

He has read, recently, of American business men who sought transportation to Belgium a few days after Brussels fell, to "look after their business interests." He has read of Paris importers eager to open shop at once. It is hardly necessary to report how this affects the fighting Infantryman, who takes out his disgust on the home front in general.

Finally, there are all the miscellaneous bits of information which reach the front-line soldier through his hometown newspapers and service publications. There are the stories of a town in Texas passing the hat so that General Patton may have a thousand-dollar bill to wave in Berlin, of the Sinatra "riots," of dances for prisoners of war. Tales like these come in every week and damage the solidarity between home front and fighting man.

Accounts of the coddling of German prisoners of war have by this time been pretty well discredited. Just how they started and how they reached the men overseas is not quite clear, but they did reach them and were believed, and that drove another wedge into the soldier-civilian gap. The denials, when they were forthcoming, were not nearly so well circulated as the original stories.

And now the doughboy reads of the elaborate preparations being made at home for the celebration of victory in Europe—of barbers planning to leave their lathered customers in their chairs, of storekeepers preparing to board up windows, of arguments over whether liquor stores should or should not stay open. I don't know how the soldiers in the Apennines will react the day Germany capitulates. They will be happy, of course, but I rather imagine there will be a note of dignity in their rejoicing, a quiet thankfulness for themselves and regret for their friends who aren't there. These men aren't sure how people figure it back home, but as far as they are concerned there is always the Pacific.

the state-supported Negro university, set up in 1939 in response to the mandate of the Supreme Court in the Gaines case. Seven students are enrolled—four in the first year, three in the senior year. The all-Negro faculty consists of three full-time instructors, one part-time instructor, and a librarian; there is also a clerical and secretarial staff. The school is housed in a building that would accommodate six or seven hundred students. Enrolment cannot be increased by the admission of white students, for this would be contrary to existing constitutional and statutory provisions, and it is doubtful whether even Japanese American evacuees from the West Coast could be admitted if any applied. Four of the present students are from St. Louis, one from the District of Columbia, one from South Carolina, and one from Louisiana.

In part the low attendance is due to the war, for thirty-four students were enrolled in 1939 and thirty in 1940, 1941, and 1942. The school was closed in 1943 for lack of "properly accredited" students—it is rumored that the

failure to approve the credentials of applicants that year was part of a scheme to close the school altogether. There are only two Negro law schools in the country, the other being at Howard University, and Negro students throughout the South have written to Lincoln expressing an interest in attending the law school after the war. A number of Negro soldiers have also indicated their desire to enrol.

It is possible, therefore, that the law school may later become largely self-supporting. To the extent that it does, however, the principle of segregation will become more firmly established. For as the institution and its faculty expand, a new set of vested interests will be created. At present it costs the state more than \$2,500 per year, per pupil, to maintain this Jim Crow institution, while the cost of sending students through the regular law school at the University of Missouri is but a fraction of this amount. Credit must be given the state for its compliance with the letter, if not the spirit, of the decision in the Gaines case. The law school is a first-rate institution. It has been approved by the Missouri Board of Bar Examiners and by the Association of American Law Schools. It boasts a law library of 31,000 volumes, one of the three largest law-school libraries in the South; its instructors are thoroughly competent, and its graduates have been readily admitted to the bar.

On the campus of Lincoln University at Jefferson City may be found the nation's most unique school of journalism, created in response to the decision in the Bluford case. Again the state has technically complied with the law. The school is housed in an attractive building; it has a workable library; it receives a large number of newspapers; it has a good print shop; the faculty is excellent; and the students get practical experience in editing a weekly newspaper. When it was first established, the faculty of the school of journalism of the state university at Columbia motored over to Lincoln three times a week to conduct classes, but the school now has a resident, full-time all-Negro faculty. About twelve students are enrolled. I visited a classroom large enough for forty or fifty students in which an instructor sat behind a desk with one student in front of him. It is possible that Negro students in the law and journalism schools are actually getting better instruction—certainly more individual attention—than they would at Columbia. The loneliness, however, for faculty and students, must be acute at times.

It is interesting to note that this ridiculous situation is not looked on with approval by the students at the University of Missouri. When the Lincoln Law School was opened in 1939, white students from Eden Seminary (Washington University) and from the state university established a picket line around the premises and carried placards with such inscriptions as "Old Jim Crow Is Dead" and "Smoke in St. Louis Is Bad—Prejudice Is Worse." In a poll taken at the University of Missouri last spring 60 per cent of the students favored the admission of Negroes to all divisions of the university and 70 per cent favored their admission to the professional schools. When the University of Missouri and the University of Iowa debated the question "Should Negroes be admitted to the state universities?" Missouri upheld the negative with some reluctance. After the debate a vote was taken among the students present. The result was 216 for the affirmative, 93 opposed.

Recently a delegation of white girls from the University of Missouri appeared on the campus of Lincoln University to interview some of the Negro girls. They asked three questions: (1) Would you be interested in attending the Missouri University School of Journalism if Negroes were admitted? (2) Would you expect to live in the same dormitories and belong to the same sororities? (3) Would you expect to date the white fellows on the campus? To each of these questions they received emphatic affirmative answers. The curious young ladies from Columbia seemed not merely satisfied but actually pleased by the answers. One of the delegates, a Jewish girl, said that the answers to the second and third questions had given her some new ideas.

The Missouri pattern of race relations was further complicated when St. Louis University decided last spring to open all its courses to Negro students. At present seventy-seven Negroes are in attendance. Contrary to the predictions of disaster, the non-Negro enrolment, despite the war, has increased 17 per cent since Negroes were admitted; the enrolment of white women has increased from 2,122 to 2,656. There has been no trouble in classrooms or on the campus, and white parents have withdrawn neither their children nor their financial support.

An interesting story lies behind the opening of St. Louis University to Negroes. Over a year ago, in the face of opposition from the hierarchy, notably from the Archbishop of St. Louis, some of the Jesuit instructors at the university began a campaign to force the admission of Negroes. Their efforts reached a climax in February, 1944, when Father Claude H. Heithaus, assistant professor of classical archaeology, delivered a militant sermon on race prejudice at the students' mass in University Church. "Ignorance," he said, "is the school of race prejudice, and provincialism is its tutor. Its memory is stuffed with lies and its mind is warped by emotionalism. Pride is its book and snobbery is its pen. All the hatreds and fears, all the cruelties and prejudices, of childhood are perpetuated by it. It blinds the intellect and it hardens the heart. Its wisdom is wonderful and fearful; for it never learns what is true, and it never forgets what is false." At the close of this memorable sermon—which should be required reading for all Catholics—Father Heithaus made a dramatic appeal to the students. "For the wrongs that have been done to the Mystical Body of Christ through the wronging of its colored members, we owe the suffering Christ an act of public reparation. Let us make it now. Will you please rise? Now repeat this prayer after me. 'Lord Jesus, we are sorry and ashamed for all the wrongs that white men have done to Your colored children. We are firmly resolved never again to have any part in them, and to do everything in our power to prevent them. Amen.' " The entire congregation rose in response to the appeal and repeated the prayer. Copies of the sermon had been printed in advance of its delivery so that no subsequent pressure, however powerful, could force a retraction. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* gave it wide publicity. The profound impression made by Father Heithaus on the Catholic community left the hierarchy no alternative to opening the doors of the university to Negroes.

The action of St. Louis University, with its attendant suc-

cess, has placed both the University of Missouri and Washington University (largely Protestant-supported) in an extremely embarrassing position. The embarrassment is only enhanced by the curious circumstance that both institutions, while denying admission to Negroes, offer no objection to Japanese Americans. A dozen or so Japanese Americans are enrolled in the various professional schools of Washington University. Sooner or later the absurdity of separate professional schools—emphasized by the successful experiment at St. Louis University—is bound to bring about changes in policy at both Washington and Missouri. What is the University of Missouri going to do when a Negro

applies for admission to its school of medicine or its school of mines? In either case, technical compliance, after the current pattern, would involve an expenditure of several million dollars. Fortunately, the people of Missouri will vote on a new constitution this month. Under Article IX of the proposed draft, the legislature could provide, if it wished, for non-segregated schools.

Characterized by one Southern newspaper as "a pebble dropped into a calm pool," the Gaines decision has set in motion a series of events which must ultimately culminate in the abolition of segregation in state-supported professional schools throughout the South.

## Under What Banner?

BY JOHN SCHOLTE NOLLEN

IT IS time to bring the discussion of "peace-time military conscription" out of the clouds of rhetoric and generalization and to look at the concrete plans of our military authorities in their factual setting. The army command proposes a standing army of about 300,000 men, an equal number in the National Guard (as an evident concession to state pride), a permanent reserve of 400,000. In addition to this permanent establishment—totaling about one million men, presumably raised by voluntary enlistment—it asks for the compulsory conscription of all boys at age eighteen, amounting annually to about another million, for one year's military training. These young soldiers would then remain in reserve for perhaps six to eight years, receiving refresher training in the summer.\*

Thus after eight years had passed, and thereafter in perpetuity, we should have about ten million men actively prepared for military service, and presumably all under training in the summer. This would of course imply an enormous staff of officers, who would need to be professionally trained in order to be kept at the height of ever-developing military science. It would also imply a military equipment somewhat on the scale of our present war equipment.

This grandiose plan for our military preparedness in time of peace can be justified by only one assumption, which is not unnaturally in the minds of our military leaders as an article of professional faith—namely, that there will be another world war within a few years; in which case the military prophets are quite clear that this country would be the first to be attacked. By whom? That question is left hanging in the air.

Meanwhile another presupposition is exercising the minds of the best political and economic authorities in the United Nations—namely, that it is possible to set up an international organization that will bring an assurance of peace, not only by curbing any aggression at the source, but, even more importantly, by removing the common incentives for war. Our

country took the lead in implementing such international cooperation by calling a food conference, which was followed by Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks, and will be followed soon by the San Francisco conference. Out of our experience with national political organization, we know that such a world organization will not meet the demands of perfectionists at the start; it will naturally have faults which the future may correct. Can it be relied upon to keep the peace? Winston Churchill said last September to Lord Cecil: "This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the associated nations." If the enfeebled League, without the cooperation of the United States, could have been so used, then surely the contemplated organization of the United Nations, with the active participation of the United States, offers a guaranty of future peace for which no unilateral military preparation by any one nation, however extensive, can serve as a substitute.

The bills for peace-time conscription laid before Congress allege "security" as the incentive for the proposed legislation. But recent history proves conclusively that in modern war no nation can be secure by its own might. France felt quite secure behind its Maginot Line and boasted of the best army in the world. Germany was assured that its invincible, conquering *Wehrmacht* and preponderant air force placed it beyond any danger of attack. Japan seemed in an impregnable position, shielded by the wide Pacific in its conquest of boundless natural resources. England is an armed camp, powerfully defended by sea and in the air, but millions of men and weapons are no defense against the V-bombs that have devastated London. Uniting against the threat of war is no longer a matter of choice for the nations; it has become a grim and inescapable necessity. There is no longer any such thing as unilateral security. Safety through national defense is a mirage. And the new weapons that are already foreshadowed in this war make the hope of an isolated peace more illusory.

We cannot have it both ways. We must pin our faith either

\* This refresher training every summer would be necessary to keep the personnel up to date.

to great military force for our solitary protection or to the pacific organization of the world, guaranteed by the united power of the nations that like ourselves have a will for peace. We cannot pretend at Dumbarton Oaks that we will cooperate heartily in world organization and at the same time by our acts repudiate cooperative effort. The United Nations cannot function in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and distrust. They represent an act of faith, or are nothing. As a matter of course, we shall be ready to provide our share of the forces that may be needed for the policing of the world after the war. It would be fantastic to suppose that for this purpose we should need the huge armed establishment contemplated in the plans for peace-time conscription. And if it should be suggested that our eighteen-year-old conscripts be used to police the unruly nations, then we should have to repel such a proposal as an invitation to the wholesale corruption of our youth.

Universal conscription has been tried by many nations during the past century, and it has never yet produced anything but evil in the long run. It is by its very nature competitive and hence cumulative: it begins with limited objectives and then, as rival nations step it up, it demands ever more time and expenditure, until the burden becomes intolerable. It is an ever-present temptation to imperialist adventure. Our adoption of this obsolete measure would only serve as an added obstruction to the gradual disarmament by other nations which must follow the enforced disarmament of our present enemies.

Meanwhile we can await in complete safety the further steps soon to be taken to organize the world for security and peace. We have incomparably the most powerful navy and the most efficient air force in the world and a finely equipped and well-trained army. We have demonstrated overwhelming industrial power and efficiency. The present Selective Service Act can be extended to cover any real military needs as long as there is fighting to be done. We, above all other nations, can afford to prove our sincerity in the planning of world organization by refraining from an unexampled show of future belligerent power.

The problem raised by the issue of peace-time conscription is not primarily a military problem. It is primarily a political and economic problem, with most important educational and moral implications. For the first time in our history we are working resolutely, with the United Nations, at the solution of the political and economic problem. Our failure to cooperate twenty-five years ago was responsible in large part for the weakness of the League of Nations. We know now that it was a terribly costly blunder for us to withdraw into selfish isolation in that critical juncture. It would be a crime for us to repeat that blunder now. We have pledged our allies the utmost exertion of our national strength in the winning of the war. They need our honest assurance that we shall be loyally with them in the winning of the peace.

[Dr. Nollen's article opens a forum on the important issue of peace-time military training. Next week Irving Lipkowitz will present a different point of view in an article entitled *Conscription Is Not the Issue*. The Nation will be glad to have the comments of its readers.]

## In the Wind

**WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER:** A man entered a New York restaurant last Friday and ordered ham and eggs. "No ham today," said the waitress. "This is meatless Friday. You can have frankfurters, bologna, or liverwurst."

**IN 1930 HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY** published "L'Italia nel Passato e nel Presente" ("Italy Past and Present"), an Italian reader compiled and edited by Ginevra Capocelli. One of the sections under Contemporary Italy, headed Fascism, consisted of three passages from "Social Peace and the Future of Italy" by Benito Mussolini; and under the title of the last section, The Political Organization of Italy, was a quotation by the same author: "All in the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state." A revised edition of the book is now being advertised. "Miss Capocelli," say the advertisements, "has substituted for material on Fascist Italy a useful supplementary selection of proverbs and axioms."

**BOB PRINCE**, a radio announcer on the staff of Station WCAE, Pittsburgh, conducts a news broadcast for Oswald and Hess Company, a local meat-packing firm, every day at 8 a. m. On February 9 he said he was about to report an item of great significance; he would not vouch for its truth, but was reporting it because it had not been denied by the government. The "news" was that the Administration was planning a world-wide Gestapo to which no person's private affairs would be immune. The alleged author of the plan was a sister of Justice Felix Frankfurter. Immediately after the broadcast a transcribed announcement said, "Rosenbaum's suggests you do not repeat rumors. They help the enemy."

**ALEXANDER JANTA**, author of "I Lied to Live," an account of escape from Nazi Europe, reports that the stories anti-Nazis in the liberated countries are now telling about the Atlantic Charter are of the same unprintable quality as Republican jokes about Mrs. Roosevelt. As for liberation, when a person asks for a match and forgets to return the box the owner says, "Pardon me. You seem to have liberated my matches."

**HOW TO GET CIGARETTES:** A man in Artesia, New Mexico, mentioned the great American famine in a letter to his son in the Pacific. By return mail he received a package of Japanese cigarettes.

**FESTUNG EUROPA:** The Nazis have commandeered all baby carriages in occupied Holland, and they are now rolling toward Germany loaded with civilian loot. . . . Anders Eek, a collaborationist pastor at Hedrum, Norway, has resigned. In a letter to his superiors he complained that he had been holding services in empty churches. Pastor Ravnan of Borgund, another collaborationist, has voiced a similar complaint: "Nobody comes to church any more. Yesterday it was only my family." But when an anti-Nazi pastor visited Ytre Rendalen to hold secret services, the church was packed. Thirty-three children were presented for baptism.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.]

# Darlan Over Athens

BY PHILIP JORDAN

*[Although it was written before the Yalta meeting and before an agreement was reached by the Greek factions in Athens, this article is still valid because it analyzes the basic fallacy in the Allied administration of liberated countries. We are glad to announce that Mr. Jordan, a leading English writer on international affairs, will be a frequent contributor to The Nation.]*

London, January 16

EVER since the Allies sailed into the Mediterranean at the beginning of November, 1942, they have been making a mess of things. They began by appointing Darlan—happily, assassinated less than two months later—to the command of an empire which, under the terms of the Atlantic Charter, they were more or less committed to obliterate by moral example; and the list of their consequent follies is not yet complete.

It would be profitless to apportion blame in all but the actually present state of Greece, where the British government is now solely responsible for maintaining the pretensions of precisely those reactionary elements of European society which we had innocently supposed in September, 1939, we were at long last permitted to destroy. Yet even the Greek troubles have their roots in Allied rather than exclusively British policy; and it is worth while digging in historical ground so that we may examine their origins for a moment.

A year ago I was in Turkey, watching—so far as you can watch through the frosted glass of an enemy frontier—what was happening in Greece. Later all my documents were destroyed by fire, and I must therefore paraphrase what I then wrote. (My dispatches from Turkey were not fully published in England, for the editor under whom I then served considered them "indiscreet.")

I wrote then that, so far as it was possible to tell, the grant of co-belligerence to Italy, coming as it did on top of Darlan's appointment—to say nothing of our tenderness to Franco—must inevitably lead to civil war in Greece. The fact that we had treated with and shown exceptional favor to Badoglio, whose name in Greece, whether rightly or wrongly, stood for unpardonable villainy and reactionary corruption, could only encourage the Greek right to suppose that their crimes would be pardoned, and lead the left and center to a conviction that unless they did something about it, they would eventually be returned to the odious state in which Metaxas and their king had formerly conspired together to keep them.

From a military point of view, co-belligerence, the Greeks knew well, meant nothing. They had a somewhat more intimate knowledge of Italian martial qualities than the gentlemen of the British Foreign Office and the American State Department. They knew that, broadly speaking (and here I

quote a famous Greek diplomat who escaped from his country in January, 1944), "if God Almighty Himself were to come down from heaven with a rifle in His hands, and on His bended knees were to implore the Italians to take up war on whichever side they wished, they would laugh in His face." They knew also that instead of encouraging the politically conscious workers of northern Italy to revolt, we were, at the risk of prolonging the war, blowing them to pieces with American and British bombs. It was a paradox that might have bewildered better men.

In the circumstances it was natural for them, cut off as they were, to suppose that the pattern of Allied diplomacy was a good deal clearer than in fact it is, and to believe that co-belligerence was a purely political device whose main purposes were to stifle the proper aspirations of the Italian common man and to replace one form of reaction by another. In this belief the leaders of the Greek revolt against the German occupation felt it necessary to reconsider their policies, and they came to the natural conclusion that their internal problems must take precedence over those which were external in their main content. Viewing Allied policy since the beginning of the Allied offensive in November, 1942—when, for the first time, deeds began to replace words as the yardstick of Allied intentions—they reasoned that the Allies were going to win and that unless they hamstrung their internal enemies while they were still weak and isolated from all but an indifferently applied German protection, the right-wing émigré elements and all that they stood for would eventually come sailing into power beneath the guns of the British fleet and would make common cause with the collaborators. An almost entirely right-wing demonstration in Athens on January 14 in favor of Scobie and the so-called truce shows how correct their estimate of the potential situation was.

Their reasoning may of course, on a long-term view, have been mistaken—it is yet too early to say that it was—but at least it was logical; and logic drove them to consolidate their power by attacking their internal enemies, the collaborators, fence-sitters, and other right-wing conspirators, before all these could command assistance from outside. There is nothing notable in the fact that these enemies were drawn from the right or tory element in Greece: the phenomenon of "right-wing collaboration" is common to all occupied Europe, and the only friends these gangsters have found in Britain are the Tory riffraff.

Yet it ill becomes this riffraff, led in Britain by the press-baron brothers Camrose and Kemsley,\* to condemn the behavior with which they charge the leaders of the E. A. M., for they were the supporters of the Serbian, Mihailovich,

\* Camrose owns the *Daily Telegraph*, his brother, Kemsley, the *Sunday Times* and the servant girl's *Daily Sketch*, the three most irresponsible and unreliable newspapers published in London.

when he employed, in an inverted sense to be sure, precisely the same tactics to secure power in Yugoslavia. Mihailovich decided in 1942 that what he called the "Communists," by which he meant the National Liberation Movement, were a greater menace to his idea of Yugoslavia than the Germans, against whom the ill-armed forces of the N. L. M. were ranged, and he thereupon diverted the whole of his energies to their destruction. Whether he did this from wicked motives or from characteristic folly is not yet determined, but the only result of his decision was to turn himself into a German mercenary, and his Chetniks into German auxiliaries.

In lesser degree the Greek left and center diverted a portion of their strength against those whom they believed to constitute the greater menace to the future state; but as, for the most part, these were collaborators, there were times when they killed two birds with one stone. There were times also of course when they killed the wrong bird, and their enemies have wasted no time in proclaiming their inevitable mistakes. If Lord Camrose had cared to spend two pennies on a London telephone call to verify the accuracy of an atrocity story told against the E. L. A. S., he might not have made an ass of himself by publishing it.

All these facets of Allied policy, whose somber light alone seems to have engaged the attention of Greek patriots, gave added meaning to their belief that at all costs Churchill, wedded to the idea of kingship, was determined once more to place their old oppressor, the dull and stupid George, on the throne which he had disgraced. It is natural that they should have thought so, but my own belief is that they have done Churchill less than justice.

This is no place for an analysis of that remarkable man's character, and it would require a lengthy operation to determine the real motives which animate him in this matter; but this much seems clear—it is friendship and liking for the man, rather than a vague attachment to the romance of monarchy as such, that have moved the Prime Minister to stand in the way of an inevitable historical process which even he is not strong enough to halt. It may be that he does not yet understand the full implications of the world revolution in which he has played so notable a part and of the new values that men attach to liberty. As Metternich failed to understand the inner meaning of the French Revolution, so Churchill, it seems, fails to understand that of the new European, which is but part of a world, revolution, whose first results are now becoming visible in Greece and Yugoslavia. If he fails to understand, his fate will be the same as Metternich's; and the tide of universal desire—however much liberals may dislike it—will drown him, for if history has any lesson to teach us it is that no human agency, however powerful, can stem that flood when once it begins to rise, or, when humanity lurches, deviate it from its course.

By his trip to Athens and his subsequent forcing of the regency on a reluctant King, he has shown either that he is retiring to prepared positions the better to defend the last ditch or that he has latterly developed some vague understanding of the real and as yet hardly defined process of modern history. The truculence of his answers in the House of Commons on January 16 would seem to indicate the former. But perhaps it is too early to say which, with any certainty: we can only guess, and maybe it does not matter

anyhow. He could not stop that process if he would. Or canalize it. Like the Mississippi it just keeps rolling along.

This diversion is a necessary part of this slight examination of root causes, for the role of Churchill in modern Greece has been somewhat misunderstood. For my part I am convinced that he desired for the Greek people what he conceived to be freedom, but that when for the first time he saw the face that contemporary freedom wears, he drew back from it in horror. It must be admitted also that the conduct of certain E. L. A. S. leaders is not calculated to endear them to decent men. As many Englishmen do, Churchill conceives freedom in the image of British constitutionalism and parliamentary values, and he falsely imagines that that admirable method of government for Englishmen is the desire of all men.

Exactly when he first caught sight of contemporary Greece it would be hard to say. Certainly until the middle of last May, and probably later, there was, by agreement with President Roosevelt, no intention of sending British troops into Greece. A militarily organized relief body, under the command of Major General Holmes, was to be the limit of our commitments. Its orders were to hand over supplies at eight chosen ports to whatever Greek authorities it might find there, and to do no more than provide assistance, when required, for their distribution. In this the UNRRA was to play no part but that of interested observer.

Long before the middle of May, however, it was obvious that the scheme would not work. It was obvious as soon as the Lebanon Conference closed in April that Papandreou could not count on any support from the E. A. M., whose claim, had it cared to put it forward, to become the government of Greece was infinitely better than any that he could make. Papandreou was a British nominee, had taken an oath of allegiance to the King, and in the eyes of the E. A. M. was pledged to the return of the King and all that that meant in renewed persecution of the left and center. Maybe they were wrong—it still remains to determine whether they were or not—but that is how, viewing matters in the light of Allied policy since November, 1942, they saw the situation.

Yet the truth is that by the spring of last year the monarchy had ceased to count: George of the Hellenes was no longer the real stumbling-block, and had no more chance of returning to Athens than young Peter has of returning to Yugoslavia. He had merely become a convenient symbol of Greek reaction, whose scattered elements were finding a new hope in Papandreou. It did not then pass unnoticed in Cairo that Papandreou stated privately that unless the E. A. M. agreed to cooperate with him whole-heartedly, he would beg the Allies to send troops to Greece when the hour of "liberation" should come.

Whether he did or not I do not know. I know only that British policy was reversed, and that British soldiers were used to fight those who had themselves done more to harass the German invader than any other corporate body in the state. Past Allied sins, as the left and center interpreted them, had maneuvered us into a false position from which we could not escape.

Sad and deplorable, yes, but inevitable. When, on, as far as I can remember, November 12, 1942, in a bedroom of the St. George's Hotel in Algiers, I heard General Mark Clark

announce with pride that he had just appointed Darlan to the post of High Commissioner for French North Africa, I wondered what tribulation was in store for us. That we should antagonize the resistance forces of Europe and thus prolong the war, I could guess; but that we should force them to fight us I did not dare imagine.

And that is the Greek tragedy, it seems to me. We had to intervene, for by antagonizing our friends and holding out hopes to our enemies we made civil war inevitable; and it became our duty to limit it, regardless of political considerations. Our error was not intervention but the creation of internal conditions which made intervention necessary. And having started down the dirty path of Darlanism, we not unnaturally found ourselves on the wrong side. Yet our shame is not so much due to love of reaction as to fear of socialism; and fear, of course, is always more ignoble than love can ever be. Will the Foreign Office and the State Department please note? Above all, will Robert Murphy note that fact?

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IN WAR time it is normal to receive little news from the enemy's country. But, paradoxically, we are getting even less from German territory that has been taken away from the enemy. It might have been supposed that with the entry of Allied troops into a German province the shutters would be taken from the windows, that one would be able to find there the first authentic answers to many questions of great import for the future, be able for the first time to study actual conditions and to observe the people's attitude toward the past, present, and future. It might have been expected that Allied public opinion would be given every opportunity to instruct itself freely in occupied German territory.

Just the opposite has been the case. News from German territory now in Allied hands, instead of being more abundant than before the Nazis were driven out, does not come through at all. This is especially true in the east. While Silesia was under Nazi rule, the Silesian newspapers were received in other countries, and much could be learned from the articles, announcements, decrees, and even the advertisements that appeared in them. There were also the correspondents for neutral papers, whose dispatches mentioned various happenings in the province. There were letters from Silesians to relatives and friends abroad. There was business correspondence between Silesian and Swiss or Swedish firms. When the facts thus gleaned were put together in a mosaic, they provided a considerable amount of information, and the province could not be said to be entirely cut off from the world. But all these channels for news were blocked by the Russian occupation, and no others have been opened. The dim-out which prevailed under the Nazis has become a total black-out. If it continues, the German settlement will be submitted to a public opinion in the democracies which has been deprived of any chance to form a picture of conditions in Germany. The settlement will be made in a darkness.

A columnist must bow to this situation. Interesting as it

would be to cast a look around that part of Germany now held by the Allies, the only reports at his disposal are about the region behind the enemy's lines. One of these, published in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, on February 6, is worth repeating. It tells of a twelve-year-old Polish boy whom the Swiss border sentries had found a few days before half frozen in the snow. According to the boy's statement, he had run away from St. Blasien, a little town in the Black Forest, because both his parents had been killed.

The family had recently been moved to St. Blasien, where the father was ordered to work on the construction of secret arms and ammunition depots in the forest. Gradually all who knew of this secret work were killed—shot in cold blood one after the other. Even the mother was not spared. After that the boy fled.

This is the first definite, concrete news of special preparations for resistance in the mountainous region of southern Germany. It may indicate that there is some truth in the rumors that the Nazis will make their last stand there.

Countless descriptions of the "new migration" in the Reich from east to west fill both German and neutral newspapers. Churning through a country picked bare of food, in bitter cold, the human flood presents a picture of misery that, in the words of a Swedish witness, "defies all description and is unprecedented in history." Especially important are the signs of manifold disintegration. A dispatch in the Stockholm *Aftonbladet* of February 2 runs as follows:

Desertions from the German army in the east have increased to unheard-of proportions during recent weeks. Particularly soldiers from Pomerania, West Prussia, and Brandenburg are making for home to save what can be saved. Because of the millions of refugees the authorities cannot exercise effective control. Informed circles estimate the number of deserters in the past four weeks at more than twenty thousand. Disobedience is increasing in all the front units, and morale has deteriorated strikingly. On Monday the 242d Grenadier Regiment had to be withdrawn from battle because entire detachments laid down their arms.

The Stockholm *Expressen* of February 6 reports that in all the eastern towns and villages that have been deserted by their inhabitants soldiers enter the houses "looking not only for food but, primarily, for civilian clothes. If they find something they can wear they leave their uniforms and try to make their way westward with the refugees."

The Gestapo seems to have begun the liquidation of all persons who ever had any connection with Russia. The Stockholm *Aftonbladet* said on February 3 that in the course of this "incredibly stepped-up terror" Count Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg, former German ambassador in Moscow, had been arrested; also the former German Reichstag member Professor Otto Hötsch, author of several books on Russian history and publisher of a magazine dealing with Slavonic problems. The *Svenska Dagbladet* reports the arrest of a large number of "former politicians, of all possible shades of opinion, who might conceivably play a role in some future government." The newspaper added that in Berlin a list of ten thousand names has been drawn up—persons "who are considered unreliable and who will be compulsorily evacuated from Berlin as soon as the city is actually menaced. These ten thousand people include many of Germany's outstanding industrial and banking executives, officials, lawyers, and doctors."

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## SERMON ON A TEXT FROM WHITMAN

BY LIONEL TRILLING

**D**EMOCRATIC VISTAS" is Walt Whitman's most important single work in prose, yet it has never been familiar to American readers. For this there is some reason. The large pamphlet is the rather awkward amalgamation of two earlier pamphlets; it is often eloquent, but it is all too often marked by that dull explosiveness of syntax which Whitman found appropriate to his prophetic moods in prose; it is full of half-educated words and phrases—we hear of "the ostent," of "orbic bards," of "literatures," of "stores of cephalic knowledge," of the "vertebration of the manly and womanly personalism," jargon bad enough in itself, ridiculous in the man who made so much fuss about literary pretentiousness in others, but forgivable in the genius who was trying, outside the established intellectual order, to see the future and the truth. For all its faults of manner, the little book is great; and in any discussion of the relation of American literature to American life it is a central document.

As its name suggests, "Democratic Vistas" is about the future of democracy. The future of democracy is made to depend, in a sense, on literature. I say "in a sense" because in point of fact Whitman believes that democracy depends on a certain condition of mind or state of being which is not induced by literature alone, but here he is concerned to urge upon literature its duty of fostering this crucial emotion.

Published in 1871, the pamphlet is in part the expression of Whitman's disappointment after his nearly mystical experience of the Civil War. To Whitman, his nation had been justified by the war. The personal qualities of the young soldiers he had nursed in the Washington hospitals seemed to him to have proved what he called the "religious" value of democracy. In terms of human quality—and for Whitman this was the only criterion—the American experiment was a success. Yet the years after the war terribly denied that success. Whitman can admire the glow and bustle of national expansion, but he sees that behind the façade there is reason for dejection and despair. "Society in these states," he says, "is canker'd, crude, superstitious, rotten." He sees a lack of all "moral conscientious fiber." He sees hypocrisy, superciliousness, a false intellectuality; puny bodies; bad manners; tepid amours—"the men believe not in the women, nor the women in the men." The business classes are depraved, the class of civil servants no less so. It is in "Democratic Vistas" that Whitman makes the often-quoted remark about the grandeur of a well-contested American election, but now he feels that politics is no longer spontaneous and representative—"these savage, wolfish parties alarm me."

To find a way of national salvation he turns to literature. In part what he wants from literature is what every nationalist critic wants; it is what Goethe in his nationalist moments wanted—a national "myth," a moral identity for the

country, what Whitman himself calls in a hideous but telling phrase, "an American stock personality."

But Whitman wants something more. He is in the great romantic tradition, and he shares as fully as possible the large romantic belief in the political mission of the "literatus." With affinities to Wordsworth, Shelley, Carlyle, and Arnold, his view of the relation of literature to politics is closest to Schiller's. I do not know whether he had read Schiller's "Letters on Art"—and certainly his statement is far less philosophically elaborate than Schiller's and no doubt the better for that—but like Schiller he conceives of literature as the intermediary between the necessary authority of government and the ideal condition of human freedom.

We must remember that for Whitman authority was no bad thing. He says that democracy may be defined by its free diversity, but he is not so naive as to think that free diversity can exist without authority. If "Democratic Vistas" begins with ideas derived from John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty," it goes on to speak handsomely of Carlyle's "Shooting Niagara," that desperate prediction of the anarchy democracy may bring.

The whole pamphlet is a tissue of such contradictions, or, rather, modulations. Whitman is always showing himself as a more complex intelligence than perhaps he wanted to be, or than many of his readers want him to be. We often hear that Whitman's thought is anti-dualistic. In actual fact, he lived in a world of dualisms—body-soul, past-future, mass-individual, liberty-authority, life-death. His characteristic way of thought is to support one term of a dualism, then hasten to protect the other. For him the oppositions, although antagonistic to each other, are not negations of each other. In more senses than one Whitman's view of the world was dialectical: the world as he knew it was the dialogue of the disagreement between the great antagonistic principles. In "Democratic Vistas" what concerns him is the antagonism between authority, the representation of the mass, the average, and freedom or individualism, what he calls "personalism." Democracy can exist only if authority can organize diversity; but democracy dies if authority encroaches on personalism. It is here, at this moment of delicate balance, that the call goes out to the poet.

It is not possible in short space to suggest the full richness and complication of "Democratic Vistas" or even to paraphrase all that Whitman says in it about literature. It is important to remark, however, how subtle a view Whitman took of the relation of literature to politics. He believes that literature is more important than congresses or acts of state, for literature affects the depths of a nation's scarcely conscious soul. He thinks that literature must deal with "the people," yet he does not think that it does its proper work

by dealing directly with politics or by exposing social conditions. Indeed, Whitman is very firm against what he calls "the growing excess and arrogance of realism." The true poet, he says, works by "analogies," by "curious removes, indirections." In the face of the common belief that Whitman is the ancestor of the social realists, these words suggest that Marianne Moore, much more than Carl Sandburg, is his true descendant.

I said that Whitman made democracy depend on a certain condition of mind or state of being for which literature had a responsibility. "There is, in sanest hours, a consciousness, a thought that rises, independent, lifted out from all else, calm, like the stars, shining eternal. This is the thought of identity—yours for you, whoever you are, as mine for me. Miracle of miracles, beyond statement, most spiritual of earth's dreams, yet hardest basic fact, and only entrance to all facts." This, for Whitman, is the emotion which guarantees democracy.

It is worth observing that Whitman talks about personal *identity*, not about personal *value*. The sense of personal value is something very different. It suggests the comparative, the competitive—all the horrors of the struggle for status into which democracy, as we know it, corrupts itself. What Whitman is talking about does not permit comparison—it is the single absolute in the democratic conception.

Elsewhere in the pamphlet Whitman speaks of this sense of identity as the "centripetal isolation of a human being in himself," and goes on: "Whatever the name, its acceptance and thorough infusion through the organization of political commonality now shooting Aurora-like about the world, are of utmost importance, as the principle itself is needed for life's sake. It forms, in a sort, or is to form, the compensating balance wheel of the successful working machinery of aggregate America."

It lies as he says, "beyond statement," but he knows what it is, and he knows what it does, and he knows how it can be generated. Literature can generate it. But not literature only. Whitman himself got it from Italian opera, or from crossing Brooklyn Ferry, or from certain aspects of the sea. Mark Twain got it from the Mississippi and from Lake Tahoe, Thoreau from the woods—in the American experience it is commonly given by a certain relation to nature. In the human experience generally it is given by the full awareness and valuation of the biological crises—birth, love, death. Whitman, the poet of vital affirmation, got it perhaps most intensely from contemplating death. He thought that the coming American poets must have a deep consciousness of death. Whitman's very best poems are personal in theme; of these the two most remarkable are about death; and of these two even the great lament for Lincoln, *When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloomed*, is less fine than *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking*, of which an English critic has said that it is "the world's supreme song of separation."

If you pick up Samuel Sillen's recent selection from Whitman—it is called "Walt Whitman, Poet of American Democracy" (International Publishers, \$2)—you will not find *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking*. Nor can this exclusion

be accounted for by lack of space—not when Dr. Sillen gives us 35 pages of his own ideas about Whitman to 125 pages of the poet himself. You will not find it because Dr. Sillen "aims to present Whitman as a living force in the war against fascist barbarism as well as in the peace which America and the other United Nations seek to achieve through unconditional victory." And Dr. Sillen goes on: "Only a volume that is politically partisan in this sense could be truly representative of Whitman." To demonstrate an explicit partisanship Dr. Sillen selects much of Whitman's work that is of merely indifferent quality. We conclude that what is "truly representative" of a poet need not be his best work.

It is in line with Dr. Sillen's own political partisanship that he emphasizes the interest of the Russians in Whitman and Whitman's own considerable interest in Russia. This reciprocal interest undoubtedly has its significance; still, a less partisan editor would have kept it in mind that the French and German feeling for Whitman has been as notable as the Russian; or, remembering that Whitman's interest in Russia was shared by other Americans (Henry Adams and Brooks Adams among them), remembering too that Whitman could say in his large loose way, "The Russians I look upon as overgrown boys and girls," a more critical editor would have used a tone a little less like that of a church father finding in Vergil's Fourth Eclogue the prophecy of Christ. But Dr. Sillen wants a Whitman who is not only the poet of American democracy but also the poet of Russian nationalism and internationalism. He wants a Whitman canon that coincides with the ideals of current Russian thought. Whitman on the size of the country, on national growth, national loyalty, devotion to a leader, sexual acceptance, responsibility for oppressed minorities, confidence in a bulking material future, Whitman patting his country on its broad back—this is the Whitman Dr. Sillen wants, even though it is not always the poetically best Whitman.

And this Whitman Dr. Sillen "arranges"—but only 125 pages of him in a format that is most prodigal of space: the kind of arrangement Dr. Sillen wants requires a minimum of the poet. The arrangement is made "logically" in order to "help clarify [Whitman's] basic interests and attitudes." This language of a sociology major is perhaps odd when used of a poet who was concerned with the arrangement of his own works, although not much concerned with logic. But with such language Dr. Sillen cuts Whitman down to size. Thus, if Whitman says, "Do I contradict myself?/Very well then I contradict myself/(I am large, I contain multitudes)," Dr. Sillen, with a proper disgust at inconsistency, bustles to assure us that Whitman doesn't *really* contradict himself—this is Whitman for the peace table, at which, as we know, contradictions will be forbidden—and to comfort us with the thought that "the apparent contradictions may be united."

And "united" they are, just as if they were nations. For example, Dr. Sillen wishes Whitman to be as pious as himself in the matter of science and materialism. He quotes: "I accept Reality and dare not question it!/Materialism first and last imbuing/Hurrah for positive science! long live exact demonstration!" Perfectly characteristic—but Whitman



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could also say, "To the cry, now victorious—the cry of sense, science, flesh, incomes, farms, merchandise, logic, intellectual demonstrations . . . fear not, my brethren, my sisters, to sound out with equally determined voice, that conviction brooding within the recesses of every envisioned soul—illusions, apparitions, figments all!" Dr. Sillen is not unaware that Whitman made statements like this second one. Indeed, his awareness constrains him to qualify his own remarks about Whitman's materialism. But he makes his qualifications in this way: "This is not to suggest that Whitman was a consistent philosophical materialist, for he never did cast off the idealistic elements of his thinking inherited from Emerson and Hegel."

*Never did cast off*—as if this aspect of Whitman's thought were a dead skin, as if everything that was characteristic of his mind, including the hurrah for positive science, did not arise from his idealistic metaphysics. Democracy certainly does not depend on philosophical idealism, but Whitman's own democratic impulse did spring from his idealistic philosophy. The "I" of Whitman—and this explains why it is often hard to identify ourselves with it as we read—is not always a person: it is often the personal image of the idealistic absolute. That is why Whitman contains multitudes—and contradictions. Walt Whitman, democracy, and the absolute are images of each other. They contain everything, even what Dr. Sillen with a quaint severity calls "devotees of a life relieved of social discipline"—a strange word, that "relieved": is social discipline then so burdensome?—and they contain both the moment when we love science and material things and the moment when we are not satisfied by them. They contain both our impulse of subordination to the interests of the mass of men and our impulse of personal identity, each giving health and value to the other.

One's-self I sing, a simple separate person,

Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En-Masse

These are the first lines of "Leaves of Grass" and they are the first lines of Dr. Sillen's selection. But Dr. Sillen's response is all to the second line: En-Masse delights him but not the simple separate person. As a consequence he omits from his selection Whitman's finest expression of identity, the great elegy *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking*.

I am certainly not trying to take Dr. Sillen to task simply for omitting a single poem, no matter how fine. Nor am I trying to say that Whitman is not political or has no political relevance now, for I think quite the contrary is true. All over the world people and peoples, where they have not lost their lives, have lost their sense of personal identity to an extent painful beyond imagination. If a poet can possibly help restore it to them, Whitman is that poet. And as peace seems to approach, we, who will have some part of their fates in our hands, might well refresh ourselves on the nature of the hardest basic fact and entrance to all facts. Further, if the Russians now read Whitman avidly, as Dr. Sillen says they do, what a good sign it is, not merely flattering that a great ally should read our national poet but reassuring to those people, and they are numerous, who have kept some reserve about the Russian polity on the ground of its insufficiency of "personalism." Yes, Whitman is indeed a political poet, and relevant now.

And so I could understand it very well if Dr. Sillen, making a selection of Whitman with reference not only to America but also to Russia, had pointed to *Out of the Cradle* and said, "We in our democracy have had many failures, as no doubt you in yours. But we have had our successes too, and this is one—this poet of democracy who can feel this way about life, with this intensity, this ecstasy of love and loss, affirming in the song of our American mocking-bird our highest feelings about human life."

Had Dr. Sillen done this he would have been truly a political man, as Whitman was. But he is only a "political" man; he is unable to suppose that the Whitman of contradictions, of deepest simple personal feeling, can have reference either to American or to Russian democracy.

Dr. Sillen is committed to a political tradition of culture, which has, indeed, never looked with favor on the emotion that Whitman thought came in sanest moments, the emotion on which, as he believed, democracy depended. And Dr. Sillen's tradition of culture has of course had a considerable success, especially lately, when it has become demure and non-agitational, adopting—as in Dr. Sillen's introduction—the educational tone of those old professors of ours who knew what they were doing when they put us to sleep so that they could speak to our dreams. The chief reason for the success of Dr. Sillen's tradition is that all of us, latently and unconsciously, fear in ourselves the sense of identity, and wish to lose it.

The signs of this fear may be variously found. What seems now to mark our ultimate political hope is a willingness to give up all concern with the internal *quality* of the simple separate person and an unwillingness to believe that the adventurous expressions of art have an intimate relation to the adventure of political freedom. For instance, J. Donald Adams, with an eye to democracy, tells us that books of the future will take a certain reassuring shape, specifications to be provided by what he calls "the many." Or the liberal New York *Post* assures its readers that they do right to sneer at James Joyce: he is hard to read and does not advocate social legislation for the people. Or *PM*, for many the palladium of progressive thought, gives but grudging space to written literature, on the theory that the people are not interested in it. I remember the fishy—not hostile but perplexed—stare with which a famous liberal editor received my remark that culture was integral with politics; the gist of his polite reply was that some day we would finish with politics and *then* we would have literature. Of my friends of political good-will it might be said that their tolerant indifference to literature is in proportion to the personal salvation they hope to derive from their feelings of political good-will.

Well, political and social contradictions being now what they are, it is understandable that we should begin to fear even those vital contradictions, incident upon being human, which literature expresses—and why, like Dr. Sillen, we should suppose that they must be brushed aside for something we no doubt call a constructive point of view. For none of us quite likes himself these days, and so we are worried when a poet speaks of the sense of identity as being the miracle of miracles and also the hardest basic fact. Yet it is we, who despise ourselves and who fear the very thing

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that our democratic poet called the product of "sanest moments"—it is we who feel the responsibility of spreading democracy throughout the world. If there was ever a "contradiction" to scare us, here indeed is one within ourselves.

In modern times insurgent poets from Wordsworth through Baudelaire through Joyce have dealt in "contradictions" which they have expressed by paradox, strangeness, and even "absurdity." Their purpose has always been ultimately a political one; they wanted to shock us out of the way of seeing forced upon us by the political past and the institutional present. They have appealed beyond the institutional barrier to the sense of identity, knowing it to be spunky, alive, resistant—the basic fact and the hardest, hard enough to be the touchstone of every idea. Whitman was such a poet. I have mentioned Marianne Moore as such another. E. E. Cummings, not now in general esteem with people of high political feeling, is such another. There are many more. If I had the job of instructing anybody in democracy, I would send him first to the generous pages of these poets and say, "There is the hardest basic political democratic fact." And then I would point to Dr. Sillén's volume—not because it is in itself important and decisive but because it represents much that is—and say, "And there, as you will now quickly see, is its negation."

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

The more books we read the sooner we perceive that the only function of a writer is to produce a masterpiece. No other task is of any consequence. Obvious though this should be, how few writers will admit it, or having made the admission, will be prepared to lay aside the piece of iridescent mediocrity on which they have embarked! . . .

All excursions into journalism, broadcasting, propaganda, and writing for the films, however grandiose, are ephemeral. To put of our best into these forms is one folly the more, since we condemn good ideas as well as bad to oblivion. . . . Writers engrossed in any literary activity which is not their attempt at a masterpiece are their own dupes. . . .—Cyril Connolly in "The Unquiet Grave."

THIS is merciless advice, which Mr. Connolly himself does not live up to. He rubs it in with a quotation from Flaubert which is even more merciless:

The strongest have perished here. Art is a luxury; it demands white and calm hands. One makes first a little concession, then two, then twenty. One fools oneself about one's morality for a long time. Then one no longer gives a damn, and finally becomes imbecile.

Yet it isn't a bad idea to have these pronouncements tacked up over one's typewriter in a period when the purist—in writing, in politics, in morals—is in such bad repute, not only with the world at large, but with his own friends. And with himself.

Easy money makes cowards of us all. And one of the characteristics of this amoral age is that temptation is taken for justification. Cold cash has assumed the force of a moral imperative. "They offered me so much that I couldn't afford to turn it down." That statement is the epitome of moral con-

fusion; yet it is generally considered an unanswerable argument.

The frustration and stultification of Hollywood have become one of America's tall tales, but few writers refuse a chance to work there. The temptee always assumes, of course, that he will make his pile quick and then get back to his "attempt at a masterpiece," or do it on the side.

And his friends can usually be counted on to encourage him in this rationalization, partly because they have the guilty feeling that if they were offered a thousand a week they couldn't resist it either, and partly because they are subject to the convention, which prevails in and out of Bohemia, that to turn down a thousand dollars a week for any reason whatsoever is *per se* foolish—a variety of social indiscretion.

Some people, to be sure, come back from Hollywood. I'm not particularly worried, for instance, about Katherine Anne Porter, who has just gone there.

For most, however, it's a one-way trip. Living conditions, I'm told, are pleasant. It's nice to have money. The climate is wonderful, there are good schools for the children, and the company is congenial, being made up of people with whom one has so many rationalizations in common.

The idea that one will get back to one's own work, though it is not discarded, recedes into the background. A new rationalization emerges. Once in a while you are able to "put over" something; one day you may get away with something really important. And aren't you "taking part in the life of your time"? These illusions combined with \$1,000 a week or even \$300 are as irresistible as the two halves of a prison gate.

And there's a device you can always fall back on, the device of being cynical about it, of treating the whole thing as a huge joke. Americans in particular have always had a capacity for laughing off their more troublesome emotions.

Hollywood is only the most dramatic temptation, and the most fabulous in terms of money. The business of doing something one has no respect for goes on continuously in other fields—the radio, advertising, mass-circulation magazines, and large areas of book publishing.

Never were the skills and trappings of talent so much in demand—and its real force and essence so little. Item: Almost by definition the talented individual is ahead of his time, at least by a hair's breadth; one of his functions is to push back boundaries. The social and moral code he must write to in films, mass magazines, radio, has long since been discarded even by the less enlightened elements of the population as a whole. Yet "they offered me so much I couldn't afford to turn it down."

I know that writers must eat. It might be a good idea if we invented a new word for writing in order to eat as opposed to writing. That would eliminate a great deal of confusion.

Writing is a marginal occupation and a private affair. The writer who produces a good book which happens to become a best-seller or is bought by the movies is just lucky—unless he thereupon begins to write with the objective of producing a best-seller or a film "spectacle."

I'm aware that much of the talent now being put to the use of "mass entertainment" is of the middling sort and that its possessors' attempt at a masterpiece wouldn't amount to

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much. This tirade is not concerned with such of these as know their limitations and are happy in their work.

I admit that occasionally you do get "something good"—a fine bit of wit, a few hundred feet of first-rate uncorrupted characterization or exposition. But it is always imbedded in a mess of pottage, and so far as I can judge, the writer who thinks that the "something good" he gets away with will eventually raise the over-all quality of the mess of pottage is tripping over his own feet.

The scientist who shuts himself in his laboratory, on bread and water so to speak, in order to prove a theory is still considered a noble figure, even if he fails—though there are always those to wonder why he doesn't go into industry and make a lot of money. The poet in the garret has become the object of reproach and ridicule. Professional poets-in-garrets have had something to do with it. But mainly it is the result of social pressures operating on natural desires.

Society: It's stupid and weak to be poor.

The Writer: I'm as bright as anybody, brighter than most. Why shouldn't I have money too?

Society: Why should you set yourself above and apart from other people?

The Writer: It's pleasant to "belong."

Society: Unless, of course, you're a genius. But you'll have to show your papers.

The Writer: I don't know. I probably haven't anything to say anyway.

In the view of society, genius, like the jam in "Through the Looking Glass," appears only every other day. Every day, that is, except today. Who ever heard of a living genius?

SOME PEOPLE GO SOUTH for winter vacations. A friend of mine has just gone to Naushon Island, off Martha's Vineyard—and her report may divert others as it did me.

You take the 12:45 from New York and sit up all night. You get to Boston at 6:30. You take the 8:10 to Woods Hole and arrive there about 10. You sit a couple of hours in Mr. Tilton's house as he isn't ready to take his boat out yet because of the ice. Mrs. Tilton does not allow you to smoke, and you are too weary and depressed to go out and lean against a lamp post and indulge this vice. You get on Mr. Tilton's boat about noon and go into the tiny cabin while he tries to get unstuck from his mooring, which he finally does.

After a shuddering, groaning journey through three or four miles of water in which your little matchbox boat is acting as Miss Strong Prow, the Ice Breaker, you get to a wharf on Naushon and are bundled off, still in your New York clothes.

But this is by no means the end of the journey. A large lunch, dinner really, is plunked down in front of you. Then you're off again. You sit high up on the seat of a heavily loaded wagon (no automobiles allowed) next to George, the hired man. It is a marvelous drive. The Corniche has nothing on it in some parts. The road winds along the shore line nearly all the way. Sometimes you are high up on the cliffs, sometimes on the beach, where the sand is frozen hard and makes a perfect trotting course. At one point nearly a hundred cattle came in sight. And the deer sailing over the slopes were beautiful to watch. But it is four miles' worth of beauty and delight, and the coldness of that two hours takes part of the joy away.

Today I rode a nice quiet horse along the same road. We rode about eight miles to have a look at the sheep, about five hundred of them, and two new-born lambs.

There's much more to tell you—about a dangerous trip to Martha's Vineyard, about being shot at today by the Oceanographic scientists. . . .

## The Wide Prospect

Who could have figured, when the harnesses improved  
And men pumped kobolds from the coal's young seams  
There to the west, on Asia's unrewarding cape—  
The interest on that first raw capital?  
The hegemony only the corpses have escaped?

When the earth turns, the serfs are eaten by the sheep;  
The ploughland frees itself from men with deeds.  
The old Adam sells his hours to an alderman  
(Who adds them, in Arabic, down his black books);  
Men learn it takes nine men to make a pin.

The star-led merchants steer with powder and with steel  
Past dragonish waters, to the fabled world  
Whose ignorant peoples tear the heart with stone.  
Their lashed lines transport to the galleons' holds  
New vegetables, tobacco, and the gold! the gold

That cracked our veins with credit, till the indices  
Of old commodities were meaningless as Christ,  
Till serf and lord were hammered into States  
The lettered princes mortgaged for their lace  
To lenders shrewder than Poor Richard, crude as Fate.

What traffickers, the captains! How the merchants war!  
Beneath their blood and guilt swim like a shade  
Black friars who survey with impartial eyes  
The flames where Fathers or the heathen die,  
Who bless alike the corpses and the Trade.

Here the horseman—steel, and backed with wings,  
The salt sails rising from the centuries—  
Holds laws: the tables flash like steel  
Under the hollows of the high head, whitening  
The eyes that watch unseeing, like coins,

The deaths of the peoples. They are entered in his books;  
For them he keeps, as God for Adam, work  
And death and wisdom. They are money.  
Their lives, enchanted to a thousand forms,  
Are piled in holds for Europe; and their bones

Work out their ghostly years, despair, and die.  
The mills rise from the sea. . . . The mother and the son  
Stare past the ponies of the pit, to wheels  
Beaten from their iron breath, to shuttles  
Threading their gnarled unprofitable flesh like bones—

Whirled on pulleys to the knife, drayed to the shuttling  
tramps,  
Through post or mission, the long bolts of their lives  
Run out, run out: the flesh lasts to those last isles  
Where in mine and compound the man-eaters die  
Under the cross of their long-eaten Kin.

All die for all. And the planes rise from the years:  
The years when, East or West, the cities burn,  
And Europe is the colony of colonies—  
When men see men once more the food of Man  
And their bare lives His last commodity.

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The Twentieth Century Fund. \$1.

MR. CHASE has devoted this volume of his post-war series to the thesis that our political and economic order is threatened by the group selfishness of the organized pressure blocs, who put special interests—be it of business, labor, or agriculture—ahead of the interest of the nation. He recognizes that it is impossible at this date to do away with group action either in the market-place or in the halls of Congress and return to the pure atomistic society of Adam Smith's dream. But he believes that a solution can be had by legitimizing the various economic interest groups and coordinating them under the leadership of government so as to achieve the common good of all. He would have our post-war economic programs worked out by round-table collaboration among the representatives of business, labor, agriculture, and government.

In the words of E. H. Carr, which Mr. Chase quotes as summing up his own thesis, "the issue is whether to allow social action to depend on the haphazard outcome of a struggle between interest groups or to control and coordinate the

activities of these groups in the interest of the community." So stated, Mr. Chase's thesis is as unobjectionable as the preacher's sermon against sin. Unfortunately it is just about as superficial. Of course we always have to contend against the "old Adam" in human nature, but most of the time it is more practicable to eliminate the underlying maladjustment, be it in the life of the individual or in the life of society, before taking on the moral task of the first against sin and selfishness.

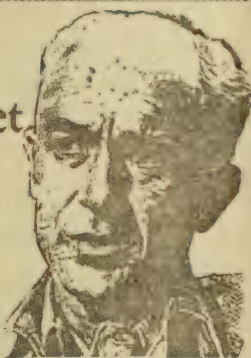
Not only does Mr. Chase fail to segregate the fundamental maladjustments of our society before tackling the problem of group sins and group greeds, but he is led to characterize as sins what many people have been taught to regard as virtues. Under the head of pressure-group activities that equally need social control and coordination he lumps together such things as the trend toward monopoly and business men's lobbies for high tariffs and other special favors, the development of collective bargaining by labor and government efforts to help organize labor by legislation, the economic organization of farmers and the various New Deal—and pre-New-Deal—measures to raise farm prices and farm income. All activities which restrict competition by economic or political means are put in the same basket as examples of group selfishness needing to be controlled in the social interest. This is reminiscent of the school of economic thought which used to attribute all our troubles to the "rigidities" introduced by the various economic groups and made no distinction in their condemnation between concerted action by business to raise prices and concerted action by labor to raise the level of wages. Mr. Chase would do well to meditate on Anatole France's observation about "the majestic equality of the law, which forbids rich and poor alike to beg, to steal, and to sleep under the bridges at night."

But granted that all groups, at one time or another and in one degree or another, overshoot the mark in their collective actions and indulge in anti-social selfishness, how important is the whole disease of "pressure-groupitis" in the context of our basic economic problems? "Pressure-groupitis" becomes significant only when we attempt to direct the economy in the path of national interest and national purposes. This is the case in war time, and in war time it may be truly said that the group selfishness of one bloc or another is a threat to the national purposes and that we should work to remove such threats by enlightened round-table collaboration between groups.

But who can say that our peace-time economy is guided by clear-cut national purposes? Everybody who knows the economic facts of life is aware that our economy is run in accordance with the religion of the profit system, the religion of perpetually expanding investment. Under that religion, which has been imposed on the whole community by the business classes, bread and jobs for the many are made to depend upon the existence of opportunities of multiplied profit for the few. When the owners of profits and savings have an opportunity to multiply their possessions by investing in new profit-yielding capital plant and equipment, then the rest of us have a job and eat. When they don't have such an opportunity, there is unemployment and starvation in the midst of plenty.

In the past this religion "worked" in the sense that periods

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of high employment and a full dinner pail alternated with periods of mass unemployment and empty stomachs. Under contemporary conditions, however, the investment religion cannot even produce the "boom and bust" of the traditional business cycle. Without government spending, which they hate, and without high taxation of business profits, which they hate still more, the priests of Baal cannot light the fires of prosperity under the economic altar even on a temporary basis. They couldn't do it under Hoover, and they couldn't do it under Roosevelt—and still less will they be able to do it after the war.

That is the situation we face, but that is the situation nobody wants to talk about. Instead, we find reactionaries and liberals alike all talking about eliminating sin and getting around the table to work for the common good. Reactionaries do this as a way of distracting people's attention from the fundamental problem and preventing action on it. Liberals like Mr. Chase do this, I suspect, as a cover for the attempt to smuggle in a few feeble treatments for the underlying malady.

This type of deception may serve the reactionaries' purpose of preventing action. But how can it serve the liberals' purpose of facilitating constructive change? As the recent hearings on Wallace showed, the reactionaries aren't fooled one bit by the liberal talk of "let's all pull together and we'll make the profit and investment system work better than it ever did before—and we'll reduce taxes and pay off the debt, too!" They continue to sit on the lid and hold on to their power. At the same time the liberals forfeit their one chance of mass support for a program of peaceful, constructive change in advance of collapse and chaos, by failing to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

BENJAMIN GINZBURG

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### "I Muse Upon My Country's Ills"

IT IS WELL KNOWN that Herman Melville was more of a poet in his prose than in his poetry. Whole passages from the novels fall into a blank verse which, by comparison with the formal poetry, is richer in imagery and bolder in movement. The following, which I print as verse, is a passage from "Moby Dick" on the Pacific Ocean:

And meet it is, that over these sea-pastures,  
Wide-rolling, watery prairies and Potters' Fields  
Of all four continents, the waves should rise  
And fall, and ebb and flow unceasingly . . .

It is true that in the next clause the meter breaks down; but so it does in numerous passages of the actual poems; yet there is no evidence that Melville as a poet was a vers-librist on principle. His verse is nevertheless worth studying, and F. O. Matthiessen's "Herman Melville: Selected Poems" (New Directions, \$1) is admirably edited and prefaced. Oddly, Melville seems to have regarded verse as primarily a medium for speculation on politics, history, and religion; and much of his thought consists in reflecting on this country's destiny. Thus there are the reflective Battle Pieces, inspired

**"Packed with dynamite"**

—Chicago Sun

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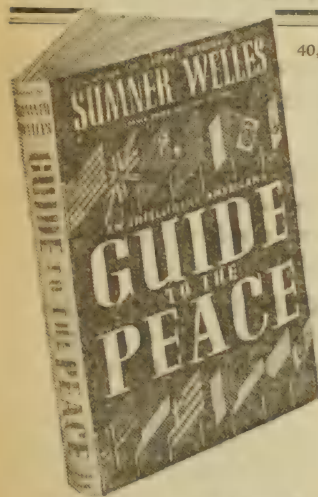
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by the Civil War; the curious poem, *The House-Top*, which is magnificent in its specifications if not in its doing and which was provoked by his distress at the violence of the draft rioters in 1863; and the long philosophical dialogue, *Clarel*, of which Mr. Matthiessen prints several fragments. Yet Melville appears never to have reached any clear diagnosis of America's ills. Faith in the country's future merges into black misgiving; belief in the common citizen gives way to platonic fear of the mass state; love of country is counterbalanced by the typically Melvillesque yearning for a state of paradisiac innocence, and in a speech given to one of the characters in *Clarel* this Eden wish is fused with the theme of national pessimism.

They felt how far beyond the scope  
Of elder Europe's saddest thought  
Might be the New World's sudden brought  
In youth to share old ages' pains—  
To feel the arrest of hope's advance,  
And squandered last inheritance;  
And cry—"To Terminus build fanes!  
Columbus ended earth's romance:  
No New World to mankind remains!"

Melville said of Benjamin Franklin that he was grave without being serious. Melville himself was surely both; and some of the greatness of his temperament appears, however garbled and attenuated, in his poetry.

F. W. DUPEE



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## Text for Germans

IN "GERMANY BETWEEN TWO WARS" (Oxford, \$2.50) Lindley Fraser has tried to make "a study of propaganda and war guilt," to contribute to Germany's reeducation (his book is intended to be read by Germans after the war), and to guide British and American officials who will be in contact with Germans. In addition, Mr. Fraser has made use of propaganda broadcasts which he delivered to Nazi Germany in his capacity as news commentator of the B. B. C. The result of this potpourri of purposes is an incomplete study of propaganda and war guilt whose educational value remains doubtful. Mr. Fraser devotes a large part of his book to the stab-in-the-back and other German legends about World War I, but he does not even mention such basic facts as the fateful role of the first President of the German Republic, Fritz Ebert, whose alliance with the generals frustrated the German revolution and prevented a thorough house-cleaning in Germany. Where Mr. Fraser deals with Nazi propaganda proper and the origins of World War II he runs the danger of boring his expected pupils—certainly more liveliness is needed for educational purposes. Such statements as "For the National Socialists, in fact, propaganda was primarily and essentially a means to an end" leave the reader wondering what else propaganda should be. In talking about the future Mr. Fraser has the bad taste to refer the German to the hypocritical slogans of the old sinner Pétain. In fact, Mr. Fraser, viewing the future, overlooks the same point he has missed in viewing the past: nations do not condemn themselves. Their normal means of breaking with the past is revolution. The "spiritual purification" Mr. Fraser desires for Germany will come when the Germans themselves purify their hands with the blood of their former leaders. Such action was prevented in 1918 by fear of disorder. Will it be prevented again?

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

## Slavery and Economics

THE BRITISH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION is a field well plowed by historians, but Professor Eric Williams of Harvard University proves that the intensive cultivation of special plots can still yield a worth-while crop. In "Capitalism and Slavery" (Chapel Hill, \$3) he has given us a scholarly but incisively written study of the part played by the slave trade in the growth of capitalism and of the part played by a ripened capitalism in the downfall of slavery in the British West Indies.

In his preface Professor Williams asserts that he has not undertaken "an essay in ideas or interpretation" but "strictly an economic study." Be that as it may, he reveals himself as a hard-bitten economic determinist who refuses to see much virtue in the Abolitionist movement beyond its recognition that the game was up.

While it lasted, the triangular trade between Britain, West Africa, and the West Indies, a trade in which the middle and most essential link was black man-power, was a very profitable game indeed. It laid the foundations of some of the most respectable family fortunes in England; it provided part of the capital which financed the Industrial Revolution. But in that fact, as Professor Williams points out, lay the

seeds of the system's decay. Britain's new factories were geared to world trade. They were hampered by the monopolies and restrictions of the mercantile system; they wanted to sell everywhere and buy in the cheapest market. Thus the vested interests, which in 1750 were ranged solidly behind the institution of slavery, by 1830 had turned solidly against it—at least in so far as it acted as a prop for the West Indian sugar monopoly. There was no objection to buying slave-grown cotton from the Carolinas or Brazil.

Professor Williams, I think, pushes his economic determinism too far at times. True, the Abolitionists could make little headway as long as the economic climate was adverse. But their efforts certainly hastened the end, and most of the active "saints" were truly disinterested even if rationalized self-interest was the motive of some of their financial backers. However, we can agree about Wilberforce, one of the most disagreeable "do-gooders" in history, whom Professor Williams finds "small" and "smug" and, as a leader, "addicted to moderation, compromise, and delay."

KEITH HUTCHISON

## Western Childhood

WHEN HE ISN'T TANGLING HIMSELF UP in child psychology, Harvey Fergusson, in his "Home in the West" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$2.75), tells an interesting story of his pioneering forbears and his own childhood and youth in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Mr. Fergusson apparently decided to go to town in this book and give us, with the help of Freud, John B. Watson, and Harry Emerson Fosdick, no doubt, the results of what he calls "an inquiry into my origins." He even has an Appendix telling about split personalities and all.

It is hard to see what all the psychology is about. Both Mr. Fergusson's grandfathers were personable; his father, a Democratic Congressman, bored him with his speeches; his mother was a good sort who let him alone. There is a chapter, reminiscent of Lincoln Steffens, on how he liked to ride horses and go off by himself on long hunting expeditions. He was apparently a brooding little boy (how come he omits, "The thoughts of youth are long, long . . .?"), and he says that he was a "rebel," though he admits that he was not clear about what he was rebelling against. One appealing passage in the book is his description of his detestation of the military school he attended, which gave him a lasting aversion to military life.

But surely almost every boy, whether he grows up in Albuquerque, New Mexico, or Baraboo, Wisconsin, or West Seventy-third Street, New York, likes horses, likes to go off by himself, has his rebellious moods, and likes to chase giggling little girls through darkened parlors.

It seems to this reviewer that the author makes an undue fuss about these matters, especially the last. He has a whole chapter about his early sex life called *The Dark Flower*. Mr. Fergusson uses none of the words which he calls "forbidden," and we are glad to hear that he emerged "pure" from the various bordellos to which his evil-minded companions dragged him, but we don't quite understand why he brings up the subject at all, in view of the highly inconsequential results of his dalliance with venery. His is the feeblest of wolf songs.

Strangely enough, Russell Maloney in a recent issue of the *New Yorker* devoted more than a devastating page to pointing out that Mr. Fergusson is superficial. Mr. Maloney says that the book, with all its detailed description of life in the Southwest, leaves out Mr. Fergusson. But how does Mr. Maloney know that Mr. Fergusson has been left out? I would say he's all there.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

## FICTION IN REVIEW

JUST as my response to Edith Morris's much too sensitive and poetical first novel, "My Darling from the Lions," was divided between impatience with its feminine excess of style and admiration for a talent that asserted itself quite despite so much artfulness, so my response to Mrs. Morris's new book, "Three Who Loved" (Viking, \$2), is again compounded almost equally of irritation and compelled respect. The volume contains three stories on a common theme—the power of love to irradiate the world. In *Kullan* the animal joy of a little country serving girl is made to transform the lives of the city women she works for; in *The Melody* an idiot child works the spell of love on a bitter loveless village; in *A Blade of Grass* love of their teacher performs miracles upon a group of benighted slum children. Love, love, love: so much virtuous motive bound into one small volume would alone be enough to turn me against it. But in addition Mrs. Morris continues to write in an all-on-tiptoe-with-wonder-at-life prose which is perfectly matched to her ecstatic material. Yet it is within her power so sharply to project a mood that, for long after I put down something she has written, it reverberates—and with considerable pleasantness—in my memory.

As I say, this also happened with "My Darling from the Lions," and I have been wondering what accounts for Mrs. Morris's ability to involve and charm me against, as it were, my better judgment. In part, of course, it must be simply—or not so simply—the communicating power of her creative intensity. But I think it is also in large measure the Swedish setting of her stories, her use of an environment that is so lacking in the usual touchstones of sordid reality that it becomes a Never-never Land of poetic possibility, a fairy-tale country where there is just enough of the recognizable paraphernalia of our own lives (birth, death, bread, cheese, flowers) to give point to the moral lesson. I very much doubt that the stories in "Three Who Loved" would maintain their fairy-tale appeal, or exercise the charm they do, if they were to be translated from their present setting to the familiar world of, say, Rhode Island or Illinois.

In quite a different direction I have also been trying to explain to myself why I enjoyed another of the books I read this week, "Two Solitudes" by Hugh MacLennan (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$3). I have a pronounced distaste for fiction that undertakes to educate, and here is a novel which is not only pedagogically inspired but has a subject that, to my poor political imagination, has never seemed very urgent. Mr. MacLennan writes about the problems of Canada, which, compared with all other sections of this sad earth's surface—or so I like to comfort myself—has no problems; yet he not only impresses me with the im-

portance of his theme but makes the instruction palatable. The double loneliness of his title refers to the separation between the English Canadians and the French Canadians; and such drama as the book achieves is evolved from this stupid division of a house against itself. "Two Solitudes" has little true drama, however; nor is it by virtue of nar-

rative, characterization, prose manner, or any other of the expected skills of fiction that it makes its way; on any of these counts Mr. MacLennan's novel is more workmanlike than gifted. I suspect, then, that what we have in this case is one of those rare instances in which an author's seriousness and decency do a very good job as proxy for art.

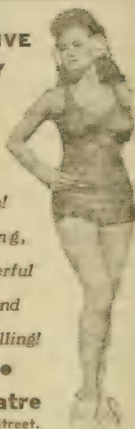
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**CORRECTION:** In reviewing Waverley Root's "The Secret History of the War" Ralph Bates wrote, "The Pacific war is not treated proportionately," not, as it appeared in the issue of February 10, "is not treated at all."

## CONTRIBUTORS

**RAPHAEL LEMKIN**, author of "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe," was formerly a member of the International Office for Unification of Criminal Law and later head consultant to the Foreign Economic Administration. He is now lecturing at the School of Military Government in Charlottesville, Virginia. The opinions expressed in his article are his own.

**SERGEANT ROBERT FLEISHER** is combat correspondent on the Italian front for the army newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*.

**CAREY MCWILLIAMS**, *The Nation's* new contributing editor, has written a number of books on inter-racial problems, of which the latest is "Prejudice: Japanese Americans."

**JOHN SCHOLTE NOLLEN** is president emeritus of Grinnell College, Iowa.

**PHILIP JORDAN**, formerly chief foreign correspondent of the London *News-Chronicle*, has spent a large part of the last two years in the Near East, the Balkans, Italy, and France.

**LIONEL TRILLING**, assistant professor of English at Columbia University, is the author of "E. M. Forster" and "Matthew Arnold."

**RANDALL JARRELL**, formerly an instructor in English at the University of Texas, is now in the Air Corps. He is the author of "Blood for a Stranger," a book of poems.

**BENJAMIN GINZBURG**, a Washington economist, was formerly an assistant editor of the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences." He is the author of "The Adventure of Science."

**F. W. DUPEE**, formerly a member of the English Department at Columbia University, is now teaching at Bard College.

**JOSEPH BORNSTEIN** was for many years managing editor of the *Tagebuch* in Berlin and later became editor-in-chief of the *Pariser Tageblatt*.

[Last week we credited Edgar Snow with having written a book in Chinese. He informs us that he has not mastered the difficult art of writing in Chinese.]

## Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

THE title of "One-Man Show" (Ethel Barrymore Theater) is obviously intended to have a double meaning. Secondly the play is about a successful art gallery and about that minimum of skulduggery which is necessary to run it. Primarily it is about the relationship between the able proprietor and his able daughter, about the process by which the girl finally frees herself from the influence of this man who has become, in everything except physical fact, her husband rather than her father. Only at the end does she realize that it is he who is preventing her from falling in love with anyone else, and only when she is able brutally to break the bond between them can she begin to have any life of her own.

Once this would have been a sensational theme. It was that when Sidney Howard wrote "The Silver Cord" and pleasantly shocked an audience very much interested in seeing taboos broken. These days, I suppose, progressive schools discuss the problem in 2B, and to the credit of the present play it must be said that sensationalism is not its object. Unfortunately, however, the effect of a competent and sober treatment is to raise the question whether the problem, considered merely as a problem, is interesting enough to make a really substantial play once there has ceased to be anything particularly "daring" about the willingness to treat it at all.

Like most of my colleagues of the daily press I found "One-Man Show" interesting enough to hold the attention, and with them I agree that while some of the earlier scenes are very deftly written, the last act is obviously contrived rather than logically convincing. But the real reason for the play's failure to be more than moderately successful seems to me to be less any technical defect than the simple fact that the subject is too small and too specialized to engage very profoundly either the intellect or the emotions so long as it is the inherent interest of the subject upon which everything really depends. Given characters and situations otherwise sufficiently arresting, there is, of course, no reason why any one of the now classical complexes should not form part of the complication; but when, as is here the case, the persons seem merely invented to illustrate the problem, the problem itself is hardly important enough. Constance

Cummings, recently returned from England, does what she can to make the girl interesting in herself, and Frank Conroy as the suave father contributes what is probably the most convincing of the portraits. But the story is still a story about a psychological problem rather than a story about interesting people, and the problem is no longer fresh enough to carry a play.

It happens that "Hope for the Best" (Fulton Theater) also suffers from somewhat similar limitations inherent in its conception. The author is William McCleery, Sunday editor of *PM*, and it is therefore appropriate enough that his subject should be the growth of political consciousness in a popular columnist previously specializing in homespun sentiment. So far as I know, this is Mr. McCleery's first produced play, and it exhibits a rather greater facility in handling the more usual tricks of the trade than one might expect. But here again is a case where the subject is expected to carry a play and where it is not really capable of doing so. No doubt new and arresting things might be said about the duty of every citizen to do his political duty in whatever station of life it has pleased God to place him, but in "Hope for the Best" only the rather obvious things actually do get themselves said. No doubt, on the other hand, the obvious things would be enough if the columnist concerned were a sufficiently vital person in himself and if the young girl who saves his soul by taking him away from a designing female were similarly interesting in her own right. But as in the case of "One-Man Show" it is all too obvious that all the principal personages in "Hope for the Best" are rather insubstantially constructed to serve as pieces in a theoretical demonstration on a chessboard. One of these personages happens to be a rather tiresomely quaint music teacher with a mania for constructing what he calls "dramagrams." Two are exhibited on the stage, and one of them is a row of progressively taller blocks which topple over one after another when the least of them fails to stand up. The trouble with the play as a whole is simply that it too is rather too much a dramagram, rather too little a play. Franchot Tone attempts not too successfully to give the columnist personality enough to make it seem important whether he writes about politics or his love of the old home town. Jane Wyatt contributes her own beauty and charm to the role of the girl who persuades him to do his civic duty. But neither of them gets a great deal of help from the author.

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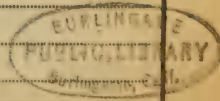
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## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

**O**BJECTIVE BURMA" is the story of a group of American parachutists who, after locating and destroying a Japanese radar station, try to walk out, through difficult country thick with the enemy. I can see no unconquerable reason why this shouldn't have been a great movie. But there are plenty of reasons why it isn't.

The main reason is that the players, by always saying the apt line at the apt moment and by almost every other means possible, continually remind you that they are, after all, just actors, and that none of this is really happening. I must also mention the simple lack of the sort of talent which would have made it possible to tell wonderfully well, in an hour or so, what is here pretty well told in two hours and twenty-two minutes. Lack of adequate talent is of course all the more irrelevant to criticism when the makers of a film are so clearly and honorably doing the best they know how. But it is hard to understand why such sincere and generally skilful people stop so far short of the chances for improving their work which are open to people of every degree of talent. I am embarrassed that it is necessary for an amateur to offer the following suggestion.

However good they may be, known actors in this sort of semi-documentary film inevitably blunt the edge of your best hopes and intentions. If you are forced to use actors, known or unknown, at least put them, and yourself, and everyone else involved in making the movie, through an inch-by-inch study of the faces and postures and total images of actual warfare, as they appear in record films of the war. If, in spite

of such study, you find that your actors—for instance—or you yourself cannot recognize or cannot very greatly narrow the innumerable and great differences between the real thing and the well-meaning, over-professional, over-expressive imagination of it, you are most thoroughly to be respected if you give the whole project up.

The people who made "Objective Burma" are by no means specially to be criticized on these grounds; the criticism applies with equal justice to every American fictional war film I have seen. Indeed, "Objective Burma" is one of the best of them. Its actors are always actors; but in their actorish idiom they play, generally, with restraint. In the story-telling there is more than usual recognition of the value of detail and process; there is also some good sense. Often the camera prowls and veers along façades of vegetation which are freighted with the threat of imagination and possibility but which properly seldom turn out to contain any actual danger. And at the climax, a night attack, the screen is nearly dark enough and, during the build-up, nearly quiet enough, to give the audience an adequate sense of ignorant, strained, global anticipation. Even better, it is obvious in one shot after another that the people who made the picture are using every resource they have. This sense of the whole heart and hope involved, rather than merely the assignment, and salary, and reputation, can of itself give fulness and even a kind of nobility to a piece of work, especially during a time of artistic cowardice and cynicism and despair. It makes this picture moving and good, for all its outright faults and sorry limitations.

"Roughly Speaking" is, I fear, a faithful history of the American middle class. It glories in the idea that this is still a country where you don't get shot for dreaming. The one dream worth about 90 per cent of its footage is the making of money. The most nearly respectable object of all this dreaming is to make sure that the boys get to Andover and Yale. The whole thing depresses me beyond words. Jack Carson, however, is likable, as he always is.

"The Thin Man Goes Home" and "Having Wonderful Crime" are harmless comic detective stories. It is physically easier to read such things in bed; it is less boring to watch them on the screen. I can't see that anything is to be gained, either way; but I realize, from a great deal too much personal experi-

ence, that gain is no part of the idea. The real point, I presume, is to find your own special hermetic nirvana of boredom.

In an adults-only theater, recently, I saw two elderly movies, "The Lash of the Penitentes" and "Glamor for Sale." The former contains some genuine and interesting shots, suspended in an aspect of terrifyingly pitiful and funny ineptitudes. The latter, a melodrama about the female escort business written by John Bright, is worthless and crisply nostalgic.

I want a bit tardily to recommend March of Time's "Report on Italy," which contains the mobbing of Caretta, the execution of Caruso, and enough suffering and unaccusable faces of human beings who happen to be Italians to blast the brains out of a script twice as stern as this one is, with its talk about "the Italian penance." If people of the peace-making sort knew or cared in the least how to look at faces—or dared to—the exhibition of such films at the peace conference could supply more valuable evidence, and hope for the future, than anything else I can think of. But like most of the two billion people who will suffer the effects of the post-war arrangements I am, I must grant, an amateur.

## Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

**A**S TIME passes, the break between modern and Renaissance-naturalistic painting seems to become less sharp, though remaining definite nevertheless. Ultimately a picture by Picasso has to satisfy the same demands—demands involved by the nature of easel-painting—as does a Rembrandt. A continuity, historical and social as well as technical, is to be discerned even when modern painting is confronted with that of the seventeenth-century Dutch, which is in one sense its direct antithesis. For the Dutch school—if anything so various can be called a school—explored more consistently and thoroughly than any other the possibilities of contriving the illusion of deep space and of light in deep space on a two-dimensional surface. It did the most to annihilate the spectator's consciousness of the flatness of the picture plane—that flatness which the moderns have so literally and drastically reasserted.

The seventeenth century in Western

Europe was inspired by a new perception of the infinity, intangibility, and continuity of space. What its painters explored pictorially—and Milton poetically, with his exotic place names and allusions and his vision of Satan soaring and diving between infinite height and infinite depth—was investigated practically and theoretically by the square-rigged ship, discoverers, geometers, and philosophers. But nowhere was this new sense of space, and of light as the description of space, bodied forth so consummately as in Dutch painting. Space and light are the themes not only of Dutch landscape but also of Dutch genre and interior painting, with its dramatic intervention of light amid enveloping, limitless shadows—or, as in the cases of Vermeer and de Hooch, with the recession of flat planes according to the modulation of light.

Modern taste has charged the Dutch—save for Vermeer and de Hooch—with lack of design; but twentieth-century taste, under the influence of Cézanne and the Oriental example and in reaction against the presumed amorphousness of the impressionists, has conceived of design too exclusively in terms of solidity and line, the ultimately decorative arrangement of mass, volume, and opaque plane—in all of which the Dutch were largely uninterested, even as they were uninterested in sculptural effects and the nude. What caught them was the play of light on surfaces and in atmosphere, and out of that play of light, registered in the varying densities of neutral tones—grays and browns—they created design as firm as any in pictorial art.

Two landscapes at the very good show of Dutch painting now at Knoedler's (through February 24)—one a river scene with boats by Salomon van Ruysdael, the other a view of Arnhem by Jan van Goyen, both of them almost identical in size—achieve the perfection of this type of design—framed on gradations of dark and light against which delicate, restrained color beats an oblique as subtle as any in music itself.

And yet the charge of neglect of design is to some extent borne out: particularly by Rembrandt, who sometimes paid for his most striking effects precisely by sacrificing design. His remarkable portrait of Gerard de Lairesse has too much space at the bottom—not to mention its overpowering directness of psychological vision, which, being far in excess of the capacities of physical vision, renders the unhappy subject a monster of physiognomic nakedness;

his otherwise excellent *Young Girl Standing in a Room* shows too much space around the figure, while his *Still Life with Dead Game* is put out of joint by the clumsily handled empty space on the left-hand side. Rembrandt's concentration on the high lights and his habit of surrounding them with great areas of "brown sauce" proved a hypnotic example to his followers, and a destructive one, for it was a style much too risky for anyone but a genius. It was dangerous enough to Rembrandt himself, whose true masterpieces come relatively few and far between.

Dutch still-life painting, too, sacrificed design, at least in the decorative sense, but in such a marvelously executed still life as Willem Kalf's the eye discovers its delight as it goes from one detail to another. Were it to draw back to take in the picture at a single glance, everything would collapse. The picture has to be read chronologically, its points of paint examined one at a time. The dexterity of Kalf's brush and the richness and juice of his *pâte* overcome the eye's resentment at the absence of decorative design. And it is characteristic of the Dutch school that the very workmanship of the artist, the good quality and permanence of his pigments, glazes, and varnishes, the skill, patience, and conscientiousness with which he has applied them—all these contribute somehow to the pleasure.

Other good works at this exhibition are by de Hooch, Metsu, Victoors, and Ochtervelt. There is a second, and almost equally successful, river scene by Salomon van Ruysdael, a fair seascape with ships by Willem van de Velde, and an interior by Terboch and a genre scene by Steen that just barely manage to come off.

Albert Cuyp's two landscapes are clumsy and lifeless, though well-painted in spots; while a self-portrait by Barent Fabritius, a disciple of Rembrandt, falls into monotony and over-smoothness in its browns, for all the charm of its high-lighted parts. Frans van Mieris, who excelled in "silks and satins, luster, plate, and jewels," is represented by a small *Lady with a Parrot* whose shortcomings demonstrate why Kalf's still life succeeds so well. Each object in Kalf's still life is painted almost perfectly within the naturalistic terms Kalf set himself; within the same terms Mieris has superlatively rendered the satin and velvet of his lady's clothes, but her head and the parrot are handled with a weakness the rest of the canvas cannot make good.

## Music

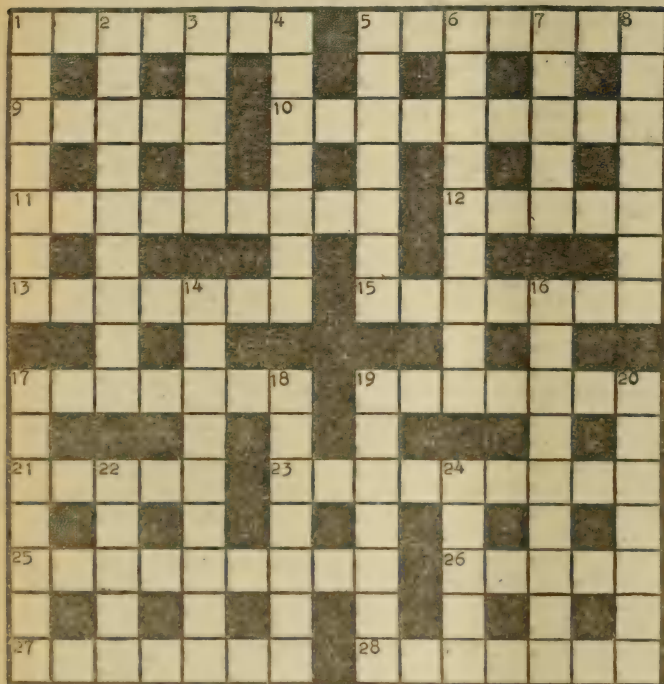
B. H.  
HAGGIN

IT HAD not been my intention to discuss Webster Aitken's second recital; but the performances that were cheered by the audience call for some comment here. I imagine the audience must have been impressed by the completeness with which every performance was achieved both in musical conception and in pianistic execution: one heard a progression, clear and powerful in its musical logic, in which every detail had its place and meaning and was produced from the piano with unflinching perfection and with flawless beauty of sound. I don't share Aitken's feeling about Schubert's music—which is to say that I think the fast movements of the posthumous *A major Sonata* call for the relaxed spaciousness of Schnabel's treatment of them in his recorded performance, rather than the intensity and drive that Aitken imparted to them. But that doesn't prevent me from appreciating the superb things he made of those movements in accordance with his own feeling; and the intensity produced a hair-raising statement of the extraordinary middle section of the slow movement. Concerning the performances of Debussy's "Images," on the other hand, there are no dissents, no qualifications: I have never heard in any other performances what Aitken's imagination discovers in Debussy's music and conveys through the riches of sound that he commands from the piano.

The Metropolitan's Saturday afternoon performance of "Die Meistersinger" was scheduled for 1:30; and turning on the radio at 1:25 I found that I had caught the finale of an Eddie Condon jazz broadcast, with Jess Stacy—whom I had not heard in years—playing the piano, and playing it as excitingly as ever. At 1:30 there was a reminder from the announcer about the Metropolitan Opera broadcast at 2:00; and at 2:00 my fears were confirmed: the broadcasting companies will cancel scheduled programs to make time for broadcasts of baseball and football games and boxing matches, but not for an opera; and the Blue Network's broadcast of "Die Meistersinger" picked up the performance in the middle of the first act. Moreover, while everyone else knows the importance of the orchestral part of a Wagner music-drama, WJZ's engineers do not; and the performance was transmitted, as always, with the

# Crossword Puzzle No. 104

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 A bacterium
- 5 "I cannot tell what the ----- his name is" (*Merry Wives*)
- 9 What are you trying to do now?
- 10 A writer of contemptible verse
- 11 Lamenting (anag.)
- 12 Japanese seaport
- 13 Shakespeare wrote of "----- pied and violets blue"
- 15 Something to close a bottleneck
- 17 Peas can make tasty snacks
- 19 Cuts into equal parts
- 21 Sheep in a drain
- 23 Composer of the sparkling and energetic *Gaite Parisienne*
- 25 Might make an eel lament
- 26 Size of the white of an egg
- 27 Aromatic form of descent
- 28 Birds which give shrieks

- 6 Shellfish or nothing is put before us!
- 7 Something more than you bargained for perhaps
- 8 Follows the personal name—followed it a long time after, in fact
- 14 I claim to be flawless, but am just the opposite!
- 16 How some small children ride their daddies
- 17 "When the ----- finished jumping on his mother, He loves to lie a-basking in the sun"
- 18 Leopards are this naturally
- 19 Hoodwinks
- 20 Balls
- 22 At which place we embraced her
- 24 African river. Looks like reign, doesn't it?

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 103

ACROSS:—1 GINERAL C; 5 MASCOT; 10 ALMONRY; 11 OPHELIA; 12 ANNA; 13 CERES; 14 KILN; 17 GONERIL; 19 CELLA; 20 GERMAN; 22 ALIMENT; 23 ROWING; 25 OTHER; 27 TAYLORS; 31 MALT; 32 SODAS; 33 HEAP; 36 EVASION; 37 IRELAND; 38 LEDGER; 39 THRASHER.

DOWN:—1 GO AWAY; 2 NOMINEE; 3 RING; 4 LEYDEN; 6 ACHE; 7 CALCIUM; 8 TRAINING; 9 LOVER; 13 COAL GAS; 14 RED MOLD; 15 SIGNORS; 17 GIANT; 18 LETTS; 21 CROMWELL; 24 WILLARD; 26 EYELASH; 28 YOUNG; 29 OAFISH; 30 SPIDER; 34 RIDE; 35 LENA.

## DOWN

- 1 Sympathy without relief is like ----- without beef
- 2 What happens when an irresistible body meets an immovable object?
- 3 It beat Mrs. Partington in an unequal struggle
- 4 The true use of speech is not so much to ----- our wants as to conceal them, said Goldsmith
- 5 A tippler turns up with a song for two voices

voices blanketing the orchestra—which meant not only that much of the lovely orchestral detail one wanted to hear for itself could not be heard, but that the vocal part was often deprived of the orchestral context which it needed to give it meaning. But this time the sound was not distorted unpleasantly, as the sound of "Don Giovanni" had been last November, when defective transmitting apparatus had made the violins wiry and harsh and put an extra-sharp edge on Florence Kirk's tremolo-ridden shrieking.

Then, listening to a WNYC broadcast from the Frick Collection of a performance of Mozart's G minor Piano Quartet by Nadia Reisenberg and members of the Budapest Quartet, I found that the sound of the strings was fairly good—with a little distortion of the violin, and some over-emphasis of the cello; but that the piano sounded as though it were wrapped in blotting-paper, and often could not be heard behind the strings. I am sure that the way the performance was picked up and transmitted had something to do with this; but I also had the impression that Miss Reisenberg was playing with excessive delicacy to start with, and the dullness of the sound may have been produced in part by the left pedal.

And finally I got to Town all in time for the second half of the New Friends of Music concert of Mozart sonatas played by Szigeti and Arrau. In the broadcasts of their performances of Beethoven sonatas last year Arrau's style seemed wooden; in Town Hall this time that style was made even worse by what the radio and phonograph apparently conceal: his wooden—that is, hard, dull, percussive—tone. Now I understood the anguished complaints of some New Friends subscribers last year: it was something really painful to listen to. And this time the dead weight of Arrau's playing seemed to be more than Szigeti could carry.

This reminds me that in speaking of Schuster's fine performance of Debussy's Cello Sonata a couple of weeks ago I should have mentioned how well the piano part was played by Hellmut Baerwald, who impressed me last May with the remarkable playing he did with Rethberg, and who is, then, still another pianist whom the New Friends might have engaged for sonatas with Szigeti. Also, I might have mentioned last week that the defects of Studio 8H as compared with a concert hall can be heard in the Toscanini NBC Symphony recordings made in that studio and in Carnegie Hall.

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

WITH THE ATTACKS OF THE AMERICAN FIRST and Ninth armies across the Roer, the long-awaited western-front offensive has got off to a promising start. The necessary preliminaries to this action on the important central sector of the front were capably carried out on both flanks of the main thrust: to the north the Canadian First Army cleared the tip of the Rhine-Maas triangle, swinging into position to cut between the northern Siegfried Line and the Rhine, and in the south the American Third Army moved into Germany in the Eifel-Moselle region, clearing another triangle at the Saar-Moselle. These actions pinned down the Germans above and below the Cologne plain and threatened to roll the German flanks slowly back toward the vulnerable but well-defended center. The Germans are about through collecting dividends from their December offensive, but the dividends have been real; the disorganization of the Western Allies enabled them, at first, to shift to the east troops which helped halt the Russians on the Oder, and, second, to reorganize their consequently thinned defenses in the west before Eisenhower could mount this major offensive.

✱

IT WILL THUS BE HARD GOING BEFORE THE Anglo-American and Red armies can join hands on the North German plain. Allied aircraft are doing a massive job of isolating the battlefield in the west, making it difficult for the Germans either to reinforce or to withdraw; and it may be possible for Eisenhower to fulfil his stated intention of destroying the enemy west of the Rhine where he stands. This would make the Rhine crossing and break-through to the heart of Germany far simpler, but if the Germans run true to form they will fight a large-scale delaying action on the Cologne plain while pulling the bulk of their best troops back to the Rhine's east bank. In this case there will be a repetition of what has happened east of Berlin—another pause for regrouping, the gradual swinging up of the Allied battle line along the river, and a bitter fight to get across. The Russians have been occupied with the first part of this operation for the past two weeks, broadening their front along the Oder and mopping up in their rear before taking the last plunge toward Berlin. One milestone was passed last week with the reduction of Poznan, whose fall should ease Zhukov's supply problems considerably, but progress toward Berlin should probably not be expected until the Russian line runs roughly north and south from Stettin to Görlitz.

✱

THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE IN MEXICO entered its second week with the encouraging prospect of

general agreement on several main issues. The need of an international organization that would ban aggression and use force to stop it was stressed by almost every delegate, showing how far the Latin American countries have moved from the days when the isolationist point of view, dominant in North America, found a loud echo in the rest of the hemisphere. Even when the Dumbarton Oaks plan was subjected to criticism, as in the speech of the able ambassador from Uruguay in Mexico, Mateo Marques Castro, it was with the purpose, not of limiting the share Latin America should have in the maintenance of peace, but of enlarging it. Uruguay asks that the charter of the new international organization should contain a general guaranty of the territorial integrity and political independence of all members. The same unanimous approval greeted the proposal, embodied in the opening speech of the Mexican Foreign Minister, Ezequiel Padilla, to deal courageously with "the Dantesque spectacle of men without homes, eaten away by tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition, and silicosis," the perpetuation of which makes absolutely illusory any talk of safeguarding democracy and freedom in Latin America. It is time the problem of fighting totalitarianism should be attacked from that angle and that one government spokesman should utter the great truth that as long as the Latin American masses are condemned to live in their present poverty, the ground will be ready for Nazi agitators to carry out their work in the Western Hemisphere—even after they have been smashed in Germany.

★

BUT AGREEMENT ON MAIN ISSUES SHOULD NOT be allowed to obscure the immense mistrust of the United States that still prevails and that found expression even during the first week of the conference. Although Secretary of State Stettinius won the sympathy of his audience by facing the problem of Nazi-fascist infiltration with greater frankness than the State Department usually employs and by stressing the need of giving Latin America a full part in the organization of peace, a great deal of resentment still surrounds the controversial question of Argentina. As we said editorially last week, very few delegates disagree with Washington on the pro-Nazi character of the Farrell-Perón regime. The Gestapo methods catalogued so precisely by John W. White on another page of this issue are well known in Latin America. What they object to is the fact that our diplomacy has handled Argentina's case as if it were under our exclusive jurisdiction, presenting the conference with what amounted to a *fait accompli*. It may be that our attitude toward fascist Spain has also contributed to the discomfort of certain delegations. Informally Washington has denied that the American delegation intervened to prevent the presentation of a resolution asking for a break with Franco. But some mysterious maneuver has undoubtedly taken place. Two delegations at least—Cuba and Guatemala—had decided to introduce such a motion; the Cuban resolution was already on paper and many people in Mexico had seen it. Has someone among our delegates, perhaps, been whispering to the Latin Americans that "the Franco regime was running into its last months" (we quote a *New York Times* dispatch) and that consequently it was not worth while to face the issue of breaking with Madrid?

IF FURTHER PROOF WERE NEEDED OF PRESIDENT Benes's political perception, it was provided by his farewell speech to the British in which he described the kind of government he intends to establish in Czechoslovakia. It will be composed exclusively of elements of the forces of resistance, who have carried the chief burden of the war. As soon as President Benes arrives in Czechoslovakia his Cabinet will resign and the ministries will be taken over by men chosen by those who have lived and fought within the country. The Czech government in exile, with leaders like Jan Masaryk, certainly cannot be reproached for appeasement of the fascists. On the whole it has represented better than any other exiled government a people fighting for freedom. Nevertheless, Dr. Benes realizes that the problem is not only one of ideas but of emotions; that people who have suffered German occupation are in a different spiritual state from those who have fought from abroad. He wants no antagonism to arise between the forces of resistance and the political leaders in exile. And so he is asking the people inside Czechoslovakia to take over the government at once. *The Nation* has known about this plan for many months, although we were not at liberty to refer to it. Obviously, the decision was not improvised at the last moment but is the result of mature thinking. But although this was an old idea of Dr. Benes, the experience of other European governments returned from exile gives added weight to the wisdom of his solution.

★

THE LIQUIDATION OF FEUDALISM IN THE Balkans and in other areas liberated from the Nazis is a fact whose political and social implications can hardly be overestimated. In Poland, Rumania, and Hungary the great landed estates which for centuries formed the backbone of a class economy are rapidly being dissolved and the land distributed to the peasants. Up to now we have had no detailed information about what is happening in those East Prussian territories occupied by the Russians. But it is logical to assume that the Junker estates, those traditional breeding grounds for Prussian militarism, will also be demolished. In other words, an economic process which normally would have taken many decades has been rushed toward fulfilment by the pressure of events. Those who have thought that the old social order could somehow be rescued out of the general destruction of the war should watch this development with profound attention. Just how the feudal system will be liquidated is of secondary importance in comparison to the historic fact. Perhaps it will be necessary after the war to apply different regulations to the distribution of land from those now being put into effect. Perhaps the complicated problems inherent in any agrarian reform will demand the formulation of new economic solutions; in some countries it may lead to collectivization, in others to the creation of small farms. But no matter what the final pattern may be, the important thing to note at this moment is that a revolution is in progress which, in some countries at least, is wiping out in three months the social injustices of three centuries.

★

MANPOWER LEGISLATION SEEMS TO GROW MORE tangled weekly. While the House has passed a work-or-fight

law applying only to men between eighteen and forty-five, the Senate Military Affairs Committee has reported an entirely different kind of bill applying to all working men and women. The principles and many of the provisions of the latter measure have much to recommend them. The Senate bill would strengthen the powers of the War Manpower Commission to enforce employment ceilings and to move both men and women from non-essential to essential employment. The bill would give statutory power to labor-management committees, protect the seniority rights of workers in the jobs from which they are moved, and pay the transportation costs of displaced workers. It would also tighten up the War Manpower Commission's authority to conduct labor utilization surveys in both private plants and army-navy arsenals and shipyards, and also in the military services—where too many able-bodied young men are filling desk jobs. We dislike those provisions which would continue the privileged position of agricultural employers under the Tydings amendment and the extraordinarily harsh penalties (up to five years in jail and \$10,000 fine) imposed on farm workers who leave their jobs. This provision and confusion as to whether the general penalties of the bill apply to employees as well as employers foreshadow quite a wrangle on the Senate floor.

✱

THE WAR LABOR BOARD'S ACTION IN REFUSING to adjust the Little Steel formula has provoked the expected violent opposition from both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. Labor spokesmen point out that in many industries wages are below the danger level and that if overtime is eliminated after victory in Europe millions of families will be faced with destitution. Against this the WLB public members strongly uphold the view that any breach in the formula would endanger the entire stabilization program and thus imperil the living standards of all workers. While it is perfectly true that millions of workers still receive substandard wages, most of these are unorganized or weakly organized, and they are thus precluded from bringing their case before the WLB. The chief pressure for the revision of the Little Steel formula comes not from these groups but from the highly organized unions whose members have already won comparatively high wages. Relief for substandard wages, both in industry and among white-collar workers, can best be afforded, as the WLB points out, by amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide a higher minimum, a step that has already been proposed by Senator Pepper. Labor's argument that it will be left holding the bag after the war ends in Europe will not bear too close analysis. As the WLB points out, not only *weekly* wages but average *hourly* wages have risen more than the cost of living. Elimination of overtime may cause hardship but will not have the effect of reducing living standards below pre-war levels. Barring the enactment of a 60,000,000-job program, labor's overall prospects for the post-war period are indeed bleak. But labor leadership should be enlightened enough to recognize that the scuttling of the stabilization program will only intensify labor's hardships in the reconversion period.

## The New International

THE voice of labor should be far more powerfully heard in the post-war settlements than it was last time, thanks to the birth in London last week of a new international trade-union organization. Technically, perhaps, one should say conception rather than birth, but the period of gestation promises to be less than the normal nine months, with delivery certain in September, when the World Trade Union Conference reconvenes in Paris. Meanwhile a continuations committee of forty-one with a smaller administrative committee will be working on a draft constitution and pressing the claims of the embryo organization to take part in the San Francisco conference and to be heard on all issues of war and peace.

The resolution embodying these steps toward the formation of a new organization means, in effect, the end of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Sir Walter Citrine, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, and a few European veterans hoped to save the federation by broadening its constitution so as to make eligible for membership the Russian unions and national movements like the C. I. O. which had been excluded under the rule "One country, one organization." But both the Russians and the C. I. O. favored a new start, and they were supported by the Confederation of Latin American Workers and the representatives of a number of European countries who criticized the inactivity of the I. F. T. U. during the war. It should, they considered, have rendered far more assistance to unions in countries overrun by Germany.

In the face of this opposition Citrine backed down but saved face with a reservation clause stating that the resolution was "in no way binding on the unions attending the conference, which have the right to accept or reject the constitution of the proposed body." It seems most improbable, however, that there will be many dissentients, and the next full meeting of the I. F. T. U. is likely to be devoted to its euthanasia.

This situation leaves the A. F. of L., the one notable hold-out from the world conference, in a completely isolated position. George Meany, its secretary-treasurer, has declared that the A. F. of L. will consider the new world group as "a rival organization" to the I. F. T. U., but it is difficult to see what rivalry there can be between the kind of vigorous youth the yet unnamed organization promises to be and a rather sad corpse. Quite obviously a movement which includes the Russian, British, French, and most of the European and Latin American unions, the C. I. O., and the growing trade unions of the colonial countries has a better chance of being accepted as the voice of labor internationally than a federation composed of the A. F. of L. and a few oddments. Realism should make the situation plain enough to the A. F. of L., but we fear that pride and obstinacy will keep it from taking the place held open for it in the new group.

One of the chief objectives of the new international labor organization is to claim a share "in determining all questions of the peace and post-war settlements." "Organized labor, with so great a part in winning the war," a manifesto approved by the London conference declared, "can-

### COMING IN THE NATION

Who Are the Partisans? by Milton Bracker

not leave to others . . . the sole responsibility for making the peace." In line with this a request was made for effective trade-union representation in the assembly of the proposed world peace organization, and the association of the movement with the social and economic council envisaged in the Dumbarton Oaks plan. The conference also made a very specific demand for consultation on the question of the future of Germany. It wants the occupying authorities to listen to trade-union advice in regard to the payment of reparations in kind and to the rebuilding of a democratic German trade-union movement. In particular, in the event of direct use of German labor in making good the devastation wrought during the war, the conference called for international supervision with trade-union participation. This is of the utmost importance if such labor is not to degenerate into slave labor, undermining the standards of workers everywhere. Here is one example of the many post-war tasks which a fully united and inclusive world organization of trade unionists can undertake.

## *American Supplies and Chinese Politics*

MANY fundamental changes have taken place in the Chinese situation since the furor over the recall of General Joseph Stilwell last fall. For the most part these changes have been favorable. Hundreds of new trucks and thousands of tons of badly needed war supplies are rolling into China over the newly opened Burma-Ledo road. The reorganization of the Chinese army under General Chen Cheng has involved not only plans for expanding the army by five hundred thousand men but the establishment of six specialized training schools where American officers are busily engaged in training tens of thousands of Chinese troops in modern military methods and doctrines. The food supply for the army has been improved; pay has been raised; and discipline has been tightened. On the economic front there are reports that the new Chinese War Production Board established by Donald Nelson has been successful in bringing about some increase in war output. Even on the military front an improvement has been reported, although most of the Chinese "victories" appear to have been the result of Japanese withdrawals.

But the American public should be on guard against shifting from over-pessimism to over-optimism. Although relations between American and Chinese officials are much happier than they were a few months ago, the underlying causes of conflict have not been removed altogether. General Wedemeyer has been permitted to attend meetings of the Chinese general staff—a privilege not granted to Stilwell—but Chiang Kai-shek has never put into effect his promise that the American general should be in command of all Chinese forces under the Generalissimo. Although the removal of Ho Ying-chin as War Minister was generally interpreted as an indication that Chungking was determined to speed up its participation in the war, his retention as Chief

of Staff and his recent appearance as commander of the ground forces that are supposed to support an American landing on the China coast are most disquieting. Ho Ying-chin is the leading proponent of the idea that China's interest would best be served by sitting back and letting its allies win the war against Japan.

Moreover, the chances of a military or a political agreement between Chungking and the partisans of the Northwest seem more remote than ever. The failure of the recent Kuomintang-Communist negotiations was a serious setback to Ambassador Hurley. At first it looked as if Hurley might be able to achieve a settlement where Nelson and Stilwell had tried and failed. Hurley was personally liked by Chiang Kai-shek and spent many week-ends with him. He was also initially popular with the Communists, but his popularity is said to have waned when it became evident that he was seeking to bring pressure on them.

The collapse of Kuomintang-Communist negotiations at a time when American assistance can be greatly stepped up as a result of an opening of the Stilwell Road raises a serious problem with respect to American policy. As long as our assistance was limited to what could be transported over the hump by air, the effect of our assistance on the Chinese internal situation was of minor importance. General Stilwell appears to have followed the general policy of earmarking supplies for the troops that were actually engaged in fighting the Japanese. Very little in the way of assistance reached the Communists, but this might be ascribed as much to geography as to politics. Today, however, the flow of supplies is much greater; it will be greater still as soon as we seize a port on the China coast.

Unless present policy is changed, most of these supplies will continue to go to the Chungking armies which are now being retrained under American officers. Many of these officers—particularly those who have been to Yen-an on official business—are convinced that the partisans, if properly armed, would prove useful allies against the Japanese. They would of course have to be brought into a coordinated military effort and almost certainly under American top command.

Now, the sole military concern of the United States in China is to mobilize the maximum military strength against the Japanese. Our war supplies must be directed to building up this maximum military strength. They must not be permitted to play a part on one side or the other in the smoldering civil war. We cannot think that with the present extent of American military direction in Chungking any of the supplies now going over the Ledo Road are being permitted to be used against the Yen-an forces. If they are—which to us would seem incredible—the way to correct such negligence would hardly be to send equal supplies to Yen-an. We are not a party to civil war in China; we are engaged in war to the death with Japan. It is the critical point reached in that war which makes a working measure of political and military unity in China imperative. Without such unity the maximum force cannot be directed against Japan. War supplies to China can no longer be calculated or divided in terms of the needs of Chungking or the needs of Yen-an but only in terms of the total plans of the Allies for victory in the Far East.

# Memo for Congress

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IT IS never a bad idea to listen to the other fellow's point of view, and Congress, in considering the Bretton Woods proposals, might profitably give heed to British as well as American criticisms. In this country there is a general notion that the international monetary plan approved by forty-four nations last summer is, underneath all its technicalities, just another semi-charitable scheme for helping bankrupt foreigners out of their difficulties. Orthodox bankers and economists, together with opponents of any kind of planning, national or international, charge that the proposed international monetary fund violates all the principles of sound finance. It will, they say, permit other nations to borrow good dollars, giving no other security than their own probably worthless currency. This affords a cue to our nationalists, who are always anxious to scream that Uncle Sam is being made a sucker.

Britain has its economic nationalists, too, but they are quite sure that it was John Bull who was taken for a ride at Bretton Woods. To their way of thinking the final plan represented almost a complete victory for the United States and was so contrived as to reinforce America's domination of world trade. This view draws intellectual support from a number of Britain's advocates of planning and some of its leading economists. Bretton Woods, they assert, threatens to envelop Britain once again in a strait-jacket of gold and to deprive it of freedom of action in planning for full employment and the vital restoration of its foreign trade.

Criticisms of this kind are not confined to British radicals. They may be heard from the members of all political parties, and they are to be found, in modified form at least, in the respectable editorial columns of the *London Times*, the *Financial News*, and the *Economist*. When I was in London last fall, I was told on good authority that Mr. Morgenthau had asked the British government to seek quick ratification from Parliament of the Bretton Woods agreement with the idea that such action might encourage Congress to follow suit. Preliminary soundings, however, revealed such extensive opposition that the Cabinet decided not to risk a debate at that time.

To appreciate the point of view that inspires this opposition one must realize that, for the British, the main issue is, in the words of the *Economist*, "whether, in the post-war world, any universal, multilateral, stable-exchange-system currency system will be possible or desirable." For Americans, both supporters and opponents of Bretton Woods, there is no issue here at all; such a system is the only one which promises the kind of trade expansion they are hoping for. But many Britons with whom I discussed the question, while agreeing that freely convertible currencies and multilateral international trade represented the ideal, hastened to add that they were not prepared to sacrifice full employment to attain it. Unless, therefore, the United States was willing to join Britain in adopting positive plans to insure full employment, they felt that the disadvantages of Bretton Woods outweighed its advantages, for free exchanges were the swiftest carriers of the germs of depression.

Perhaps because so much of their information about American opinion is derived from cabled extracts from a handful of metropolitan newspapers, Britons are overawed by the strength of "free enterprise" in this country. They expect it will resist successfully all efforts to inaugurate a planned economy after the war and that, as a result, a period of booming business with some degree of inflation will be followed fairly rapidly by a slump worse than that of 1929. In an effort to put off this evil day, it is anticipated that, instead of seeking to expand consumption at home, America will attempt to market its surplus production abroad, thereby, in the popular British phrase, "exporting unemployment." Unless prompt measures are taken to increase American imports to an equal extent, the upshot will be savage competition with countries like Britain—which, as I have recently explained in *The Nation*, must export to live—and a renewal of the drain of the world's gold into the vaults of Fort Knox.

British economists who argue on these lines are not particularly impressed by suggestions that the United States may reduce its tariff after the war and so make it easier for other countries to sell their goods here, earning dollars with which to pay for American exports. The tariff, they suggest, is no longer a major impediment. American imports are made up mainly of raw materials and luxury goods, both of which are extremely sensitive to changes in the national income. If national income is maintained at a high level, there will be a large demand for imported commodities, tariff or no tariff; if it is allowed to slump, as it did in the early thirties, almost the first shock will be felt by America's foreign suppliers.

Believing that the United States will not even attempt to smooth out its trade cycle and stabilize employment at a high level, one vocal and influential school of thought in Britain urges a policy of insulation. Its starting point is the fact that under peace-time conditions Britain is the world's greatest market. The prosperity of a large part of the Empire and of a considerable number of foreign countries is irrevocably tied to Britain's purchasing power. But that in turn is dependent on Britain's ability to sell its goods in much greater volume than before the war. Therefore, it is argued, instead of depending on the vagaries of multilateral trade, which under present circumstances might mean that Britain did most of the buying on the world market while America did most of the selling, Britain should turn to bilateral trade agreements. This would enable Britain's buying power to be used as leverage in promoting the sale of its exports. An extension of this idea is the transformation of "the sterling area," which has existed as a war-time expedient, into a permanent international club. Its members would trade among themselves on multilateral lines, keeping their accounts in British pounds, but would agree not to use foreign exchange acquired inside the area for dealings with those outside.

Obviously such a plan as this is totally incompatible with Bretton Woods; equally obviously it would be considered a declaration of economic war by those countries left outside the charmed circle. The British government is well aware of this fact, and one of its chief economic advisers snorted bitterly to me about "the bilateral boys who proceed on the calm assumption that Britain by clever bargaining would

be able to get away with negotiation of a series of barter agreements without provoking unfavorable reactions and counter-measures."

The official government policy is to stand by its pledges under the Atlantic Charter and the Mutual Aid Agreement to work for the elimination of all trade and exchange barriers. If Congress passes the Bretton Woods legislation, it is almost certain that the agreements for the international monetary fund and the international bank will be presented to Parliament with the Cabinet's "Must" stamp on it. But if Congress listens to the American bankers and either rejects Bretton Woods altogether or amends the plan in conformity with the recommendations of the American Bankers Association, then Britain might move toward the bilateral solution. For this action would be taken as a sign that the

United States was not going to cooperate in reconstruction and the rebuilding of world trade unless other nations adjusted their internal economies to conform with Wall Street notions of sound finance. This would give the British opponents of Bretton Woods their chance. As one of them, Dr. R. P. Schwarz, wrote in the *Fortnightly* of October, 1944, "It appears that American opinion in influential quarters, still dominated by the sucker complex, is again in fear of being duped. As things are, it is desirable that it continue under this delusion. If it led to a rejection of the agreement by Congress, such a move would save the debtor countries from the undeserved reproach of ungratefulness which otherwise would certainly be voiced. By such action Congress, if for the wrong reasons, would at least do the right thing."

## The Army and the "Reds"

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, February 25*

THE Congressional rumpus over the army order lifting the bars against Communists will reverberate unpleasantly abroad. For some time it has been suspected, from the dog-house treatment accorded certain volunteers and draftees, that the army was discriminating against soldiers suspected of being Communists. The picture was a mixed one, and seemed to depend in part on commanding officers. Some persons close to or actually members of the Communist Party were given important military assignments for which they were well fitted by past experience. In other cases persons suspected of being Communists were left behind when their units were sent abroad. There were no leaks that I know of which made available to the liberal or left press instructions to keep suspected Communists from commissions or active service in foreign fields. That there were such instructions is now made clear by the leak to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald* of new instructions providing for a more liberal policy toward Communists. For these new instructions the War Department deserves public support and applause. Major General James A. Ulio, adjutant general of the army, explained in a letter to Congressman Dondero that in liberalizing the old instructions "consideration was given to the fact that persons in the army suspected but not proved to be Communists had not proved to be a source of any difficulty and were loyally supporting the war effort." As much cannot be said for the newspapers which "exposed" the new army policy. It will seem depressingly significant abroad that the section of the American press which has championed the seditionists and time after time paralleled the Goebbels line should have enough political power to create trouble for the new army policy in Congress.

I do not wish to imply that Chairman May of the House Military Affairs Committee, who has ordered an investigation, is in the *Chicago Tribune* class. But it will not escape notice that the Congressional committee chairman aroused by the

prospect of fair and equal army treatment for Communists, whom he considers subversive, is the same May of Kentucky who made trouble over the circulation among the armed forces of the pamphlet on the races of mankind. This pamphlet taught the American doctrine of equality in contradistinction to the Nazi philosophy of superior and inferior races. The loudest protest in Congress over the new army policy was from the member who has come closest to following the Nazi line—the unspeakable Shafer of Michigan. Characteristically, nowhere in the discussion of this affair has any inquiry been made about army policy toward Bundists, fascists, Christian Fronters, Silver Shirts, or members of other anti-Semitic, pro-Axis termites organizations. The army seems to have been solely concerned with a political party linked emotionally and ideologically with one of our allies and not at all concerned with groups linked emotionally and ideologically with our enemies. That doesn't make sense.

In the army's defense it may be argued that its action was determined by the Hatch act, which forbids the employment by the government of persons who advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. If so, that is additional evidence of the complete inadequacy of the "force-and-violence" formula to deal with the genuinely subversive movements of our time, movements which will be stimulated after the war by the Nazi underground. (I am convinced there will be one.) As a matter of fact, despite Attorney General Biddle's ruling of May 22, 1942, in the Bridges case, the Communist Party neither advocates today nor has for a good many years advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The courts have never ruled that it comes under the Hatch act, and prosecuting authorities would be hard put to prove that it does. Those portions of the act were designed to provide a political weapon against leftists of various shades, including New Dealers, and they were so designed by rightist sources which include some elements in sympathy with Nazism and fascism. Political provisions of the Hatch act thus reflect the covert anti-

democratic forces on whose aid and sympathy the Axis long relied. The sooner we get rid of those provisions the better. They are a potential fascist weapon for the post-war period.

As the Hatch act is interpreted by the rightists in this current dispute, it would logically require exemption of Communists from military service. The army, under its earlier orders, had merely barred Communists from commissions and from certain confidential posts. But the Hatch act speaks of employment by government. If army service is employment within the meaning of the act, a buck private is as much an employee as a captain. Would the rightists exempt Communists from military service? And how far would they extend the term? Some of the difficulties are made clear by the confidential letter sent officers on January 31 last outlining procedure for "the disposition of subversive and disaffected military personnel." "No action," the War Department instructions say, "will be taken that is predicated on membership in or adherence to the doctrines of the Communist Party unless there is a specific finding that the individual has a loyalty to the Communist Party as an organization which overrides his loyalty to the United States." "No such finding should be based," the instructions continue, "on the mere fact that the individual's views on various social questions have been the same as the views which the Communist Party has advanced." I know of some bitterly anti-Communist liberals who have suffered in the army from the application of just such loose standards.

In the army, as in civilian life and government employment, to discriminate against persons because of their political views—unless those views are an enemy's in war time—is to embark on a course which must ultimately undermine free government. Anti-Communist leftists who think they can use this weapon against their hated political opponents and get away with it are badly mistaken. The right will set the standards, and the standards will be broad enough to encompass leftists of many varieties. In the immediate con-

text, discrimination against Communists in the army is particularly idiotic. Everywhere in the world, underground and in the armed forces, Communists have distinguished themselves by their zeal. Even a man like Rankin of Mississippi seems to recognize the logical difficulty involved in treating Communist soldiers as "subversive and disaffected"; his own remarks as extended in last Monday's *Congressional Record* would make it appear that he is concerned solely with "Trotskyite Communists." "Remember," Rankin said in attacking the new army instructions, "that while they were plotting the overthrow of this government, they were also plotting to get rid of Stalin and put Trotsky in his place." It is unnecessary to add that the *Chicago Tribune* is not worried about Trotskyites. Rankin merely added the final imbecilic flourish to this affair.

Suppose, is the question put by Shafer, we were fighting the Soviet Union? People of Shafer's ilk find it hard to recall that we are not fighting the Soviet Union but, despite their best efforts, the Axis. The war of their dreams is a war against the Soviet Union. And they do what they can to hurt American relations with the U. S. S. R. The committee appointed by Chairman May to investigate the army's new orders—the careful reader will note that they are still somewhat ambiguous—can do a great deal to poison Soviet-American friendship. I hope that friends of Allied unity in the House will fight the committee if it tries. Discrimination against soldiers thought to be Communists will create a sour impression in more places than Moscow. There is China, where we are trying to bring about cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communists. And there are the liberated countries, where men of various political shades have fought side by side with Communists against the Nazis. An ugly outburst in Congress on this issue, from sources tainted by Hitler-like ideologies, would not increase popular confidence abroad in America's dependability as a bulwark against fascism.

## *This Is the Face of War*

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

ON WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY Staff Sergeant David Dempsey, a Marine Corps combat correspondent, cabled from Iwo Jima:

"The invasion beach of this island . . . is a scene of indescribable wreckage—all of it American. For two miles extending north from Mt. Suribachi at the southern tip of the island is a thick layer of debris. Wrecked hulls of scores of boats testify to the price we paid to get our troops ashore on this vital island. . . . Japanese artillery, rockets, and heavy mortars . . . had been aimed at the beach long before we landed. They couldn't miss and they didn't. Volcanic sand on this beach is so soft that many of our vehicles were mired down before they had gone ten feet. . . . One can see amphibian tractors turned upside down like pancakes on a griddle, derricks brought ashore to unload cargo are tilted at insane

angles where shells blasted them, anti-tank guns were smashed before they had a chance to fire a shot. Even some bulldozers landed too early to clear a path for following vehicles. Artillery could not be landed for twenty-four hours.

"Packs, clothing, gas masks, and toilet articles, many of them ripped by shrapnel, are scattered across the sand for miles. Rifles are blown in half. Letters are strewn among the debris.

"Scattered amid the wreckage is death. . . .

"The boys who did it, as the saying goes, deserve a medal, but a lot of them won't be around when the medals are passed out."

This is the face of war. What Sergeant Dempsey could not tell in his dispatch was how the men of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Marine divisions felt: the landing barges blown

up in the water and the quick panicky plunge into the sea with equipment pulling your body under; the deadly mortar fire on the beach pressing your face, belly, thighs, and toes into the sand; the short dashes through the volcanic ash with the nearby objective seeming to recede and the Japs shooting everything off at you personally; the men on right and left being hit in quick succession, not by small-arms fire, which makes neat, clean holes, but by shell fragments and rocket blast, which tear the flesh deeply and cause profound shock, demanding immediate first aid, morphine, and plasma; the medical sections being wiped out on the beach before they can reach these wounded; the empty, outraged feeling of being pinned down by the heaviest and most accurate kind of fire after the air forces have bombed the damned little island for seventy-two days and the navy has poured 8,000 tons of ammunition into it, only to have the Japs crawl right out of their caves—Saipan all over again—and shoot at you. Then the cross-fire from Mt. Suribachi to the south and the second fighter strip on the plateau to the north, with no Japs surrendering and every cave to be dynamited—if you can get there before the fire from above cuts you down; the fitful sleep in the crater beside a dead man, equally dead whether friend or foe; the terrible confusion of the counter-attack at night, with the Japs getting behind you and on both sides of you and the American and Japanese fire mixed up together—this is called infiltration; and then going on, uphill, in the early morning, with your feet lead-heavy and your head turned to wood, the bowel-loosening fear gone, replaced by fatigue and the cold, skilful rage of a man still alive after twenty-four hours of it, and therefore a combat veteran.

The Marines sustained 5,372 casualties on Iwo from Monday morning up to Wednesday evening. Most of these were probably in the veteran Fourth and the predominantly green Fifth Division, since the Third Division was held in reserve and did not land until Wednesday morning. This compares with 2,950 casualties on Tarawa, but there was only one division on Tarawa, so the percentage in casualties has probably been somewhat lower on Iwo: perhaps 15 per cent in the two assault divisions. Figuring casualty percentages on a divisional basis, however, presents a false picture, since even in a combat division only about half the men can be classified as assault troops; the others are in supporting arms (mortars, artillery, anti-aircraft) or are non-combatants (orderlies, staff, signals, cooks, drivers). On Iwo the "non-combatants" will have plenty of casualties, but the bulk of the 5,372 are probably from the 15,000 or so troops who composed the rifle battalions of the first two divisions ashore. One man of three, then, who started for Iwo did not get off the island under his own power.

Of the approximately 20,000 Japanese left to guard this key to the home islands, on the other hand, perhaps only one man in a hundred will leave under his own power. Two hundred Japanese prisoners out of 20,000 would be better than average. There is no use denying that the Japanese die well; but we can feel that theirs is the rat's death, defiant in a corner until all fails and then suicide, while the Marine's is a proud man's death, in the open, advancing, for such simple, noble, and old-fashioned reasons as love of comrades

and of corps or ambition to set the flag atop bloody Suribachi. It is the best way to die.

"A man can die but once; we owe God a death . . . and let it go which way it will, he that dies this year is quit for the next."

There was also death in Manila last week—8,246 American and 24,000 Japanese casualties in the week ending Wednesday. The last pocket of enemy resistance in Intramuros was reported wiped out Saturday; General MacArthur announced in his communiqué, "This operation, following the catastrophic defeat in Leyte, dooms General Yamashita's Philippine campaign and presages the early clearance of the entire archipelago."

In reading this statement it is proper to recall that the 8,246 American casualties occurred after the General announced the liberation of Manila, twenty-one days before he subsequently announced the "destruction of the trapped garrison" of Intramuros. I don't like to run down General MacArthur, but I wish he'd let Admiral Nimitz write his communiqué.

The Manila battle seems to have been well conducted; choosing Leyte for the initial landing was extremely clever, the subsequent movements to Mindoro and Lingayen Gulf, always catching the enemy off guard and gaining excellent strategic results through economy of effort and concentration of forces, underline the General's ability as a commander-in-chief. But he continually mars his big achievements by little stupidities: not only the pompous and inaccurate communiqués, but careless planning, excesses of overconfidence or of caution, failure to press home advantages on some occasions, unnecessary exposure of troops and especially of supplies on others; constant jockeying for personal and political gain.

The last is most serious. There is a feeling in some navy quarters that the invasion of the Philippines at this time was unnecessary from a military point of view, that it was dictated by political reasons involving not only the liberation of the Filipinos but the security of the President from home-front snipers quick to resent any imagined slur on the General—who, whether through fault of his own or not, is the darling of our most virulent obstructionists.

This is distasteful to discuss in the open, especially when military security prohibits documentation of most of the General's shortcomings: but the length of the Pacific war, and its eventual cost in casualties, may well depend on the outcome of the secret struggle between MacArthur and the navy as to who shall lead the way into Tokyo—will Halsey get to ride Hirohito's white horse, or will the General arrive on one of his own?

On the record the navy has shown itself well ahead of the army in the Pacific as regards training, planning, execution, supply; its assault force, the Marine Corps, is probably the most capable body of fighting men in the world. If we take, as we evidently may, one of the short roads to Tokyo—from the Marianas through Iwo and the Bonins to Honshu, or from the Marianas and Iwo through the Ryukyus to Kyushu—it should unquestionably be a navy show, with the army troops under its command just as the Marines are. Nimitz, Halsey, Spruance, and Mitscher have a happy gift for taking calculated risks; and the risks from Iwo to Tokyo will have

to be calculated carefully, neither dismissed nor worried over nor smoke-screened with bombast.

The entrance of Turkey and Egypt into the war is the last straw on Hitler's back. No nation could stand up under the overwhelming array of military might now presented. The

Turk and the Egyptian, slow to anger. I suppose it is wise to make the new world as inclusive as possible, but this business of buying seats with tardy and empty gestures reminds me too much of the Alexandrine shopkeepers, frantically rubbing the victory V signs from their windows in 1942 when Rommel was rushing east from Tobruk.

## What Hope for Small Powers?

BY PAUL MALLES

IN CONSIDERING the problem of the small powers in Europe the general public divides into two groups. The first takes the view that in a "shrinking" world small states are doomed to disappear. Their petty quarrels are a nuisance and a danger, for the great powers are constantly forced to interfere in their affairs. Unable to defend themselves, small states constitute zones of insecurity in the defense system of their big neighbors, which for that reason try to extend their "spheres of influence" as far as possible beyond their borders. The existence of small states thus becomes a powerful factor in the rivalries of the great powers, and it follows that the sooner the small states disappear from the map the sooner a real security system can be established.

The argument of the other group attempts to prove just the opposite. Small nations, it avers, have the same right to a free and independent existence as big ones. Their quarrels would have subsided long ago but for the constant interference of the great powers, which use them as pieces on the chessboard of power politics. Therefore any form of international order which does not guarantee to small nations the same degree of sovereignty, security, and economic opportunity that big countries enjoy is undemocratic and will be the background for renewed wars.

The element of truth in both arguments is obvious. The trouble is that they are based on two different political principles, which, in our present society, unfortunately appear to be antagonistic—power and right. When shall the twain meet, if ever? That precisely is the basic problem of the small states.

Both arguments use dangerous generalizations. Is it actually true that the "shrinking" of the world, the shortening of distances and the growing economic interdependency, must lead to the disappearance of small states? After all, the world has been "shrinking" not only in the last fifteen years but for more than a century. The technical revolution of the nineteenth century, with its integrating effect on the economic life of the world, has certainly not been surpassed as yet by the developments of the twentieth. Far from forcing small nations into greater units, the Industrial Revolution opened to them avenues of economic progress which converted disorganized and nearly bankrupt states like Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland into thriving communities of exceptional political and social stability. Whatever the reasons, one cannot overlook the fact that these small states, and even new ones, like Czechoslovakia, weathered the storm of the last great depression better than most of the big nations,

even to the extent of solving economic and social problems with which the great powers were still grappling at the beginning of the present war.

The eternal problem of the small states is not economic or social stability but security. It is often difficult to say when, in modern European history, the trend toward large political units has prevailed over the opposite trend, for integrating and disintegrating forces have been continuously at work. But one thing can be seen clearly: the establishment of small nations as independent states is definitely encouraged whenever weapons of defense gain superiority over weapons of offense. In the middle of the last century the Czech patriot and historian Palacky defended the Austrian Empire because he understood clearly even then the threat to the small Slavic nations offered by a unified Germany. But in the second half of the nineteenth century defensive strategy developed immense superiority, and the Czechs and other small nations could in 1918 actually gain their independence not only because the Central Powers had been defeated in World War I but also because the successful defense of these new states seemed feasible. While the old small powers of Scandinavia believed that World War I had demonstrated the futility of all wars of aggression, the new small powers of Central Europe, less optimistic but not less deluded, scrambled for odd bits of land of so-called strategic importance and spent millions of their national income on elaborate defense systems which a decade later proved no more useful than the "border guards" to which the Danish army had been reduced.

What will be the fate of the small powers at the end of this war, which has so amply demonstrated the futility of their defense measures? Their economic problems will be difficult, but they can be solved. The small powers of Europe, among which defeated Italy must now be included, have enough industrial and agricultural importance both as sources and markets to force the great powers, in their own interest, to put them on their feet again. But their security problem is worse than ever before. In fact, it seems insoluble in a world system which, whatever the form of the new international security organization, is based on power relationships.

One does not need to succumb to the pessimism expressed today in liberal circles and expect a new world war in five or ten or fifteen years. But it is completely illusory to think that in our present form of society the relations between nations can be based upon anything other than power. Thus the struggle for international security is unavoidably taking on a

social-revolutionary aspect, which will be most apparent where the need for external security is greatest, that is, among the small European nations. This is what both the right and the left mean today when they utter the half-truth that Europe is going to turn "Communist."

This prediction ignores Masaryk's dictum that "states live by the ideas through which they have been created." Most of the European small states were created by the forces of the national-liberal revolution of which the American Revolution was a part. They will scarcely subjugate themselves willingly to either external or internal dictatorship. It is true, however, that the Soviet Union, because of its social-revolutionary basis, will have the greatest possible attraction for the small European nations, especially those which have not yet achieved the social stability of the small northern democracies. And this attraction will persist as long as the Western powers are unwilling or unable to guarantee the small nations a system which combines individual and national freedom with social and national security.

Dumbarton Oaks reflected only too well the disparaging attitude taken today by the great powers toward the small nations. While the charter of the old League of Nations maintained the complete legal equality of small and big powers—a practical absurdity—the Dumbarton Oaks draft leans to the other extreme. It reduces the "Assembly" to a debating society in which even the topics to be discussed are prescribed by the great powers. At the same time it vests all power in the "Security Council," in which the great powers are sacrosanct to all practical purposes. It seems clear enough that the great powers are pursuing a policy of "100 per cent realism" which, combined with the present helplessness of the small nations, makes all of them completely dependent on the Big Three.

As in other cases of so called "realism," it may well turn out in the long run that the present policy of the great powers is one of extreme unreality. While the small powers may be negligible factors in power politics just now, they may not remain so in a changing Europe. They are strongly conscious of their rights and may very well become important as negative factors of perpetual unrest and obstruction. Poland and Greece are warning examples. Puppet governments may serve to secure an apparent tranquillity as long as they are protected by occupation armies. But sooner or later these armies will have to be withdrawn; and what then? The degree to which the great powers will permit the small nations to be heard in matters of general interest and to have a vote in matters that concern them will be indicative of the democratic content of the new world-security system. The criticism of the Dumbarton Oaks draft voiced quite unanimously in Canada is inevitable. Canada is the only one of the small or middle powers which during the whole war has been on the giving and not the receiving end of the United Nations war machine, and it will also be asked for great contributions in the post-war period. The idea of collective security is certainly not strengthened by asking a country to cooperate whole-heartedly in the new world organization and at the same time denying it the right to decide on actions in which it may become involved economically and militarily.

While it is not feasible to grant all the small and middle

powers equal representation, functional representation is a possibility. Canada as a small power has persistently advanced this formula as the basis for representation on the war boards of the United Nations. The principle is applicable as well to the new world organization. It would at least signify an attempt to reconcile power and right.

## 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THERE IS A VAST DEAL of satisfaction that Congress has at last adjourned, albeit tempered by the reflection that the meeting of the next one cannot be postponed beyond the first Monday in December. This satisfaction is expressed in some of the state legislatures by resolutions condemnatory of Congress and congratulating the country on its final adjournment and extinction.—*March 7, 1895.*

THE EFFECT OF WEALTH on the journalistic mind is a subject of considerable pathological interest which we commend to the Academy of Medicine. The condition of excitement into which the press has been thrown during the past fortnight by the marriage of one rich woman and the divorce of another, in fact, seems hardly distinguishable from a species of dementia. . . . This stuff is greedily read by all classes; and if we infer the character of the population from its consumption . . . we should say that the United States was inhabited exclusively by servant girls, longshoremen, and hackmen.—*March 14, 1895.*

AN ACTUAL AND BONA FIDE sale of American woollens has been made in Bradford, the great English center of woolen manufacturing. This is said to have been the first shipment of American woollens ever made to Europe.—*March 21, 1895.*

THE SHOCKING RIOT in the Indiana legislature, in which so many persons were hurt and the ribs of the Governor's secretary broken, was a regular football attempt to "tackle him low," so as to prevent his reaching the Speaker with a bill, and a distinguished football player really won fresh honors in the mêlée. The row arose over a bill intended to substitute a Republican for a Democrat as custodian of the Statehouse.—*March 21, 1895.*

HARVARD CLEARLY does not shrink from the distinction of administering the deathblow to intercollegiate football. After thinking over the matter for several weeks, the faculty of the university have not only adhered to their former resolution, adopted on February 19, requesting the committee on athletics to put a stop to such contests, but have gone a step farther, and, by a considerable majority, have voted that they "remain of the opinion that no student under their charge should be permitted to take part in intercollegiate football contests." . . . The devotees of the game will weep for a season, but their sorrow will be short-lived, and sanity will speedily resume sway in their minds.—*March 28, 1895.*

BOOK OF THE MONTH: Theodore Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West and Southwest."

# Henrietta Szold

BY MARVIN LOWENTHAL

EVERYWHERE we discern prognostics of the fact that life in the twentieth century will not be easy to live." So Henrietta Szold, then a young slip of a woman, told a Maryland state teachers' convention in 1887. How hard it turned out to be, probably not even the shrewdest prognostics could reveal. On the whole, or at least as we look back upon it, the age in which she was reared appears idyllic and golden—"gilded" though they already called it—and beset with an unchastened optimism.

Born in 1860, the little Baltimore girl experienced only as a childish dream the torment of the Civil War. She remembered picking lint for the wounded boys in blue. From her father's shoulders, in the front parlor crowded with neighbors, she saw the funeral procession of Abraham Lincoln. Her father, a Hungarian-born rabbi who tempered a reformer's zeal with traditional learning and his own native wisdom, had fought on the barricades of Vienna in 1848; and in Baltimore he was dubbed "the rabbi of Timbuku" because, in company with a small society of liberal-minded fellow-citizens, he proposed to help educate the newly freed Negroes. Through him Henrietta learned, more by example than precept, the principles she held fundamental to her life. Adopt, he urged, a central idea and relate everything to it; and, touching her more intimately, he impressed upon her by an unswerving behavior that "Judaism was not only a creed but a way of life."

Her home was a center of intellectual world-planning, world-curing bustle. The opening of Johns Hopkins University in 1876—the educational wonder of its day—brought to Baltimore and her father's dinner table young Fabian Franklin, Joseph Jastrow, and the Flexner and Heilprin brothers. At seventeen she published in a local paper an article on the Turkish-Balkan question which would have done credit to Mr. Godkin's *Nation*. The German language and much of its culture, as well as Hebrew, French, mathematics, and botany, became familiar passions. Except for her inner gaiety and a deep sense of kinship with the soil, both of which she inherited or absorbed from her parents, she might have passed for a devout little blue-stocking.

At eighteen she entered upon a decade of teaching. She likewise attended the public lecture courses of Johns Hopkins and the Peabody Institute; she became acquainted with prominent educators—Miss M. Carey Thomas, the founder of Bryn Mawr, and Mary Garrett, who gave Johns Hopkins a half-million dollars to open its door to women. Finally she embarked upon an educational innovation of her own. In 1889, the year that gave birth to Hull House, she founded in Baltimore a night school for immigrants—one of the first in the country, and in its Americanization and social programs an embryonic settlement house as well. If social service for its own sake, in itself an ennobling career, had inspired her as the "central idea" she unconsciously sought, she might have taken a place with Jane Addams, Lillian

Wald, and a score of other women in the American quest for the better life. As it turned out, her career became unique. There never can be another Henrietta Szold.

The immigrants for whom her night school was created and who formed the majority of its students were Russian Jews—refugees from the oppressions and pogroms of the Czarist regime. Imperceptibly—for she did not wake up one morning a convert—the young immigrant Hebraists under whose direction she guided the school and the graybeards who wrestled with the English tongue in the classes made her a Zionist. Other and earlier influences played a part. Her father's dictum that Judaism was a way of life impelled her to the conclusion that such a life can be normal, productive, and full only if lived freely on a soil of its own and native to its genius. The martial poetry of Emma Lazarus, the contrasting spiritual indifference and snobbery rampant in the American Jewish scene—"materialism" she called it—the grandeur and romance as well as the tears and blood of the Jewish people, gave to her vision of the world and the place of the Jew in it a new and lasting focus. "I realized," she said in one of her early talks on the subject, "that Zionism supplied my bruised, torn, and bloody nation, my distracted nation, with an ideal that is balm to the self-inflicted wounds and to the wounds inflicted by others." From the outset her Zionism was never a narrow tribalistic cult. "Racial Zionism," she maintained long before Hitler turned the concept of race into a hideous mockery, "is a revolting anomaly." On the contrary, her ideal was catholic. It implied a goal which, to use her own words, "is at once spiritual, philanthropic, political, and—in good time—diplomatic."

Largely because she was possessed by the demon of practicality, years elapsed before she translated her Zionist fervor into deeds. She had no talent for oratory and no impulse to become a propagandist in thin air—agitating or organizing in behalf of an ideal which had as yet but slim foothold in reality. She reached in fact the age at which the average person feels set for life—she was forty-nine—when an "accidental" spur to action launched her upon the career that has made her famous.

A journey to Palestine in 1909 brought her face to face with a challenging aspect of Zionist reality. As she and her mother walked through a street in Jaffa on their way to the Jewish Girls' School they saw "a most horrible sight: children with wreaths of flies around their eyes." Yet the children in the school were free of the plague—because, so she learned, they received free compulsory medical attention. As they left the school her mother said, "Here is work for you."

Work it was, and Henrietta Szold was the incarnate soul of work. Upon her return to America she met with a group of thirty-seven women who organized themselves into a society called Hadassah. They chose a motto from Jeremiah: "The healing of the daughter of my people." They adopted as a program the propagation of Zionism in Amer-

ica and the furtherance of health work in Palestine. For years thereafter Miss Szold was its tireless organizer, president, guiding light, and eventually—if the phrase may be used—its saintly tutelary spirit. Today its membership numbers 150,000 American women; and, throughout, its work has been the major factor in making Palestine the healthiest land in the Middle East and one of the healthiest in the world. Child-welfare centers, medical centers, nursing schools, and hospitals have carried the name of Miss Szold, and Hadasah, from Dan to Beersheba among Arab and Jew alike.

Immediately after the last war, at the age of sixty, the indomitable woman—often ill but always resilient—set out again for Palestine. There she took active charge of the Zionist public-health work. Successively she assumed task after task: directing education, organizing a country-wide social service, and occupying an executive post in the Jewish Agency—the body responsible, under the British mandate, for all Zionist activities in Palestine.

As she grew in years and deeds, her people heaped upon her new honors and, more flattering, new tasks. When Hitler launched his murderous war against the Jews of Europe, upon her slender shoulders—she was a wisp of a creature—fell

the piteous work of rescuing those youngsters who managed to escape the Nazis and whom the British permitted, under murderously restricted quotas, to enter the promised land. She organized the methods, an exemplary achievement, whereby these waifs were restored to normal existence and prepared for active pursuits in farming or industry. Long ago Miss Szold had written, "I should have had children, many children." By the time of her death, a month ago, the children of the Youth Aliyah—the name of this rescue and rehabilitation movement—the children whom she had mothered into a new birth and a new life, numbered more than 13,000.

The spirit and philosophy of Henrietta Szold is perhaps best expressed in a letter she once wrote when the world and her own mood were at their darkest. "Just now," she said, "I tremble most of the time when I look ahead; but I console myself with the thought that one does not dream for two thousand years steadily without having the strength to live in accordance with the high ideals that made the beauty of the dream." Her reliance on the strength of a dream is the true measure of her practicality. It made her not the social-service leader but one of the builders of a nation.

## The New South on the March

BY JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

THE democratic South, the new South, is finding new spokesmen. Listen to young Governor Ellis Arnall speaking to the Georgia legislators after he had threatened that if they did not lift the burden of the poll tax from the ballot he would do so by executive order: "The voice of the new South will become more audible as the months and years go by. Georgia spoke today for democracy."

Listen to Senator Lister Hill of Alabama: "The Alabama poll tax, because of its cumulative requirements, is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible, and undemocratic of that of any state."

Listen to the fifty leading editors and writers of the South meeting at the Atlanta Biltmore on December 21, to discuss "Limitations on the Franchise in the South." Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, is in the chair. Harry S. Strozier, corporation lawyer and contributing editor of the Macon (Georgia) *News*, is speaking: "We cannot fight battles for democracy all over the world unless we have it here. . . . I want to see the poll tax abolished and the Negro enfranchised."

All over the South today there is evidence of an upsurge of progressive thought and action. University students are vigorously defending freedom of the press for a college editor at Williamsburg, Virginia, and academic freedom for a university president at Austin, Texas. Southern editors are supporting the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the Supreme Court decision in the Texas "white primary" case. Leading Tennessee ministers are joining in condemnation of the use of religion by the so-called Christian American

Association to cloak legislative attacks on the "legitimate organizations of working people," and a protest is going to each member of the Georgia legislature in the name of 22,000 Methodist women urging defeat of the Christian American "right-to-work bill," which the women call a "right-to-work-for-starvation-wages bill." In South Carolina a state senator is actively campaigning for a secret ballot, and the Arkansas legislature has rescinded its action on the "millionaire's tax" resolution.

Without discounting in any way the bold action of Governor Arnall or the courageous words of Senator Hill, I want to point out that the real significance of what is happening in the South will be missed if one fails to understand that behind these leaders is an electorate ready for such leadership. The Georgia legislature acted as it knew the majority of the people of Georgia wanted it to act. Editors reflect as well as create public opinion. The fact that fifty of the outstanding editors and writers of the South were in complete agreement with Harry Strozier on the two questions of abolishing the poll tax and enfranchising the Negro means that Southern attitudes have been undergoing vast changes unnoticed by most of the politicians.

The Southern people have been at least a generation ahead of their leadership for many years. And the politicians who long ago ceased to represent them have remained in office only because so few people go to the polls—in the 1944 elections only 21 per cent of the potential voters. Probably three out of five Southerners have never cast a vote in their lives. In the midst of a great war in defense of democracy, only two out of thirteen Southern states en-

joy majority rule. On the other hand, only three of the remaining thirty-five states failed to send at least 50 per cent of their potential voters to the polls on Election Day. Greatly as public opinion has changed in the South, no real progress can be made until the people take a more active part in politics and government. It is encouraging to note, therefore, that they are turning their attention to legislative action and suffrage reform.

Progressive efforts toward a new South were tremendously stimulated in 1938 by the President's Report on Economic Conditions in the South. The facts in this report were so startling that soon after its appearance a conference was called in Birmingham, Alabama, to discuss ways and means of remedial action. The fifteen hundred Southerners who attended—social workers, ministers, educators, a few business men, labor representatives, farmers, editors, and professional people—formed a permanent organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. For the past seven years this organization, led by the South's most distinguished citizens, has worked at the job of mobilizing the liberal South for democratic action. Its present president is Dr. Clark Foreman, who was the editor in charge of the writing of the President's report.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was founded on the principle that democracy is good, that the great majority of Southern people want democracy. And it recognizes that democracy cannot prevail in the South until there is suffrage reform. The title of the first anti-poll tax bill before Congress stated that it was introduced by Representative Geyer of California at the request of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. No Southern Congressman could be found at that time to sponsor the bill. After the poll tax became a national issue, the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference was expanded to become the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. This committee, under the leadership of Jennings Perry, editor of the *Nashville Tennessean*, Mrs. Virginia Foster Durr, and Mrs. Kathryn Shryver, has done a magnificent job, for which the democratic South is grateful. The Conference has also carried on an active educational campaign to obtain state action against the poll-tax evil.

But the poll tax is only one of many restrictions on the ballot. The Conference has fought many battles around specific issues to combat intolerance, anti-Semitism, racial prejudice, and other obstacles to a free and democratic society.

By emphasizing the growth of progressive sentiment in the South I do not mean to minimize the strength of the reactionary elements. Intolerance has always thrived on poverty. It is no accident that native fascist groups have usually had their headquarters in the South—William Pelley and his Silver Shirts in Asheville, George Christians in Chattanooga, the Klan in Georgia, Vance Muse and his Christian Americans in Houston, Texas. The latest of these groups, first active in Georgia, calls itself the Commoner Party. According to its prospectus, "The Commoner Party proposes the formation of a Gentile political-party block to combat the Jew and Negro racial blocks now active in the political affairs of the nation."

Last summer, during the Democratic primary contest in Alabama between Lister Hill and Jim Simpson, the Simp-

son forces concentrated on the issue of white supremacy. The most virulent and provocative race propaganda was circulated. About two weeks before Election Day, when only one timid editorial voice had been raised in protest at these tactics, the Southern Conference through its Alabama affiliate sent out a statement to about two thousand leading white citizens of Alabama strongly condemning the injection of race into a political campaign and asking for signatures for publication. During one week-end more than four hundred signatures were received.

There was a time when Southern politicians could keep the voters' minds off such subjects as jobs, wages, and social security by raising the issue of white supremacy. But those days are gone. The Southern people are becoming more and more politically literate, and when enough of them can surmount the many obstacles to voting, things will happen in the state legislatures and in Congress. The proof is in the victories of Hill, Pepper, and Arnall, and the retirement of Dies, Starnes, Reynolds, and Newsome.

The Conference is seeking wide publicity for two sets of facts—the enormous natural wealth of the South, and the bitter poverty of its people. More is known of the poverty than of the wealth. The South could be a veritable paradise if its natural resources were converted to the use of the inhabitants. The thirteen Southern states, one-fourth of the total area of the nation, contain half of the nation's farms, 90 per cent of the sulphur and phosphate, two-thirds of the oil and natural gas, a fourth of the electric power, 40 per cent of the lumber production, and ample supplies of coal and iron. Having given it in addition a salubrious climate, the good Lord evidently intended the South to be His prize exhibit of the abundant life. What must be His amazement on examining his handiwork to find that the 36,500,000 people on these 800,000 square miles have the lowest living standards in the nation—the worst diet, the shabbiest houses, the fewest toilets, the poorest schools, hospitals, and libraries!

With 27 per cent of the population and about 40 per cent of the natural resources, the thirteen Southern states have only 12 per cent of the manufactures and 12 per cent of the money. Here is a situation that demands help from Washington and wise leadership at home. It is hoped that the agencies in charge of the disposal of war plants will keep the plants in the South going, and that the control will be left with Southerners for the benefit of the South.

The Southern Conference aims to show all groups in the region how enormous are the possibilities if they will work together. If the income of ten Southern states were raised to the national average, the national income would be increased by ten billion dollars! What would that not mean to the nation at large in terms of increased purchasing power? Such an achievement, of course, is dependent on education for all, training in new skills for all, new industries, high wages, reasonable profits that can be reinvested in Southern industry. Everyone, white and colored, must progress together or remain where they are. Fortunately, many business men, such as Andrew J. Higgins and Louis Reynolds, have long realized the possibilities and have started on the way to make them a reality. It is time for the politicians to wake up and get in step with the new democratic South. It is time for the voters to take action.

# Needed: A Citizens' Army

BY IRVING LIPKOWITZ

THE controversy over peace-time conscription has forced into the background the more crucial issue: are we going to have a citizen or a professional army? Conscription is being considered as an isolated question, as though it were an end in itself. The title of a recent article epitomizes this approach—Does This Nation Want Compulsory Military Training in Peace Time? In that narrow frame of reference it is easy and seemingly virtuous for many to condemn conscription and raise once again the familiar arguments used before the war against the R. O. T. C. and big armies. Discussions on that plane get nowhere because they miss the undeniable fact that conscription is the only means thus far suggested for building a citizen army. Consideration of conscription as a self-contained issue is a dangerous reversion to the pre-war idea that the smaller the army the better. A broader view is necessary because much more than a recruiting method is at stake.

The problem is not one of military semantics but of a durable peace. Many of those who oppose conscription are for a peace settlement fully implemented with enforcement machinery. During the early, most critical post-war years that "machinery," we all know, is going to consist primarily of armies. No matter what we say or do within our own country, the world is going to have an armed peace for some years to come. Under the circumstances those who advocate an enforceable peace cannot honestly evade the responsibility of helping to shape the post-war army.

This is a strange new burden for the American citizen. Until this war military affairs were assumed to be a specialized problem, to be handled by an expert few in Washington. Never before did the army loom as an important influence on our political and economic future. The road ahead will be especially rough for liberals because their contempt for appeasement and their advocacy of intervention have not obliterated their traditional antipathy to all things military. There is still a tendency to consider the mere existence of an army as militarism. To persist in that view is defeatism.

The immediate job ahead is building the right kind of post-war army. Opposition to conscription will not achieve that objective. A large professional army is a much greater threat to democracy and peace than is conscription. Success in the current battle against conscription will be a Pyrrhic victory if it prepares the ground for a professional army and creates a civilian-versus-military class consciousness.

The citizen army is a better bulwark against fascism and militarism than just "no conscription." A citizen-reservist army helps to keep military affairs in the right political perspective. Military service becomes the part-time civic duty of the citizen instead of the full-time job of a special group. The broader the class of reservists is, and it would include the thirty-year-old alumni as well as the active twenty-year-olds, the less chance there is of building up a powerful clique of full-time professionals. All who are or have been

reservists will be much more alert, as *civilians*, to the way military affairs are handled. With the public circulating through the army, that institution is bound to be more democratic in outlook and more sensitive to civilian opinion than a strictly professional army could ever be.

Moreover, militarism is better served by professionals than by reservists. The citizen who chooses to be a reservist rather than a full-time soldier has obviously decided to make his place in the civilian world and is not likely to seek glory through war. On the contrary, he will be extremely desirous that there shall be no next war. Eagerness for a "good fight" is more likely to develop among full-time regulars who spend all their time preparing for one. Those who oppose conscription claim that the period of training will make militarists of our youth. But there is no reason to assume that a short period in the army will influence their attitude more than the years of civilian life before and after their term of service. The absence of a military tradition among the people of this country is further assurance that conscription will not necessarily bring such a change. The existence of a professional army creates the illusion among civilians that perhaps they will not be called upon to serve if war comes and so lessens their interest in preventing war. If war does come again, the civilian must be conscripted into the army anyway, and the country, not the enemy, pays the price of last-minute extemporization.

The citizen army also has the advantages of flexibility and youth. As reservists grow old, they automatically become inactive; the professional army cannot rid itself as easily of its over-aged regulars. And since the size of the citizen army can be more quickly adjusted by extending or shortening the periods of training or of active reserves, it will be easier to keep the citizen army large enough to enforce the peace and yet small enough to keep ourselves peaceful.

The superiority of the citizen-army pattern over the professional is so pronounced that it must be established even if the price is conscription. The method of recruiting is not going to determine whether or not we become militaristic. The political and social atmosphere in which it is conducted, especially the attitude of the civilian and the soldier toward each other, will be the controlling force. We have had conscription for more than four years, and no one can say that it has fostered militarism or fascism among us. If those conditions did not develop in war time, there is no reason to assume that they will in peace time, when civilian controls over military affairs can be more extensive.

The creation of a true citizen army is not a quixotic project. Democracy and military strength are not irreconcilable. The last election showed that the army is not a political bloc in this nation. The army's demobilization plan, based on the preferences of the common soldier, and the expanding program of discussion forums are further examples of what can happen in the army of the United States.

Until a sincere and vigorous effort is made to establish a

citizen army, nobody is justified in taking the position that it cannot be done. In fact, a beginning has already been made by General Marshall himself. A policy directive on the post-war army, released to the public by General Marshall on September 2, 1944, declared that the citizen-army pattern is to be "the basis for all plans for a post-war peace establishment." Some of General Marshall's reasons for favoring a citizen army reflect a concern for political democracy and for keeping the military an arm of the civilian government. He points out that with citizen reserves blending the military forces into the civilian population, "an intelligent and widespread public opinion is provided as the basis for the determination of all public questions relating to military affairs." Many groups, from the saber-rattlers at one extreme to the undiluted pacifists at the other, have in past decades encouraged a priesthood atmosphere among the military which insulated military affairs too much from public opinion. The army, like the government, can be made responsive to the public will by the participation of the citizen in its activities.

General Marshall's directive is not a guaranty of a true citizen army but an opportunity to build one. Such an army will never materialize unless there is strong, broad, and constant public support for it. Our congenital distaste for military matters in peace time must be disciplined. As in so many other fields of citizenship, a new attitude, much more positive than the old-time cynicism, must be shaped. The time has come to recognize that the army and navy will be powerful elements of our post-war government—and that they will be as wholesome as the American people make them, no better and no worse. Military affairs must become as much everybody's business in peace time as they are today.

Whoever is for a citizen army cannot be unequivocally against conscription unless he can show specifically how that type of army can be built on a volunteer basis. Those who take their stand against conscription without suggesting alternative methods of recruiting a citizen army are for all practical purposes advocating a professional army.

Postponement of a decision about our post-war army until after the war, as some suggest, would be a serious error because the delay would prevent the perfection of the peace-enforcement machinery and of plans for demobilization. The transition to a peace-time army needs as much advance planning as does reconversion of our production resources. The army cannot perfect its plans for demobilization until those in charge are given a clear idea of the kind and size of army Congress and the people will support. Those now in uniform who may want to continue in military service also have a right to know what kind of peace-time army there is to be. The real question, however, is whether the public is going to enrich plans that are now in the making with its views or, by default, hand them over to the military specialists. Instead of shelving the army problem, the American people ought to be giving it their most serious attention.

The rest of the world does not fear military aggression by the United States; after four years of conscription and three years of war the predominant desire of men at the battle fronts and in the war plants is to get back to peace. The other nations do fear that we may withdraw from international affairs, as we did after the last war, and if we leave the crucial question of our peace-time army unsettled, their

fears will grow stronger. On the other hand, a clear-cut decision, a commitment to build an adequate citizen army, will be a convincing sign to other peoples that we mean to do our share in the creation and maintenance of peace.

No middle course is open to the United States. We either help shape the peace or take it as others make it. If we are to help fabricate the peace, we must be ready with the necessary machinery, including the right kind and size of army.

*[Last week The Nation printed an article by John Scholte Nollen against peace-time conscription. Further discussion of the question will appear in subsequent issues.]*

## In the Wind

IN THE FIRST EDITION of the Nashville *Tennessean* of January 22 an editorial headed Commerce for Wallace? urged the Senate to get in step with the times and confirm Henry Wallace's appointment. The editorial was missing from all subsequent editions. Next day the paper ran an editorial, headed A Blow to Confidence, which said it would be in the nature of a national disaster for the Senate to confirm Wallace. Marvin W. Strate of St. Paul, to whom we owe this information, remarks, "It's a wise editor who knows his own mind, and an even wiser one who knows his owner's mind."

ONE OF THE MOST IMPRESSIVE speeches on social and economic questions at the World Trade Union Congress in London was made by Wallace Johnson, a Negro from Sierra Leone, Africa, who had just been released by the British after five years of imprisonment and exile for union activities.

IF YOUR LOCAL DAIRY is running advertisements to the effect that there would be plenty of butter if the OPA would only raise the ceiling price, it is most probable that the ads were written in Chicago. The American Dairy Association, with offices in that city, is supplying its members all over the country with ready-made layouts to which they need only add their names. It's part of a national campaign to raise prices.

THE NAME of Lieutenant General George S. Patton was mentioned in company with those of Bach, Handel, and other composers of sacred music in the New York *Sun's* Saturday column, The Choir Loft, on February 10. The General has written a hymn, "God of Battle," which has been set to music by Peter De Rose and recorded by Phil Spitalny and his All-Girl Orchestra.

FESTUNG EUROPA: In Oslo a box of matches costs six kroner (\$1.25). . . . So many Germans have fled to Prague from points southeast that a special newspaper, *Der Deutsche aus dem Südosten*, has been established for them. This is a typical editorial comment: "Your special political mission as an active all-Germanic outpost is only interrupted. It will live again, later."

*[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.]*

## Torture in Argentina

BY JOHN W. WHITE

*[In view of the attempts of the Argentine dictatorship to impress the Conference of Foreign Ministers at Mexico City and American public opinion by hinting that it may declare war against Germany and permit democratic elections, Mr. White's exposure of the Gestapo methods of the Farrell-Perón regime has special interest and timeliness. It is the first of several articles by Mr. White; the next one will deal with the political situation in Bolivia.]*

THE Gestapo's barbarian use of torture and intimidation has been transplanted successfully to the Western Hemisphere. Since torture has always been an essential part of the Nazi technique, it should not be surprising, perhaps, that it accompanied totalitarian ideology to the Nazi-fascist bridgehead in South America. Most of us have assumed, however, when watching the less revolting techniques of Gestapo agents exposed in the movies, that nothing like that could happen here, and "here" includes those republics to the south which we have blessed with our good neighborliness. But it *has* happened; both torture and intimidation have become flourishing state institutions in several Latin American republics, chief among them Argentina.

Torture is not a recent innovation in South America, of course. In its milder forms it has always been used by the police of all the republics, just as it is used today by the police in the United States. Italy and Germany, however, showed Latin America's fascists what really could be done to a naked prisoner if some serious thinking were given to the subject.

Argentina set its clock back nearly a century by the coup d'état which overthrew President Castillo and installed the present military regime. The regime's brutal treatment of all political prisoners and its assassination of the more troublesome ones is a return to the days of the bloody tyrant Juan Manuel de Rosas, whose well-organized gang of cutthroats, called the Mazurka, would have had little to learn from the Gestapo of today.

After General Uriburu's pro-fascist revolution of September, 1930, the Buenos Aires police department set up a so-called Special Section to rid the country of the "Communist menace." Under Uriburu, as under Farrell and Perón, anyone who dared oppose the government or even question the wisdom of any of its dictatorial decrees was a "Communist." In the 1930's, however, Argentina was not yet ready for Nazi-fascism, and Uriburu was ousted and fled to Europe. The Special Section persisted as one of several active groups which preserved and cultivated the virus of anti-democracy until it could be loosed on the country again in the pro-Nazi revolt which overthrew President Castillo in June, 1943.

Soon after the Farrell-Perón regime came to power, leading operatives of Himmler's Gestapo who had been assigned to Buenos Aires suggested that the Special Section be reorganized and "modernized." Under their expert guidance it was expanded from a city detective bureau into a great national

organization specializing in persecution and torture. It has set up concentration camps for political prisoners similar to those in Nazi Germany, tortured thousands of victims guilty of nothing more serious than belonging to labor unions or democratic political parties, killed or caused the death of hundreds of people bearing Jewish, Polish, or Russian names, and caused the disappearance of other hundreds.

The Montevideo and Santiago branches of the Argentine underground movement have published from time to time the names of many of the political prisoners and described in detail the almost unbelievable brutality of their torture. Recently a letter was made public that had been written by prisoners confined in the cold, wet cellar of the city jail at La Plata, capital of the province of Buenos Aires. The letter declared that there were so many prisoners in the cellar that most of them had to remain on their feet while a few slept on the floor. They were given insufficient food of poor quality, and the physicians who were called in to attend the worst sufferers explained to the prisoners that they dared do no more than prescribe medicine.

Despite the revolting nature of most of the torture techniques now being used against political prisoners in Argentina, it seems advisable to make them known as evidence of the extent to which Nazi methods have already been established in the Western Hemisphere. The following account of some of these techniques has been sent to certain United Nations governments by their diplomatic agents at Buenos Aires and can be accepted as true, though perhaps incomplete.

The "electric spur" is the favorite instrument of the new school of native sadists who have been trained by Gestapo experts. It is a simple electric cable with several fine steel needles at the end. These electric needles are applied to the most sensitive parts of the naked body, such as the eyelids, the sexual organs, and the rectum. The torture usually is applied at two or more parts of the body simultaneously and has such terrific effect on the entire nervous system that it frequently produces insanity. In less extreme cases it paralyzes the muscles and causes great painful swellings and deep sores. It is persistently reported that at least five thousand people in Argentina have been tortured with the electric spur.

A simpler but equally effective method is to jab long hatpins through the testicles. Another frequent "treatment" subjects political prisoners, women as well as men, to a third degree in which their naked bodies are burned with lighted cigarettes in an effort to force them to answer questions the way the political police want them answered.

The "cup" is a device in the form of a funnel which is pressed against the body and from which the air is then pumped out. The resulting vacuum causes a huge swelling inside the cup and draws the blood to the surface, leaving a large black-and-blue sore. This device is used on prisoners known to be suffering from heart ailments. When applied in

the region of the heart it aggravates the affection and often causes death from "heart failure."

The "bucket" is a huge vat filled with urine and excrement. The prisoner who is given this "treatment" is hung by his feet from the ceiling and then lowered until his head is submerged in the contents of the vat. This particular technique has the attraction of producing two forms of torture at the same time—semi-drowning in filth, and congestion of the brain from the downward flow of the blood.

One form of torture makes use of a familiar office appliance. In many European and South American countries letters, contracts, and other business documents are written in copying ink and preserved in duplicate by being put between the pages of a "copy-book" which is then squeezed between iron plates. The Argentine political police have found this office press a convenient method of smashing the fingers of prisoners who refuse to sign certain declarations.

The "slab" is a torture machine made of two huge sheets of steel. The victim is placed between the sheets, which are pressed together gradually until he suffers internal hemorrhages and vomits blood.

The whip and the rod have been seen in the movies. The long leather whip is usually dipped in water before the lashes are applied; the rod is made of fine steel bars that cut into the flesh like knives.

Professional boxers are employed to beat up certain prisoners since they know how to produce the desired effect without leaving telltale wounds.

One highly refined form of mental torture drives the prisoner almost to the point of insanity without actually causing any physical hurt. The victim usually is awakened at two or three o'clock in the morning and told that he is to be executed by a firing squad. He is then "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by two or three guards armed with rifles and obviously members of the firing squad. Finally he is stood against a wall and the firing squad is lined up, but at the last-minute he is reprieved and taken back to his cell. (This is one of several techniques which are reported to have been used on the Bolivian tin-mine owner, Maurice Hochschild, after he was kidnapped by members of the young army officers' "lodge" in La Paz last year.)

Sometimes as a variation a prisoner who is to be released is "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by armed guards. When the automobile gets to a deserted region outside the city, the prisoner is told that he is at liberty. Being familiar with the famous *ley de fuga* by which prisoners are shot while supposedly trying to escape, he stands there afraid to move and under mental torture that may induce insanity.

*La razzia* is an importation from the Sicilian Black Hand societies and is used for intimidating the opposition, especially the working classes. Gangs of armed thugs terrorize entire neighborhoods by breaking into and wrecking houses and by storming meetings of associations and trade unions, beating up those present and destroying the furniture and fixtures on the pretext that the meeting is plotting against the government. Schools, libraries, and newspaper offices have been raided frequently, and on two occasions movie theaters in Buenos Aires were stormed while crowded with people. One of these was the Mitre Theater in the working-class district of Avellaneda; the other was the Cine Arte

Theater in the downtown section of the city, where an American war picture was being shown. The *razzia* has also been used frequently in Dock Sud and Villa Crespo, two workmen's districts outside the city of Buenos Aires.

Even when they are not tortured, political prisoners are demoralized and intimidated by being subjected to what is popularly known as *el mal trato*. Women of the working classes, especially wives and daughters who have refused to testify against their husbands and fathers, are put into cells with prostitutes and women criminals. They are not permitted visits from their families or from a lawyer; nor can they receive decent food from outside the jail.

The *mal trato* is applied to men prisoners in even worse form. If they are ill they usually are sent to regions where it is certain that their illness will get worse. They are given very poor food or deprived for entire days of anything to eat or drink. They receive no medical attention and may be put into cells with criminals of the lowest order.

So many lawyers have been punished for defending political prisoners in Argentina that it is practically impossible now for prisoners to find lawyers, except the ones who occasionally are assigned as "defense lawyers" by the government. Two of Argentina's most famous attorneys—Rodolfo Araoz Alfaro and Samuel Smerkin—are in concentration camps because they attempted to defend political prisoners.

## The Italian Partisans

BY MARIO BELLINI

IN A recent speech before the House of Commons Mr. Churchill dealt at some length with the problem of the resistance movement in Europe. From the spirit of his speech it was evident that the Prime Minister favored the guerrillas as long as they limited their activity to fighting. He referred to the "brave men who have been fighting and maintaining guerrilla warfare in the Alps" and added that they had fought "very desperate battles." Prior to this Mr. Churchill had consistently minimized Italian guerrilla activity because of its anti-monarchist character. He had found frequent opportunity, however, to praise the Lieutenant General of the Realm as one "whose sincerity and ardor in the Allied cause and whose growing stature in Italian eyes are equally apparent." And he had often spoken of the "legitimate" king, and of Badoglio, whose "behavior is most creditable." All this, while he was telling the Italian people that they must "pay for the faults of Fascism."

Not everyone in England has followed Mr. Churchill's lead, and there have been various attempts to present the true situation. The day after Churchill's speech Aneurin Bevan took the floor in the House of Commons to say: "When Italy is freed, let us remember that it is on record from Field Marshal Alexander that the resistance movement in Italy has been more effective in fighting the Germans than any other resistance movement in Europe. More than 250,000 Italians have lost their lives in that resistance movement. If the men from Milan and Turin march down in order to extirpate their decadent society, would British soldiers be used once more to shoot them down?" The question has remained unanswered.

This was not the first time that members of the British Parliament had an opportunity to hear the truth about the Italian contribution to Germany's defeat. Recently six members of Parliament who were visiting the Italian front were told by a high Canadian officer that "without the efforts, big and small, of the patriots our task would have been doubly difficult and three times as costly."

The Italian Partisan movement derives its strength from a determination that inspires distrust in Mr. Churchill, a determination not only to drive the Nazis out of Italy but to achieve political freedom within Italy. That is why it receives little help, if any, from the Allies.

The efforts of the Italian guerrillas have been far greater than is generally recognized. On September 27, 1944, when Marshal Alexander was besieging Bologna, he ordered the patriots of the city to rise against the enemy. "Allied armies," he said in his proclamation, "are fighting with the greatest determination in the Apennine Mountains and are advancing inexorably toward the Po Valley. The liberation of your town is approaching. Patriots, your task is to attack the enemy wherever you meet him, to hit him singly or in groups. Thus you will hasten your liberation." The Bologna patriots obeyed the Allied commander's orders, but Bologna was not freed and the Germans suppressed the rebellion. On November 20 the Swiss *National Zeitung* revealed that "on Marshal Kesselring's personal order two Black Shirt divisions arrived from Germany and spent about a month hunting, arresting, deporting, and massacring many thousands of Bolognese belonging to patriotic movements."

Certainly the Allies owe much to the courage and faith of these men who died for the common cause. But they are showing the same unwillingness to understand the true meaning of the Italian guerrilla movement as they showed earlier toward the French liberation movement and the Yugoslav Partisans. This attitude of the Allies was demonstrated when, on November 12, 1944, Marshal Alexander ordered the Italian Partisans to cease large-scale operations.

Captain Ettore Sighieri, leader of a Partisan brigade, correctly pointed out that "to disband the Partisans is a proposal which, aside from any moral consideration, is impossible to realize. When a man joins us, he not only wants to stay but is bound to stay. If the Allies should refuse to help us, if the Rome government should continue to do nothing for us, we would rather fight to the last with the few weapons we possess than go home and be shot by the Germans. . . . We Partisans cannot winter as a regular army. To do so we should have to take cover in villages; but if we occupy a village, the Germans attack us in great strength, forcing us to retreat, and then they destroy the village in reprisal. We cannot remain in the mountains because in the winter we find nothing to eat and the cold is too bitter. To return to the plains would mean to be sentenced to death or at best to be deported to Germany. In order to survive we have to fight." (*Italia Libera*, Rome, November 17, 1944.)

It was not with people like these that General Eisenhower signed the unconditional-surrender terms. The patriots' aim is not to save the dynasty through the protection of a foreign power but to help their country. It is largely owing to them that after twenty years of Fascist tyranny a democratic Italy is now emerging.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THERE has not only been a Crimean proclamation but a German counter-proclamation, issued officially by the German News Bureau on February 13. It bore the title "The Yalta Hate Program" and the subtitle "The Chief War Criminals, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, Concoct a Fresh Crime Against Mankind." The document began by pronouncing judgment on the Yalta communiqué:

This program of hatred is the greatest political murder conspiracy of all times. . . . Diabolical intention to destroy the center of Europe. . . . We are here faced not only with an orgy of hatred against Germany but with a crime against mankind, a crime far surpassing even that perpetrated by Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin in provoking this war.

It then gave a summary of the communiqué's contents:

The statement declares in detail that Germany is to be utterly crushed by brute force and then dismembered. German industry is to be carried off. Sham courts are to be set up to continue the mass murder of German men, women, and children. Pending trial, Germans are to be forced into slave labor for foreign tyrants. This in a nutshell is the import of the hate-inspired Yalta program, whose keynote is "unconditional surrender"—the demand that the German people voluntarily subscribe to their own extermination.

The driving force of the Crimean conference was unmasked as "truly Biblical Jewish hatred":

This plan to destroy Germany has its origins in international Jewry. That alone can explain the complete harmony among Washington, London, and Moscow. The driving force behind Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin is the Jew, that eternal Jew who has brought such infinite suffering to the people of this earth during the several thousand years of his existence. The Führer's prophecy is now to be confirmed. The Jew is out to exterminate the Aryan. That is one of the aims of this war. But the actual result will be extermination of the Jew in Europe.

Finally the reaction of the German people was predicted:

The news of the hate-inspired plan of Yalta is spreading inside Germany like wildfire. Never—this is our vow in this hour when our enemies have dropped their mask and we see the mocking, diabolical leer of the Jew—never shall this plan to murder Germany be executed. Never shall this attempt against the future of the European nations be actually carried out. Our wrath will grow into a wild national fury. Ninety million Germans will stand fast on their native soil and, arms in hand, shatter this plan, the most diabolical of all time.

What can the German people expect to gain from such a "wild national fury"? What can now change the outcome of the war? The things urged as ground for hope become more and more mystical and foolish. As the front drew near to the Saxon border the greatest newspaper in the country offered its readers this proof of the certain prospect of a change: "German leadership faces developments at the front with iron nerves and calmness. By this attitude it proves incontrovertibly that it still has the trumps with which to master the dangerous situation." A Pomeranian newspaper presented proof of equal validity. "Let us remember the plight of England and the Soviets a few years ago. Every blow a nation receives only makes it stronger and more determined. A decisive change is bound to occur."

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## FULL EMPLOYMENT—BEVERIDGE MODEL

BY MORDECAI EZEKIEL

*FULL EMPLOYMENT IN A FREE SOCIETY.* By William H. Beveridge. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.75.

THOSE who fear the Murray bill as "establishing a collective society" will view Sir William Beveridge's "Full Employment in a Free Society" with equal alarm. But all who realize the urgency of an effective yet democratic solution for this central problem of our times will find this epochal work a stimulus to clearer thought and an arsenal of arguments to overwhelm the doubters.

The publication of the American edition is an event of equal importance with the appearance of Keynes's "General Theory" itself. The book has a significance for contemporary America far greater than the brief notices from England had implied. Already the father of social security, Beveridge is now firmly established as master of the whole problem of employment and unemployment.

Sir William marshals the varied facts about the persistence of unemployment before the war, and states the case for governmental action to sustain markets for all that the economy can produce at full employment. Up to this point he follows the Keynesian analysis, and buttresses British and American proposals based upon it—the British White Paper, the President's last budget message, and the Murray bill (now the Murray-Wagner-Thomas-O'Mahoney bill). But he breaks new ground to conclude that public fiscal operations are not the only condition necessary to maintain full employment. "The first condition of full employment is that total outlay should always be high enough to set up a demand for products of industry . . . using the whole man-power of the country . . . this must be made a responsibility of the state." Beyond this basic need two subsidiary measures are also needed—"controlled location of industry and organized mobility of labor." "It is better, and less of an interference with individual lives, to control business men in the location of their enterprises than to leave them uncontrolled and to require work people to move their homes for the sake of employment." In addition to state control of the location of industry, the mobility of labor must be organized so as to flow into the right industries and, if necessary, into the right areas. "Use of unemployment exchanges . . . should be compulsory [for] all persons under eighteen, so that the flow of adaptable youth into industries may be wisely directed. Changes in the demand for labor are inseparable from progress. . . . Organized mobility means that if and when change is necessary, men and women should be willing to change their occupations and their places of work rather than cling to idleness. It does not mean perpetual motion." Beyond these three basic propositions, examination of the international implications of full employment in England leads Beveridge to two further propositions—not quite so

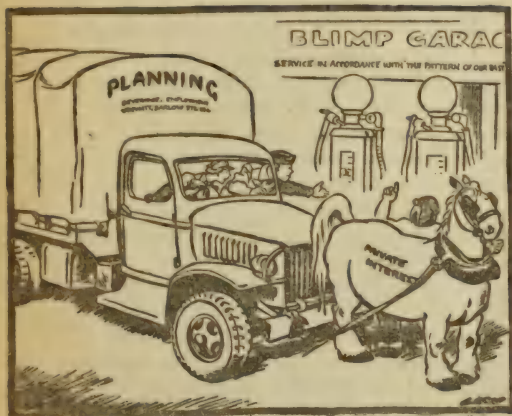
clearly high-lighted in his summary: (1) that if England and other countries are to follow full-employment policies while carrying on uncontrolled multilateral trading among themselves, they must retain the right to protect themselves "against the contagion of depression by discrimination in trade and by other measures . . . [such] protection . . . cannot make the ultimate condition of the depressed country worse"; and (2) that stabilization of "the production and marketing of . . . food and raw materials is an essential step for preventing fluctuation in industrial countries." But since all fluctuation in overseas demand cannot be eliminated, Britain must establish measures "for varying home demand to meet variations of overseas demand."

These basic proposals are supported by a marshaling of relevant facts on all aspects of the subject, especially British and American, which would be Teutonic in its thoroughness if it were not lightened by British conciseness and wit. "I have made the use of indispensable technical language as painless as possible by giving in Appendix D an explanation of terms." Despite the deep seriousness and even passion with which Sir William states his case, you are still aware of the irrepressible twinkle in his merry eye. The book is a very readable one, especially the initial forty-page introduction and summary. That is doubly fortunate, for first-hand understanding of this crucial subject is a "must" for many persons who never have attempted to master the technical jargon of economics.

Despite the wealth of statistical and economic erudition with which he supports his conclusions, Sir William's approach is deeply humanistic. Unemployment is not only an economic problem but a social disease. "The . . . Report takes as its aim freedom from idleness." While inability to find workers when needed is merely an inconvenience to the employer, causing "annoyance or loss," inability to find a job is "a personal catastrophe . . . idleness even on an income corrupts; the feeling of not being wanted demoralizes." The work men are put to must not be merely made work or leaf-raking—self-respect demands that they have work that they can see is useful and counts. Man-power must be used to produce products or services of the greatest significance to the community—"the objective is not simply outlay but wise outlay." But overriding this objective is work itself—men left hopelessly idle rot and perish (or create revolution, as in Germany, the reviewer would add).

Despite the additional facets which have been stressed, the dominant theme is the need and method of maintaining adequate market demand for all that the economy can produce. The use of public expenditure to maintain full employment is essentially a conservative undertaking—"full employment is in fact attainable while leaving the conduct of industry

in the main to private enterprise, and the proposals made in the Report are based on this view." The public budget must be so established that "after estimating how much . . . private citizens may be expected to lay out on consumption and private investment" there will be "public outlay sufficient, with this estimated private outlay, to employ the whole man-power of the country" (p. 136). This involves a clear break with the old principle that state budgets should be as small as possible and should balance income and outgo each year. So long as *laissez faire* is assumed to create effective demand for all the productive resources, "the state cannot prudently use . . . these resources for its own purposes without depriving private citizens of their use. But once the possibility of deficient private demand is admitted, the state . . . must be prepared to spend more than it takes away from its citizens by taxation, in order to use the labor and other productive resources which would otherwise be wasted in unemployment." Deficit expenditure, however, is not essential to state assurance of full employment—various models of British taxation and expenditure (prepared by Nicholas Kaldor) show that heavy state expenditures backed by heavy progressive taxation could maintain full employment and balance the public budget at the same time. While Sir William concludes that "it is better to provide the means for outlay by taxing than by borrowing," he has no fear of borrowing. Rather he emphasizes that "the state in matters of finance is in a different position from any private citizen or association of private citizens; it is able to control money in place of being controlled by it. . . . An internal national debt . . . does not and cannot reduce the total wealth of the community. . . . [British] national debt could be expanded at the rate of not less than £775 million a year . . . without involving any increase in tax rates to meet the additional charge for interest . . . a rate of borrowing far in excess . . . of anything needed to maintain full employment in peace



"DAMNIT, YOUNG MAN, WE MUSTN'T PUT THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE!"

time. . . . To submit to unemployment or slums or want, to let children go hungry and the sick untended, for fear of increasing the internal national debt is to lose all sense of relative values" (p. 148).

Nor is taxation merely a means of raising money. "Taxation . . . should be looked on as a means of reducing private

expenditure on consumption and thereby freeing real resources for other uses. . . . The decision as to how money required for public outlay should be raised depends really on the decision as to how money can be spent to best advantage," publicly or privately, that is, planned or unplanned. This decision will vary with time and circumstances; for England in the immediate post-war period he feels that publicly planned objectives will take precedence.

The annual national budget which Beveridge proposes is similar in most respects to that proposed in the Murray bill, though it is classified somewhat differently in groups which add up to (1) consumption outlay, (2) business investment (including public expenditures of a "self-liquidating" type), and (3) "communal outlay" on publicly produced or purchased "non-marketable goods and services." To these he adds a new type, "joint consumption outlay," under which the state would place orders with private producers for food, fuel, and other necessary products, "with a view to reselling them later to private consumers at a price which may at need be lowered by a subsidy." This method "combines the advantage of social guidance of outlay with consumers' freedom." This would be an alternative to, or extension of, the school-lunch, special-milk, and food-stamp plans used here and abroad. While Beveridge's public underwriting of private production bears some superficial resemblance to the general underwriting of basic industries which I proposed some years ago, he does not visualize the detailed industrial planning which my proposals assumed, or the simultaneous underwriting of as many sectors of industry.

Beveridge brings together his recommendations for England in a "long-term program of planned outlay" which would cover current expenditures by taxation at rates slightly heavier than in 1938, and capital items by borrowing at declining rates, with a substantial sinking fund. It includes "public business investment . . . in all monopolies so complete that they are taken over for administration by public corporations," regulation of private business investment through a National Investment Board, some subsidies to consumer goods, and a series of specific public measures including social security, national health service, nutrition "to insure to every person in the community a supply of essential foods suited to his special needs," fuel and other necessities "by guaranteeing a market and a price" through a public coal-marketing corporation, education, town and country planning, housing, and transport. These measures in the field of assured demand, plus controlled location of industry and organized mobility of labor, make up his specific post-war program.

Conservatives will not like Beveridge's book. Men of faint heart who want full employment to mean five million unemployed will not like his definition of full employment—that there must be more jobs waiting to be filled than there are unemployed men looking for jobs. Industrialists who feel that complete dependence on private enterprise with abandonment of all public efforts to support collective bargaining or to distribute income more widely is the sure way to better times will not like his steady insistence on measures to increase the purchasing power of the masses. Nor will they like his frank willingness to extend the area of public ownership and operation. Those brought up on the old doctrine

of budget balancing will condemn his willingness to employ the unbalanced budget whenever circumstances demand. But all those who approach the economic problems of today with an open mind and a willingness to hear both sides of the argument will find this a challenging and a stimulating work. Though frankly written for England, it recognizes the somewhat different problems of the United States as well. It probes the problem more deeply than our students have done for us. All who are trying to invent social devices to guide our course in the future, such as the Murray bill, and all who honestly criticize or challenge such devices should give it their careful and thoughtful attention. In Beveridge's concluding words, "The British people can win full employment while remaining free, but they have to win it, not wait for it. Full employment, like social security, must be won by a democracy. It cannot be forced on a democracy or given to a democracy. . . . It is something that the British democracy should direct its government to secure at all costs save the surrender of the essential liberties. . . . If full employment is not won and kept, no liberties are secure, for to many they will not seem worth while."

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE MOST CURIOUS THING my eye has caught in *The Nation* lately," writes an old friend and critic in Great Britain, "is M. M.'s paragraph about her dislike of Sunday. For my part I can't begin to understand it; nor, I think, have I ever known a person—man, woman, or child, in England or America—who did not rejoice over the day. Even in my boyhood, living in a puritanical London household, attending church twice, and Bible class, I always found Sunday the best day of the week; and at all stages since it has been so, as a rule with an underlying sense of thanks and well-being. . . . I should guess that among readers of *The Nation* there are almost none to agree with M. M."

As a matter of fact a *Nation* reader or two wrote in to protest. They thought I was attacking religion. But most of the readers who took any notice of my remarks shared my feeling. I'd say that in general it's one of those private feelings which one doesn't bother to mention first. Still I know of at least one man who found a London Sunday, a rainy Sunday, to be sure, less than bearable, and said so. De Quincey first took opium on that day. "It was Sunday afternoon, wet and cheerless; and a duller spectacle this earth of ours has not to show than a rainy Sunday in London."

I RECENTLY PICKED UP the biography of Mentor Graham, "the man who taught Lincoln," which was published some time ago by the University of Chicago Press (\$3.75). It was written by Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nichols, who traveled 7,000 miles in three states in their search for material about the man whose name, Mentor, was so appropriate to his calling. (He had a sister named Minerva.) The authors' long and loving account of Graham's forbears, his early life and family affairs, will be of interest to few but his descendants and their relatives. The essential story—that of his asso-

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ciation with Lincoln—could be contained in a very small book if not an extended essay. But that essential story and the figure of Mentor Graham, the schoolteacher in the wilderness, are extremely interesting. Mentor Graham, whose passion for learning, for teaching, and for discussion often annoyed his wife and puzzled his fellow-pioneers, met Lincoln in 1831. Lincoln, then twenty-two, said he had a notion to study grammar, and the fat was in the fire. He walked six miles to get the other copy of Kirkham's grammar that Graham knew about. In 1833 Lincoln moved into the Graham household. According to his biographers, Graham by that time had collected a remarkably complete library. It included originals and translations of the classics, histories of America, Europe, and the Orient, volumes of biography, poetry and prose, philosophy, books on chemistry, botany, algebra. Lincoln read, and the two of them talked in sessions that went on into the small hours night after night, while Mrs. Graham complained. They borrowed books and took turns reading aloud. Graham, having found the ideal pupil, rode him hard. He made him give reports, written and oral, of what he had read. He made him "parse every word" of Paine's "Age of Reason" for instance, and examine its logic just as minutely. He trained him in public speaking. Graham and Lincoln not only read "great books." They had endless discussions of the issues of the day; and there was a debating society in New Salem.

It would be fascinating to have a complete list of the books in Mentor Graham's library. But even without such a list, it is obvious that Lincoln received, when he was most ready to absorb it, a remarkable education at the hands of a tireless tutor.

The tutor had his reward. He sat on the platform when his prize pupil was inaugurated President of the United States. He must have been, in a way, chief mourner when the man to whom he had given so much of himself was assassinated.

We tend to forget that many pioneers carried, along with their household goods, a live coal of the culture they left behind. They named their children Mentor and Minerva. They held out for grammar and Latin against terrific odds, and often passed on a tradition of respect for learning, an interest in ideas, which they themselves had not the time or opportunity to implement; except in practical and political affairs, of course, where many an old idea was taken for new. Lincoln, the statesman, did not spring full-fledged from a split rail. He had been, among other things, the student of Mentor Graham, one of the more conscious carriers of the heritage of human thought.

I SUPPOSE it was because I had just read a review of William H. Beveridge's "Full Employment" that I was so struck by an advertisement for "idle diamonds." It's a nice phrase. A diamond which is busy in industry cutting glass or doing whatever else diamonds do may be said to be fully employed. But what about the diamonds in earrings, necklaces, clips, and bracelets? Are they idle or busy? The answer is obvious. They are the hardest-working diamonds of all. They are not only taking care of vast quantities of that excess purchasing power I hear so much about. They are also among the most reliable known generators of social security.

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### The Widow

IN 1934 AN EPIDEMIC of newspaper stories made the average American familiar with at least the name of the Black Widow spider. A hairless, shiny black creature with a body about the size of a pea and a red hour-glass-shaped spot on the under side, it is far less dangerous looking than the common wolf spider, to say nothing of such monsters as the so-called tarantulas which occasionally emerge from bunches of bananas. But for once it is almost as dangerous as people commonly suppose almost any snake or spider to be. Whereas neither the banana spider nor, so far as is known, any native American spider except the Widow is capable of causing more than local discomfort, she—and it really is only the female who is dangerous—can cause agonizing pain lasting for days, and sometimes death.

"Black Widow" by Raymond W. Thorp and Weldon D. Woodson, two amateur but apparently competent and informed investigators (Chapel Hill, \$3), includes a certain amount of picturesque spider lore but is chiefly devoted to a summary of the scientific and clinical data available concerning the Widow, her habits, and the effects of her bite. Certainly spider poisoning is not one of the major threats to life in America, but cases are common enough to make the subject a serious one, and the creature is known in each of the forty-eight states. Serum treatment is not conspicuously successful, and the tourniquet is useless even if applied immediately following the bite. The most successful treatment includes the production of a copious sweat, and if, as the writers speculate, it was really a spider of this genus rather than a tarantula which was responsible for the dancing cure of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then that cure may have had a rational basis. Black Widows build a messy web, usually in dark corners and frequently under the seats of outdoor privies. No methods of chemical or biological control have so far proved very successful. The advice of the present authors seems to come down to this: if you see a Black Widow, swat it. The present reviewer, most of whose friends regard every milk snake as a copper head and every hog-nosed snake as a cobra, would like to add: make your own life easier by remembering what a Black Widow looks like.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

### Once More the Balkans

SINCE THE WAR BEGAN several volumes dealing with the Balkans have appeared which seem to confirm the standard opinion that those "eternal European squabbles" which isolationists hold responsible for the world conflagration start in that traditional powder barrel. Disproving this scapegoat theory, Bernard Newman in his latest book, "Balkan Background" (Macmillan, \$2.50), stresses that "every one of the Balkan wars was impelled from without, not within." In spite of the author's inclination to whitewash Balkan kings and to find a common denominator for the ethnic medley, his book is an up-to-date, careful study of this intricate problem. There are slight inaccuracies—the Bulgars are unques-

tionably of Ural-Altaic origin, Transylvania became united with Hungary in 1848 and not in 1868, Papandreou proved no success—but the author hits upon the answer to the Balkan riddle when he points to the economic distress of the peasantry, to the barren soil from which they must derive support, and to the minority problem which results in ethnic clashes because nationalism, having begun much later than in Western Europe, is more passionate.

The remedies suggested by the author are obviously sound. Agrarian reform, mechanized agriculture, special education coupled with industrialization must be undertaken in order to alleviate the misery; a Balkan or a Central European federation based on "some kind of declaration of the rights of man" must not only eliminate racial feuds but deter aggressors and prevent the use of the little states as puppets of the great powers. It is true that Russia has been unfavorable to federal schemes, but recently it appears that this opposition is directed only against "premature and artificial linking of small countries." Russia certainly cannot tolerate a *cordon sanitaire* on its western frontier, but the author's argument seems to be irrefutable: no Central European federation is conceivable without Czechoslovakia, and no federation which included that republic could ever be directed against Russia. In discussing the six Balkan countries—of which Rumania is indeed geographically no part—Mr. Newman gives a succinct but scholarly account of their history and of their political and economic structure. Since he draws upon his personal experience as well as his studies, his book is pleasant reading. Its lesson is the old one—either the Balkans must become Europeanized or Europe will become Balkanized.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

## China's Future

REALISTIC APPRAISAL of China's potential strength in the post-war world, especially as it affects the security problem in the Far East, is a not unimportant task. In "China Among the Powers" (Harcourt Brace, \$2) David Rowe makes clear the obstacles still to be surmounted in the creation of a strong China. Material factors—raw materials, transport, and techniques—are not favorable to rapid industrialization, and the first of these might even set limits to its eventual scope. Emphasis is laid on the equally significant difficulties presented by the social organization of Chinese agriculture and the nature of the ruling bureaucracy. In a noteworthy summary generalization Rowe writes: "To gain such military strength, [China] must raise greatly the level of the physical and technical efficiency of her manpower and increase agricultural production while altering radically the system of distribution of agricultural income. The present agricultural system is the first point of attack for the creation of that technical and economic advance, and that social and political unity, which are so necessary if China is to attain the power to provide for her own security." In the light of this conclusion, it is surprising that the author virtually ignores the gains made in these directions by a new social and political order established during the war for some ninety million people in the North China provinces. The prospect for China's future indicated in this study might be far less dark if the reforms instituted

by the Chinese Communists became the accepted pattern for a united China operating on the basis of democratic principles and practice.

T. A. BISSON

## Public Debt and Public Policy

BETWEEN THE ALARMISTS who regard the size of the public debt as a national disaster and the sanguine advocates of perpetual deficit financing it is refreshing to find an economist who goes to the heart of the matter: people are worried about government borrowing because it affects the distribution of wealth.

In "The Public Debt" (John Day, \$1.75) Professor Withers thoroughly refutes the viewers-with-alarm, taking them up one by one and answering their arguments in specific terms. But he is only a little less impatient with those who regard the debt as unimportant because we owe it to ourselves. As he says, management of the debt may have equally disastrous results if it leads to pronounced inflation or deflation.

Even if the debt is stabilized, the collection of taxes from one income group to pay interest to another group which owns most of the bonds affects not only the distribution of current income but also the pattern of consumer spending. The consequences of a \$300 billion debt would be negligible only if taxes were collected in exact proportion to individuals' and corporations' bond holdings.

Management of the public debt is therefore a basic instrument of public policy. Some general knowledge of government finance has become essential to a healthy democracy, and

"... a stimulating book."

—*Journal of Philosophy*

# METHODOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

By Felix Kaufmann

Professor, Department of Philosophy of the Graduate Faculty,  
New School for Social Research

"... a penetrating discussion that throws much needed light on a number of fundamental questions connected not only with the social sciences, but with science and the theory of knowledge in general... written throughout with admirable clarity... a very able piece of work indeed."—C. J. Ducasse, *Brown University*.

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114 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 11



it is unfortunate that not only the public but also the leaders of public opinion are so woefully ignorant of the subject. Professor Withers has condensed it into 109 pages, which cover the ground more thoroughly than most full-length textbooks.

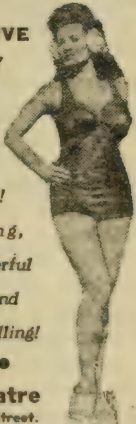
The first chapter is marred by a few rather hasty generalizations such as, "War unavoidably increases the political

powers of business men because military mechanisms are dependent upon the factories that they manage." Dealing with his main subject, the author is much more objective; the book is a real contribution to intelligent citizenship, and it is written for the intelligent citizen. CHARLES E. NOYES

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## Steig's Cartoons

THE MATING of drawing with caption has produced a new but very dependent and transitory pictorial genre. The future will be more informed than delighted by it. We can still relish the brush-drawing on a Greek vase for its own sake as a drawing—whether fitted happily or unhappily to the shape of the vessel. But to appreciate William Steig's cartoons you have to get their point, and to get their point you have to be intimately acquainted with the contemporary American literate middle classes. And yet in spite of all this, Steig's cartoons push and strain against the social and psychological limitations of the cartoon form, and strive to become self-sufficient, time-transcending art. The quasi-abstract drawings in "All Embarrassed" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$2) are, though not necessarily the best, those which most visibly embody Steig's aesthetic yearning. A good deal of automatism has gone into them as well as a full acquaintance with Klee, Picasso, and particularly Miró, yet they do not manage to escape the neatness and the formalization of the cartoon—nor will they until Steig forces himself to leave his forms more open and to take into greater account the shape of the page. It is no accident that the cartoon called *Organism and Environment* is the best in the book as a matter of drawing and picture composition.

Once in a while Steig's wit makes all the above irrelevant. I submit the cartoons called *The Conversation Lags I*, *Misunderstanding*, and *Intrusion*. If, however, Steig were somewhat more susceptible himself to those dangers of middle-class existence he too triumphantly points out, he would score much more frequently.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

## STAGE PLAYS

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**UP IN CENTRAL PARK**  
Book by HERBERT LYRICS by DOROTHY FIELDS MUSIC by SIGMUND ROMBERG  
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# Films

JAMES  
AGEE

**B**ETRAYAL FROM THE EAST," a spy melodrama about an ex-soldier who pretends to get for Japanese agents the plans for the defense of the Panama Canal, is supposed to be a true story. I am perfectly willing to believe it is, but my willingness is seldom encouraged by the way it is presented on the screen. If two Japanese spies employed in an American newspaper office in Tokyo are settling down to their daily eavesdropping, surely they don't bother to exchange a glance of villainous complicity. If an experienced reporter has to try to get back alive to the States with some mortally red-hot information, surely the idea of memorizing it doesn't elude his intelligence for a couple of hundred feet or, when at last he thinks of it, strike him as remarkably brilliant or brand-new. If two Army Intelligence agents meet in a hotel room to feed false dialogue to a planted enemy dictaphone, surely, once they are dead certain that no hidden camera or slanteye is trained on them, they stop trying to suit their actions to their words. If still another agent is being steamed to death in her Nazi ex-lover's beauty parlor, surely she would take prompt care, on principle or by instinct if for no better use, to get next the floor, where breathing lasts longest and the heat is least oppressive. If such minor oversights were rectified in advance of release, stories much less plausible than this one could be made to seem true, and even interesting. There is, on the other hand, no sort of harm in the movie, and it is a pleasure to see Lee Tracy again, and Nancy Kelly's famous shoulders. I may be presumptuous with that adjective, but they have always been famous with me.

"Bring on the Girls" is a hard-polished color musical about a susceptible millionaire (Eddie Bracken), his bodyguard (Sonny Tufts), and a predatory woman (Veronica Lake). It isn't much, I suppose; but I enjoyed a skit by a couple of subhuman quacks (Porter Hall and another very good, familiar face whose name I can't remember); Eddie Bracken is so likable, and knows his work so well, that he can't even walk out on a diving-board without getting sympathy and a laugh; and Sonny Tufts sings well. I have an idea he could become almost as good as Crosby, on almost as broad a range.

"Pan-Americana" is another of those

buckets of good-swill that make me wish some Latin American movie people would come north, for a change, and take fair vengeance on the United States; a job at which I would be only too happy to help out. In some other respects, however, I rather liked the picture. There is a general air of casual lousiness about it—the aching dreariness of the climactic stage tableaux for instance—which seems very friendly and fresh compared with the high-finished pink granite gravestones which are normally released as musical comedies. The song-and-dance numbers are mainly poor, but with the fierce unembalmed poorness of the real thing, as you see it in night clubs. The love story is a classically heartless record—set up as merely cute—of fifth-rate conduct between a professional seducer and an even less scrupulous nice girl; but some of it is written and directed, and is played by Philip Terry and Audrey Long, as if such a relationship were worth honest observation, as indeed it is.

## Drama Note

**T**HE STRANGER" (Playhouse) is another mystery-horror play with a Victorian scene. Without being exactly first rate it has its points, of which one is a good gas-lit atmosphere and a collection of amusing caricatures, all of which are vivaciously enacted with broad effectiveness by an excellent cast. The scene is a dismal workingmen's club in Whitechapel, and the excitement is contributed by the Jack the Ripper who is busy slitting throats just off stage. There is rather more amusement than terror to be got out of the affair, and this suits me well enough. I did, however, object somewhat to the casual way in which the misleading clues were brushed aside. The procedure is a bit too suggestive of the Oh-that-was-just-put-in-to-make-it-harder explanation.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## Records

B. H.  
HAGGIN

**C**OLUMBIA has made its first two releases of the symphonic recordings that have been made since the end of the Petrillo ban. It has issued a set (\$58; \$5.50) of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique") performed by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra; and another (\$57; \$5.50) of

Beethoven's Seventh performed by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra.

Beginning with the "Pathétique," I was glad to hear the natural sound of an orchestra, clear and bright, instead of the muffled, hollow, distorted sound from Columbia's pre-Petrillo-ban recordings of the New York Philharmonic. This was true of the first side, and the second, so that I was unprepared for the dull, unclear sound from the third side, after which brightness and clarity returned with the fourth. The variation in quality continued: in the second movement, for example, the passage at the beginning of the sixth side had a brilliance which it had not had at its previous appearance on the fifth. In addition there was another defect, of which some of the worst examples occurred at the very beginning: in relation to the *pp* of the string basses the *pp* of the solo bassoon was much too loud (it was not even *p* but *f*), and the crescendo of the strings too great; a moment later, in relation to the *pp* of the solo horn the *p* of the woodwinds was too loud; and throughout there were other instances of such alteration of the relative degrees of loudness prescribed by Tchaikovsky in his score. Some of them, I suspect, were caused by the way the performance was recorded (microphone placement, etc.); but things like that excessive crescendo of the strings were in the performance which the recording picked up. For it is a performance with violences and crudenesses, large and small, which are characteristic of Rodzinski and also part of the traditional way of misperforming Tchaikovsky. The Ormandy and Furtwängler performances are better, and are better recorded.

As for Beethoven's Seventh, Ormandy seems to have listened to the tempos of Toscanini's recorded performance and to have agreed with them—all of them, including not only the somewhat faster-than-usual tempo of the *Allegretto* but the much faster tempo of the trio of the scherzo movement that has bothered some listeners. If this conveys the impression that Ormandy has tried to produce an exact copy of Toscanini's performance, let me hasten to correct it—to point out, for example, that Ormandy follows his own practice of announcing things with preparatory retardations and pauses which are not to be heard in Toscanini's performance. And that is one reason for the important thing—which is that Ormandy does not give the movements the organic coherence and sustained intensity that Toscanini does. Nor is the inferior performance to be

preferred because of superior recording: the loud passages of Ormandy's performance are reproduced with a coarseness and stridency that one doesn't get from the loudest climaxes of the Toscanini recording, or from the couple of Victor recordings of the Philadelphia Orchestra in my possession. I should mention also that side two of the first movement is tremendously louder than sides one and three; side five of the second movement is louder than four and six; and side eight of the third movement is louder than seven (but the extremes of loud and soft are troublesome in the Toscanini recording); and that my review copy has some sides with noises and swishes.

All that Victor has issued is a new picture album (979; \$5.50) in which it has assembled a number of Melchior's previously issued Wagner recordings. They include the second-act duet from "Tristan und Isolde" with Flagstad, and the Forging Song from "Siegfried," which is one of the engaging moments of the "Ring"; and these are all that I care to hear; but for those who want them there are also Lohengrin's Narrative, the Hymn to Venus and the Rome Narrative from "Tannhäuser," and the Steersman's Song from "The Flying Dutchman."

## CONTRIBUTORS

PAUL MALLES was for several years a correspondent in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe for the Stockholm *Social Demokraten* (now the *Morgonbladet*). He is now doing war work in Canada.

MARVIN LOWENTHAL is the author of "Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters," "The Jews of Germany," and "A World Passed By," dealing with Jewish culture in Europe and North Africa.

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI is executive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He was formerly principal of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

IRVING LIPKOWITZ is an economist with the Department of Justice. The views expressed in his article are his own and do not reflect official government policy.

JOHN W. WHITE has represented American newspapers in Santiago, Chile, for many years and recently concluded a trip through South America.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## G. B. Shaw's Vinegar Method

Dear Sirs: The extermination of flies and fascists raises the age-old question of honey vs. vinegar. The Pétaïns, Darlans, Badoglios, and Greek Monarchists derived much-needed strength from lapping up tons of honey supplied by the British and American governments. And those fascists that have been destroyed got hold of some strong vinegar. When in power, fascists themselves are never bothered by this problem; they invariably mix a hellish, poisonous brew for their natural enemies: laborites, liberals, anti-fascist churchmen, members of minority groups, and other decent people.

George Bernard Shaw, who used vinegar against Victorianism with such success, is the greatest living exponent of the vinegar method of dealing with vermin. He has given labor movements in Allied countries a prescription for a powerful germicide which, if used, would help keep world fascists under control.

Shaw's prescription is set forth on page 59 of "What I Really Wrote About the War," addressed to British labor during World War I. It is applicable to world labor now:

The Labor Party, then, need have no hesitation in raising all the standing controversies between democracy and Junkerism in their acutest form, and taking advantage of the war emergency to press them to a series of parliamentary victories for Labor, whether in negotiations with the government whips, in divisions on the floor of the House, or in strenuously contested by-elections. No doubt our Junkers will try to disarm their opponents by representing that it would be in the last degree unfair, un-English, and ungentlemanly on the part of the Labor members to seize any tactical advantage in parliamentary warfare, and most treacherous and unpatriotic to attack their country (meaning the Junker Party) when it is at war. Some Labor members will be easily enough gulled in this way: it would be laughable, if the consequences were not so tragic, to see how our parliamentary beginners from the working class succumb to the charm of the Junker appeal. The Junkers themselves are not to be coaxed in this manner. . . . The Labor Party will soon learn the value of these polite demonstrations that it is always its duty not to hamper the governing classes in their very difficult and delicate and dangerous task of safeguarding the interests of this great empire; in short, to let itself be gammoned by elegant phrases and by adroit practices on its personal good nature, its inveterate proletarian sentimentality, and its secret misgivings as to the correctness of its manners. The Junkers have already taken the fullest advantage of the war to paralyze democracy. If the Labor members do not take

a vigorous counter-offensive, and fight every parliamentary trench to the last division, the labor movement will be rushed back as precipitately as General von Kluck rushed the Allies back from Namur to the gates of Paris. In truth, the importance of the war to the immense majority of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans lies in the possibility that when Junkers fall out common men may come by their own.

Applied to the current situation, Shaw's formula tells us to look to the American State Department; to cut off the supply of honey going from America to Europe's quislings; to make an end to cartels; to intensify labor's political activity; to encourage government ownership of industry; to obtain a voice for labor at the peace table; to make labor a partner in the management of American industry. He challenges the British labor movement to work for internal reforms; to set India free; to support forces of democracy in Italy, Greece, France, Belgium and Spain. And to all the unclean-handed ones who decry using the war emergency to accomplish social reforms he says "phooey." WALTER WILSON

East Chatham, N. Y., January 15

## Federal Aid for Education

Dear Sirs: Everyone who accepts the American principle of opportunity should give support to the bill for \$300,000,000 of federal funds for education to be expended under control of the states. The bill provides that part of the funds must be spent specifically to raise the salaries of teachers. Their salaries have not been raised either in proportion to the increase in the cost of living or to the increase in the total pay including overtime of workers in war industries. Unless teachers receive increased pay, many will leave their professions and thousands of schools in rural and low-income areas will be forced to close; classes will be so overcrowded that the quality of education will suffer seriously.

Part of the federal funds is to be used to raise the educational level in states where educational facilities are now poorest. At present states with the lowest per capita income have the greatest educational burden but the least ability to carry that burden. "The kids are where the cash ain't," as one homespun philosopher put it; and this bill is necessary to help equalize educational opportunities throughout the nation.

Because policies determined in Washington more and more affect the lives of all of us, and because ignorance tends to be represented by ignorance, it is to the interest of American citizens anywhere to see that American citizens everywhere get a good education.

Write to your Senators and Congressmen to support S. 181, the Hill-Thomas Bill for Federal Aid to Education.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, February 9

## For the Tens

*Dear Sirs:* We are studying race discrimination. We are studying it all year. It is interesting but terrible to find out what hardships the Negroes, Jews, and other minorities are going through. We got very much concerned when a Negro boy went to one of the boys' houses who is in our group. The elevator man made him walk up the back stairs. The white boy felt very bad. So he started a club called the A. L. C. O., which means Abraham Lincoln Carries On. We would appreciate it if you would print this in your paper to help us in the fight.

GEOFFREY BROTHERS,

For the 10's, Little Red School House  
New York, February 14

## In Memoriam

*Dear Sirs:* Lieutenant Lowell Bready, formerly a reporter on a morning paper in Santa Cruz, California, was killed in action at Cherbourg on June 25, 1944. He had saved enough money for a down payment on a newspaper, and, in the midst of war, he had written the introductory announcement for his post-war venture.

Here is what he intended to announce to the people of a community in western America:

My friend, a newspaper photographer, warned me that one cannot earn a living running an honest newspaper today.

He said that perhaps an editor in an American community could condemn Nazi tactics in Europe, but that he must not be too critical of undemocratic tendencies in his home town.

He meant an editor can defend the right of workmen to strike against Little Steel in the Middle West, but cannot risk his investment when there's a strike in the biggest industry in his home town.

He meant that the right people can kill stories. He meant that you can't be honest all the time on any newspaper today because honesty doesn't pay.

Perhaps he is right. Maybe honesty hasn't paid because too few men have had the courage to try to make it pay.

What does it mean if an editor doesn't tell the truth when there is a labor dispute in his home town? It means everything. His failure is the world's failure to tell the truth.

His failure means that for a larger income, for fortifying his investment, he is willing to give up voluntarily the same thing France, Greece, Norway, and others, lost and must now spill blood to regain—freedom of expression, honesty of expression.

I could have said this whole thing in a few words. More and more editors must prove that the photographer was wrong. I wanted to be one of the editors who help to prove it. I'm here to help prove it in this corner of America.

The (name of newspaper) will play ball in building this community in every above-board way it can. It will play ball in giving you the best all-around newspaper it can turn out. It will play ball in getting everything for you and me that we want and deserve in the way of a better life. But if someone should try to pressure us into taking what we believe is the wrong side of any question; if someone should try to pressure us into hushing any important information—then, right then, we will be through playing ball.

SUTTON CHRISTIAN

Somewhere in Asia, December 13

## Watch the Pope!

*Dear Sirs:* In reading Gaetano Salvemini's informative and interesting article, No Vatican Plan for Italy? it occurs to me that we are paying too little attention to the dangerous role played by the Vatican today and in the years preceding fascism's rise to power.

It is unfortunate that in our plans to punish those guilty of supporting and spreading the terror across Europe and the Americas we have not included certain pro-Axis Jesuits among the criminals. The Vatican has only been interested in saving its own political and religious power at the expense of so-called democratic countries overrun by the fascist advance. The Vatican has never been anything but pro-Axis from the start, and all of us, civilian and military, should govern our actions and opinions accordingly. If we do not, like the pre-Hitler Germans, we may find that we have traded our plowshares for blackjacks.

SERVICE MAN

February 15

## I Bin Thinking . . .

*Dear Sirs:* I bin thinking. In all maps use 30 miles to the inch on the western front and 100 miles to the inch on the eastern front—it will keep up the morale.

American generals rely on steady pressure, Russian generals rely on quick, heavy punches, and English generals on afternoon tea.

The Germans have won the war four and a half times already, and after three more of those supreme victories they hope for a draw. We will soon eliminate the Nazis. Of course as they are the

only ones available with experience we will also put them in charge in Germany. Why not reward Hitler, Himmler and Co. with fine incomes, residences in Berlin, and of course, with guards. Germans could not then make martyrs out of them as they will if we obliterate the gang. This may be hard on the "haters," but it is a good way to kill Nazism.

JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia, February 9

## Cummington Pays Its Way

*Dear Sirs:* We have received copies of F. W. Dupee's review of recent poetry from your issue of February 10, and thank you for them.

We're glad Mr. Dupee liked Robert Lowell's poems, but sorry for a misstatement in the article's first sentence: we are not subsidized and, on the contrary, are trying rather desperately hard to make a living on the sale of our books. Most of these are printed here, another way in which we are unlike New Directions.

HARRY DUNCAN,

Manager, the Cummington Press  
Cummington, Mass., February 8

## Clothes for Liberated Peoples

*Dear Sirs:* The need for clothing in the recently liberated countries of Europe is very great. Our first appeal for clothing met with the most generous response; we have already shipped several thousand pounds of warm clothes to France and Italy. Yet the need is so acute that we must appeal once more to our friends to send us any additional garments that can be spared. We are glad to receive all packages by Railway Express collect at our warehouse, 103 Orchard Street, New York 2, N. Y.

SHEBA STRUNSKY,

Executive Secretary International Rescue and Relief Committee  
New York, January 31

## Warning

*Dear Sirs:* Your paragraph on cooperatives in the issue of December 23 is in an optimistic vein, but ominous



### "HEAVEN AND HELL"

The most definite teaching on the certainty of immortality and on the life hereafter is to be found in the Writings of

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

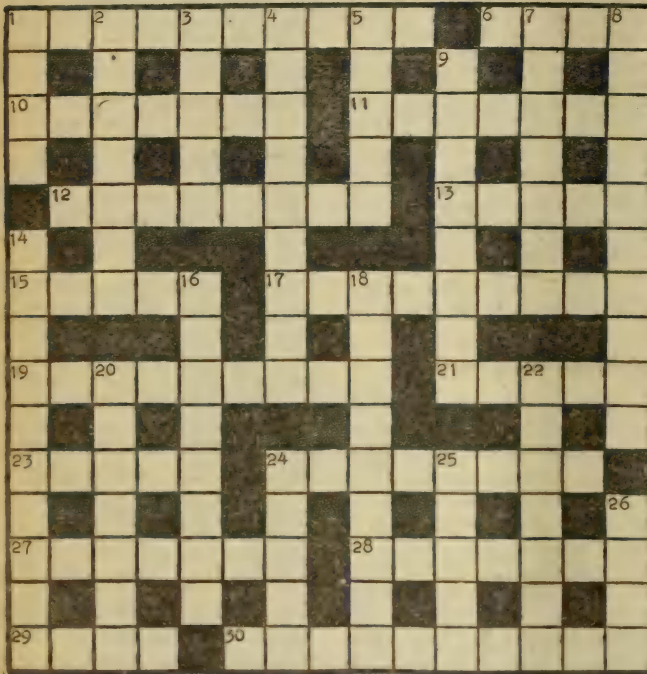
famed scientist, philosopher, theologian and statesman. His book on HEAVEN AND HELL, FROM THINGS HEARD AND SEEN, may be obtained by new readers at the introductory price of five cents.

SWEDENBORG FOUNDATION, INC.

Room 1636, 61 East 42nd St., New York 17

## Crossword Puzzle No. 105

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Men are most apt to believe what they least -----, thought Montaigne  
 6 No wonder there's a shout when it's a hundred all!  
 10 An error in taste is almost bad for me (two words, 3 and 4)  
 11 Sic ----- gloria mundi  
 12 Stuff non-inflammable bricks are made of  
 13 Elgar, large, glare and lager are its anagrams  
 15 Trimmed  
 17 The works  
 19 Of especial interest to those contemplating marriage (two words, 4 & 5)  
 21 There are trees and a steer in the compound  
 23 English county, in short, where opals are found in confusion (not profusion)  
 24 Slow and laborious  
 27 Silvery inside covers?  
 28 I've coin, as the price list shows  
 29 "The extravagant and erring spirit ---- To his confine" (*Hamlet*)  
 30 Far short of being one of the herbalist's sovereign remedies

## DOWN

- 1 The boss on the shield  
 2 What Dawkins, in *Oliver Twist*, reduced to an art  
 3 Only river of Europe in which a heron may be seen  
 4 Usually attached to an ultimatum

- (two words, 4 and 5)  
 5 Spruce  
 7 Getting the point of one is no joke in Zululand  
 8 Barrie interior (two words, 6 and 4)  
 9 Dorothy Sayers called it the graveyard of good cooks  
 14 He resolved to live to be a thousand, or die in the attempt  
 16 These domestic articles are of little use without brushes  
 18 He cheerfully takes over the cares of others  
 20 A medley started by me  
 22 Halloo! Tally ho! Yoicks! and another hunting cry  
 24 Out of date, or nearly so  
 25 A plunger, but not on the Stock Market  
 26 Certain place which it is impolite to mention here

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 104

ACROSS:—1 MICROBE; 5 DICKENS; 9 SOLVE; 10 POETASTER; 11 ALIGNMENT; 12 OSAKA; 13 DAISIES; 15 STOPPLE; 17 CANAPES; 19 BISECTS; 21 SEWER; 23 OFFENBACH; 25 ELEMENTAL; 26 GLAIR; 27 SCENTED; 28 SHRIKES.

DOWN:—1 MUSTARD; 2 COLLISION; 3 OCEAN; 4 EXPRESS; 5 DUETTOS; 6 CLAMOROUS; 7 EXTRA; 8 SURNAME; 14 IMPERFECT; 16 PICKABACK; 17 COSTER'S; 18 SPOTTED; 19 BAFFLES; 20 SPHERES; 22 WHERE; 24 NIGER.

clouds are gathering on the horizon. Big business in Canada has forced the appointment of a royal commission to give the cooperatives in Canada a good dragooning. Big business up here is thoroughly alarmed and aroused. This commission business is not a reconnaissance; it is an all-out assault designed to cripple the cooperatives for the next fifty years. If they succeed up here it will galvanize the enemies of co-ops in the United States to deadly emulation. So while we mount the barricades, keep your own powder dry. *The Nation* should sound the tocsin in the United States. There will be dirty work in the clinches.

OWEN O'CLOUTARD

Moncton, N. B., Canada, December 30

## "Our Lives Are Gray..."

Dear Sirs: Will *The Nation* raise its tempered and ringing liberal voice in behalf of the unglamorous prison officer in uniform? We say unglamorous, because the press and radio have done so much to enhance the values of our social cousins, the members of the police and the FBI.

We too get killed; we too get maimed. Nobody sings hosannas, nobody gives us medals, and yet life-insurance rates on us are higher than on the police. We are trying to get out of the Middle Ages. Our lives are gray, grim, and colorless, hopeless, baffled as are those of the unfortunates in our charge. Prison officers in general are a seedy lot, in home life, clothing, spirit. We are the conscience of society, and therefore society turns its back on us. There is something unsavory about us, and our work, and yet it is a necessary work.

A bill to give us a pay boost is scheduled to be introduced in the New York legislature. Such has not been done for many a year.

We ask the editorial support of the great and liberal *Nation*. Many reading what you have to say may come forward to help us get our bill passed. The offender, too, will benefit. Nobody knows better than the prison officer the sham and the shame in which the inmates live; how false are our rehabilitative statistics; how lying our rehabilitative departments. We are hopeful that a better-paid prison job will attract to the profession a better-prepared prison officer. The unfortunate offender will benefit as well.

DANIEL A. HARVEY, President,  
 Uniformed Prison Officers Association  
 Ossining, N. Y., December 30

# THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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## The Shape of Things

THE ACT OF CHAPULTEPEC SETTING UP A security plan for the Western Hemisphere is a very tentative document, but even so it represents a revolutionary change in inter-American relations. For it clearly pledges all the nations of the hemisphere to act together, using force if necessary, to protect the independence and territorial integrity of any nation threatened with aggression. The pledge holds only for the duration, and the whole plan must be fitted into the larger framework of a world security agreement. But meanwhile it involves commitments that certainly go far beyond anything the United States delegation to the Mexican conference anticipated or probably wanted. The fact is, the act was something of a political coup. It arose out of the widespread feeling of insecurity and resentment created by the State Department's handling of the Argentine issue. Without previous consultation, the United States had practically forced the Latin-American countries to support our quarantine of the Farrell government. But a policy which was safe and easy for a great power four thousand miles away was packed with danger for Argentina's neighbors. Undoubtedly the security plan first proposed by the Uruguayan delegation was in large part an answer to these unilateral tactics: it gave notice, in effect, that if the United States insisted upon exposing the Latin-American countries to the threat of armed attack the least it could do was to sign a pledge of mutual defense. The original proposal called for a permanent, unequivocal collective-security agreement. This our delegation could not accept, first, because it would probably conflict with the provisions of the United Nations charter, and second, because it would have to be submitted to the Senate for approval. By clever diplomacy and quick footwork, the delegation produced the compromise finally adopted. It serves at least to demonstrate our good intentions, but the future of Pan-American security lies not in Mexico City but in San Francisco.

✱

THE ECONOMIC CHARTER OF THE AMERICAS proposed by the United States delegation at the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City is full of fine phrases about "rising levels of living," "economic liberty," and "the abandonment of discrimination." But, as Anita Brenner observes elsewhere in this issue, the Latin-American countries are not much interested in generalities; they want assurances against sudden cancelation of war orders and aid in developing greater industrialization, without which they can have little hope of improving their standards of living. On these questions the charter conspicuously fails to get down to earth. In the matter of new industries, it accents heavily

reliance on private enterprise and includes a pledge by the signatories "to refrain from the establishment of state enterprises for the conduct of trade." This sounds like an attempt to impose our economic system on our neighbors as the price of any aid we may afford them. With regard to the problem of commodity surpluses, which may become acute after the war, the charter does recognize that *laissez faire* is not a sufficient answer. Consequently, it suggests that a solution may be found in "agreed national and international action looking to the expansion of consumption and the readjustment of production, with due regard to the interests of consumers and producers and the requirements of an expanding world economy." Obviously, this question, like so many others touched on by the charter, is much more than an inter-American one. We hope that eventually it will be tackled by a world conference on economic planning and in far more concrete terms than have been employed at Mexico City.

✱

GENERAL DE GAULLE, ABSORBED IN PLANS TO restore the power and glory of France, appears increasingly anxious to postpone consideration of fundamental changes at home. In a speech to the Assembly last week he accepted the necessity of state control of key industries during the war but indicated a desire to avoid "changes in structure." The program of nationalization, he declared, must await the advent of an elected Parliament, and any measures taken in that direction he regarded as purely provisional. This speech proved extremely disappointing to the Assembly, which is largely composed of leaders of the resistance. The resistance movement in France was not solely concerned with throwing out the invader; it was deeply conscious of the urgent need for radical social and political changes. In its clandestine meetings, in its underground press, there were long and earnest discussions of the causes of the moral and material collapse of 1940. And one conclusion common to almost all the resistance groups was that the industrial and financial monopolies in France, which had constantly thwarted the popular will, must be taken over by the state. Since the controllers of these monopolies to a large extent were also collaborationists, the liberation offered a matchless opportunity to break their power forever. But six months after the liberation little has been accomplished in this direction. The program of socialization drawn up by Pierre Mendès-France, Minister of National Economy, has been shelved, and all too many of the big industrialists who collaborated eagerly with the enemy remain at large and in full control of their enterprises. With large numbers of French workers unemployed, with nearly all of them hungry, the dangers of a policy of inertia are self-evident. The moral energy created by the resistance movement is being dissipated; social fissures are again threatening national unity; cynicism is returning. It is time General de Gaulle turned his attention to the domestic scene, lest the foundations of the French renaissance crumble beneath him.

✱

THE PLOT TO RETIRE HENRY WALLACE TO private life has happily been frustrated. Voting in the Senate on his confirmation as Secretary of Commerce followed more or less party lines, but it is interesting to note that

the Republicans were more split than the Democrats. In the end only five nominal supporters of the Administration broke away to vote against Wallace, while ten Republicans, or more than a third of those present, gave him their support. Shorn as the Commerce Department is of the accretions of power which Jesse Jones secured when he merged it with the RFC, it still remains an important bridgehead from which to launch an offensive against unemployment and depression. Within its walls are such agencies as the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Standards, and the Patent Office. There are able public servants on the department's roster, but their brains and energies have been frustrated during the reign of the last two Secretaries, Harry Hopkins, who was in bad health, and Jesse Jones, who had other fish to fry. Mr. Wallace, however, is sure to breathe a new spirit into the department just as he did when he took over the Department of Agriculture in 1933. Incidentally, now that the battle is over, we notice tributes to the new Secretary's abilities from unexpected quarters. Thus a Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal* writes: "Visionary or not, Mr. Wallace is regarded by most Washington officials as a competent administrator. In the Department of Agriculture . . . he showed pretty conclusively that he could handle day-to-day questions with practical solutions. . . . Those he hires are usually men of vigor and intelligence, though again they are often men of controversy who would as soon innovate as follow precedent. Above all they are men who have, or gain, great loyalty to him." Coming from such a source that is not a bad testimonial. Republican papers please copy!

✱

IN THE DAYS OF THE WAR-DEBTS DEBATE, SOME twenty years ago, there was a funny story about a Congressman who insisted firmly: "We don't want their gold, we don't want their goods; we want their money." Life, however, has a habit of being stranger than fiction; so we are not surprised to find Clare Luce saying that she's for "cold cash on the barrelhead" from Germany rather than "reparations in kind" as proposed by the Yalta agreement. How would you like to take your change, Clare? In German marks? No doubt you'd prefer dollars. But how do you think Germany will get the dollars except by selling goods directly or indirectly to us? We hate to bother your pretty head with these abstruse matters, but as a member of Congress you really ought to know more about them than you appear to have learned in your previous careers as "playwright, author, journalist, foreign correspondent, and lecturer" (Congressional Directory). Why not ask Henry to have one of the tame but intelligent economists he keeps around his *Fortune* office explain the whole thing to you?

✱

MANY GERMANS DO NOT WANT TO GOVERN themselves, regard Germany's future as an Allied problem, and hope to be treated as a sort of United States colony. These are some of the findings in unofficial reports from three American educators attached to the Psychological Warfare Branch of the Twelfth Army—Dr. Karl Padover,

Dr. Paul Sweet, and Lewis F. Gitler. The three, who have held extensive conversations with hundreds of Aachen civilians, say that many of them look upon Nazism as foreign rule established by Hitler, himself a foreigner. Racial indoctrination has had as little effect as the effort to create a super-nationalism; given the opportunity, German girls are quite willing to marry Americans or even Russians. As to anti-Semitism, several said: "When the Jews were here they had stores and you could buy things. Now you can buy nothing in the stores." Teen-agers, who might be expected to be most fanatical, generally expressed anti-Nazi sentiments. The young people do not discuss democracy, a word they cannot define, but they speak of a longing for fun, for freedom from regimentation. Properly channeled, these desires might become powerful tools in the regeneration of Germany. With Aachen schools about to open, the opportunity is immediate, the problem difficult. Recently Allied officials were pleasantly surprised to receive a memorandum from three Aachenites, one a teacher, advocating that education be reorganized on the basis of truth, whose meaning had been lost under Hitler. But investigation revealed that the teacher had been a member of the Brown Shirts. In Aachen only ten teachers were to be found who had retired rather than teach the Nazi way. Where are the other teachers to come from? Possibly only those Germans interned in concentration camps for refusing to betray the principles of truth and liberty can now be trusted to revive a love of freedom and the humanities in Germany. Or are their beliefs too heretical even for the liberators?

✱

THE DEATH OF JACQUES DORIOT, FRENCH FASCIST leader, announced in Berlin, found officials in Paris rather skeptical. One of them was quoted as saying, "I would like to see the corpse." There was something suspicious even in the wealth of detail lavished by the Berlin radio on the Allied air attack that killed the most hated of all collaborationists. Two other French fascists of lesser rank, also reported killed by Berlin some time ago in similar accidents, later miraculously came to life in the guise of parachutists who had dropped in French territory with the purpose of starting a new fascist organization. Obviously the well-developed Nazi plan of distributing agents throughout the world even before the fighting in Germany is over has as one of its details the "death" and "burial," with all honors and the greatest possible publicity, of men assigned to missions abroad. Thus to the Hitlerite slogan, "Fight to the Death," has been joined a new one—"Fight Even After Death!" It fits well in the macabre tradition of National Socialism. But it more than justified the French official in asking for a tête-à-tête with the corpse of Doriot. Indeed, all the Doriot who betrayed their country to serve Hitler can be considered no longer dangerous only when they fall, not under the bombs of a remote Allied plane, but under the bullets of an anti-fascist firing squad.

✱

NEW YORK STATE TOOK A LONG STEP TOWARD the abolition of racial discrimination when the Assembly, after a bitter debate, passed the Ives bill by an unexpectedly large margin of 109 to 32. Although the measure was ini-

tiated by the Republican leadership and backed by Governor Dewey, all the negative votes were cast by Republicans. The triumph of the measure without crippling amendments had been assured at a public hearing on February 20 which had been forced by the opposition in the hope of disclosing popular antagonism to the bill. To the consternation of its opponents, the hearing provided a remarkable demonstration of the wide backing which the bill had obtained. Representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths joined with delegates from both factions of organized labor, civic organizations, and representatives from Negro and other minority groups in powerful support for the measure. Although racial intolerance cannot be stamped out by legislative action alone, passage of the bill should make it impossible for the intolerant to deny others an equal right to a decent livelihood.

✱

Hula dancer, grade A, female, is usually a young but experienced worker. . . . The most common apparel is the leaf dress or sarong encircling the shapely trunk with bare skin between the top of the garb and a band six inches or more wide which sometimes restricts migration of the upper forward side of the worker.

There is little movement of the shoulders, stress being on the middle section as the hula progresses.

[Hula dancers, grade B, female] are fully trained, possessed with intense desire, but due to accumulated torso bulges, the speed has greatly moderated.

The worker uses less of the foot work, knee bend, and rotary movements of the hips. Instead, considerable emphasis is directed on the straight forward and backward pull and push motion, interspersed with the Cuban grind.

These vivid if rather self-conscious paragraphs are quoted from the proceedings of the War Labor Board in Honolulu, which has been sorting out hula girls for the purpose of determining wage raises. Maury Maverick once complained that government literature ran to gobbledegook, but we are sure he would agree that such a phrase as the "migration of the upper forward side of the worker" has its charm, even though it flouts that old rule about the shortest distance between two points.

## John L. Lewis Rides Again

JOHN L. LEWIS has lost none of his cunning in industrial warfare. Opening his spring offensive, he has made a number of moves which have caught his opponents off balance. First, by filing a thirty-day strike notice he complied with the provisions of the Smith-Connally act and so secured his rear from legal attack, unless the government once again takes over the mines. Then, instead of launching the expected direct assault on the Little Steel formula, he drove at its flank by putting before the operators a series of demands all of which, since they do not involve an actual increase in hourly wage rates, could be regarded as "fringe" cases. Taken one by one, each of these demands seems reasonable enough; woven together they form a fringe equivalent to a good, thick blanket increase.

Among the financial demands in the eighteen-point program put forward by Lewis a leading item is payment for all time spent underground at the full rate, with rate and a half after seven hours a day and thirty-five hours a week. At present under the "portal-to-portal" formula miners get only two-thirds of the rate for underground-travel time and nothing for the fifteen-minute lunch period. Other proposals include premiums of ten and fifteen cents an hour for workers on the second and third shifts respectively; free supplies of explosives, special clothing, and so forth; vacation pay of \$100 instead of \$50 and pay for six holidays. None of these involves any new principle.

However, Lewis has made one demand which breaks new ground—the proposal for the payment to the union of a royalty of ten cents per ton to enable it to provide medical and health services, insurance, rehabilitation, "and economic protection" for its members. This would mean a payment to the union treasury of \$60,000,000 a year. There is a great deal to be said in favor of levying a charge on coal production to be devoted to the welfare of the men who dig it. Living for the most part in isolated communities, they have been cut off from many of the amenities and services available to other citizens. They need and deserve improved facilities for health and recreation. In Britain this fact was recognized twenty-five years ago, and a Miners' Welfare Fund was established which is now financed by a levy of two cents per ton on salable coal and 5 per cent of coal royalties. But this is a statutory fund controlled by a government-appointed commission which includes representatives of the miners, the operators, and the general public.

This seems to us the proper basis for such a scheme. A statutory fund is a permanent fund; it is not liable to be discontinued at some future time when the coal operators are in a better position to call the tune than the miners. Moreover, a levy on the production of a commodity does not come out of profits; it is always paid by the general public. This fact was, indeed, admitted by Lewis when he said that the net cost of the royalty to the owners would be \$24,000,000 after tax adjustments and this sum could be passed on to the consumer. It seems to us, therefore, that citizens as a whole, through their government, should have something to say about the disposal of any fund raised by such means.

We realize, of course, that this would not suit John L. Lewis's book. While no doubt anxious to get all he can for the welfare of "his" miners, Lewis is certainly not blind to the power aspects of the proposal. The addition to the union treasury of a fund of this size, with no legal strings attached to it and under the sole control of the union officials, which means Lewis himself, would be a weapon of incalculable value. It is just for this reason that the operators must be expected to fight the proposal tooth and nail even though it would not cost them a penny.

If the royalty proposal raises an issue which seems incapable of settlement by negotiation, the conglomeration of wage demands appears to add up to a sum which the War Labor Board cannot approve without dealing a final blow to the weakened structure of wage and price stabilization. The actual cost of the miners' demands is still a matter of debate. The

operators' representatives have estimated it at 55 cents a ton, excluding the royalty, or about \$2.70 a day per worker; the miners' figures are only 18 cents and \$1.08, but even on this basis the increase in the cost of producing coal would amount to over 6 per cent. It is probable, therefore, that a grant of the wage demands would mean a rise in coal prices and thus conflict with the order of Economic Stabilization Director Fred F. Vinson to the War Labor Board not to approve "fringe" demands which force an increase in prices.

We have, then, the makings of another major industrial conflict in which the government will be bound to intervene. In giving strike notice Lewis declared, "We will work diligently and forthrightly for the next thirty days to prevent, if possible, interruption of coal production so vital to the prosecution of the war." But for all this apparent recognition of his responsibilities, he has made it clear that peace in the coal fields can only be achieved on his terms. When he put his demands before the operators his manner was so truculent, his references to the stabilization program so scornful, that it is reasonable to assume he was deliberately challenging the government to take over the mines and invoke the penalties of the Smith-Connally act.

Lewis has won in the past great benefits for the miners. They have reason to believe in him and they will probably back him to the limit. But while in the short view his leadership may seem to justify itself, we question whether in the long run it will prove beneficial to either the miners or the labor movement as a whole. As the undisputed boss of the United Mine Workers Lewis has a monopolist's grip on an industry vital to the national safety. He is threatening to use that monopoly irresponsibly, to exploit the nation's needs to gain his ends. This is a challenge to the community apt to provoke counter-measures of a kind which would make the Smith-Connally act, which Lewis calls "that grotesque slave statute," look very mild indeed.

## The Fight Ahead

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE President is in for a fight on Yalta. His report to Congress last Thursday was received respectfully but not with great enthusiasm. Comment in the newspapers and over the air has been guarded. This is partly to be explained by the speech itself. Mr. Roosevelt's manner was friendly and informal—perhaps a little ostentatiously so—but the substance of the address seemed thin and the total effect rather loose-jointed and inadequate.

He was at an obvious disadvantage. As usual he had been scooped by his journalistic colleague, Winston Churchill, and the Prime Minister's report to Commons two days earlier was so massive and complete and politically astute that the President could hardly help producing an anti-climax. Indeed, I think Mr. Roosevelt is always at a disadvantage when he is forced to compete with Mr. Churchill. By contrast he seems, in spite of his enormous experience, a political dilettante. He lacks the poise and thrust you feel in Churchill.

But the storms he is going to face are not of his making. He could not have dissipated them by a better speech. Indeed, his promptness in reporting to Congress and his almost open appeal for cooperation made a favorable impression. They announced clearly that Mr. Roosevelt will neither ignore Congress nor slight the Republicans. He is going to do his best to carry the legislature into the peace-making process as it goes along instead of coming before it with demands for its indorsement of accomplished facts. And by starting this process while the war is still being fought, by absorbing it into the very texture of the war, he makes effective opposition still more difficult. Yalta, he has said in effect, is a part of the final phase of the fight against Germany; you may question some of the decisions made there—I'm not altogether pleased with all of them myself—but you dare not challenge the agreement as a whole or threaten the unity of the three powers on which it depends. Mr. Roosevelt's position is immensely strengthened by the realization on the part of all but the isolationist maniacs that this is the truth.

But if the facts of the case tend to minimize opposition, they will not silence it. Already one can see lines being drawn, in the country and in Congress, alliances being formed, ammunition being piled up. The big fight will come later; perhaps it will be delayed until after the San Francisco conference. But its outlines and the plans of campaign are already visible and should be studied.

By and large the attack on Yalta and all that may emerge from it at San Francisco will be waged on the issue of democratic rights and aimed particularly at the dominating position of the three big powers. Behind this will lurk hatred of Britain and fear of Russia—twin bogies of the whole nationalist-isolationist party. Poland will become their mascot. And an immense effort will be made to organize the fight around the demands of the smaller nations for an effective share in the new world organization. Already you find Burton K. Wheeler solemnly sponsoring a United States of Europe, and crying to heaven against the Allied betrayal of Poland—he who opposed every form of cooperation to prevent this war and dismissed the *German* attack on Poland as hardly worth a protest. And you find men and women of honest liberal convictions rallying to the same position on the ground that a new league of nations will fail as the old one did unless it is built on a completed foundation of international justice.

In this fight, in which cold partisan tactics will be inextricably tangled with idealistic appeals, the tendency will be for supporters of collective responsibility to rush to the other extreme and reject all criticism of Yalta and Dumbarton Oaks. Already I have heard one of the most effective advocates of the President's program urge liberals to soft-pedal their doubts and demands at least until after April 25.

I am against this strategy. It seems to me more than merely dishonest; by refusing to consider or discuss the obvious imperfections in the security plans so far made, you abandon the whole field to the enemies of any security system. Two weeks ago in this page I discussed the intimate relationship between our foreign policy and a workable security system. The most impressive and substantial United Nations structure that can possibly be built at San Francisco would soon crumble under a continued attempt on the part of Britain

and the United States to rule Europe through reactionary puppets like Franco and Papandreou. Equally important are such changes as will give the lesser nations an effective role in the new world organization. A full-fledged rebellion against three-power dictatorship might easily prevent the security plan from being carried through.

What is needed, in my opinion, between now and April 25, is a full and careful examination of the most controversial issues affecting world organization—the Yalta decisions specifically included. The State Department, through its radio forum and all its other educational activities, should stress, not minimize, those issues. It should encourage persons who support the general principles of collective action to criticize specific aspects of the program. It should initiate discussions of the treatment of Germany. (Is the United States going to favor using the German army to restore areas devastated by it? *The Nation* urged such a plan many weeks ago. In a press conference held the day after his address to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt casually suggested that it might be a good idea. But surely it is worth serious debate, as are the other problems involved in the control of enemy territory.) The State Department should arrange to have the various views on the position and role of small nations freely circulated. Fifteen Latin American nations have agreed on a set of proposals on this issue to be presented at San Francisco. The Dutch have submitted a note to the United Nations suggesting definite changes in the Dumbarton Oaks plan. The French have opinions of their own on this and other provisions; they have even refrained from joining the other major powers in issuing the invitation to the conference in order to retain complete freedom to raise questions at San Francisco. The whole problem presents another issue on which the conference may well founder if it is not dealt with both fairly and radically. It should be talked about in advance—and not only by isolationists or Anglophobes who use it to prove that as long as colonies exist, no international organization is worth having.

I suggest that the State Department promote this discussion for several reasons. First, because it has launched a campaign into which such a debate could easily be fitted. Second, because the State Department is the focus, and with good reason, of many liberal fears and suspicions, and it might partly overcome hostility by providing a forum for conflicting opinions. Third, because the government should take the lead in insisting upon and even dramatizing the flexibility of the security programs so far drawn up. This is obvious political strategy—by far the best way of disarming opposition.

As for the rest of us, our job is clear. Starting from the double premise that a security organization must be formed and that it must rest upon solid agreement between the great powers, we have not only the right but the urgent duty to try to clear out all the impediments to a decent working plan that we can possibly get rid of. For those impediments would not only stand in the way of effective action by a world organization; they might easily prevent such an organization from coming into existence by providing its enemies, in Congress and out, with the weapons they need to bring it to defeat.

# The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE past three weeks on the western front have presented a pretty good model of how a military campaign should look. It is not surprising that the Russian military mission visiting the front—one of the first fruits of Yalta—was impressed: the operation has many of the earmarks of a first-class Red Army performance, combining careful preparation, extensive artillery barrages, simultaneous advances on different sectors of the front, and then breakthrough, encirclement, and pursuit.

The preparation for the main effort across the Roer River and the Cologne plain was especially noteworthy. The Canadian First Army, under the good Canadian General Crerar, carried out a very effective little amphibian war in the marshes at the northern end of the front, pushing steadily southward between the Rhine and the Maas. The American Third Army, under General Patton, continued eastward, after eliminating the German salient in Belgium, through the rough Eifel country down the Moselle; the high point of this operation to date has been the swift seizure of Trier.

Meanwhile the main show had got under way against the center of gravity of the western front—the Roer line anchored about Düren and Jülich. This line, marking the closest and most dangerous approach of the Allies to a vital spot of the Reich, the Ruhr-Rhineland region, was something the Germans simply had to hold. As long as they possessed the trump cards of the Roer dams, they were fairly safe: if the Americans manifested a desire to cross the river, the Germans could release the dammed-up waters as an additional barrier before their fortifications on the east bank; or if the Americans actually crossed the river, the Germans could release the water and cut the Americans off from their supply base.

Once the dams were lost and the water released at the last moment by the retreating Germans had subsided, there was no longer any question about where the blow would fall. The way it fell, however, the swift and daring manner in which the river was spanned by boats and bridges, may have startled the enemy. The fighting on the east bank must have been hard during the early days of last week. But the Americans were bringing more troops and supplies over all the time as the advanced units worked through the cities and strong points back from the bank; Allied aircraft dominated the skies; and the two holding attacks on the north and south prevented any movement of reinforcements to this most-threatened area.

Von Rundstedt knew he could not hope to hold the ground between the Rhine and the Roer for long, once the Roer defenses were gone. He apparently left second-class troops to fight as long as possible while he pulled his élite outfits back behind the Rhine. When the Roer line finally went, it went quickly, as these things always do, and

General Simpson's Ninth Army tanks broke into open country—the dim, familiar reaches of the news blackout, which always means very good or very bad tidings on the way to us. This time it was obviously good, and we woke up Saturday with Americans on the Rhine.

Meanwhile those holding attacks developed into real ground-gainers, especially on the north, where the Canadian First broke clear away to the south. It was met by the American Ninth, swinging up behind Roermond and Venlo, two bastions on the east banks of the Roer-Maas which the Germans must have been chagrined to lose to a flanking sweep. Between them these two armies pinched out the big German salient bulging from the Rhine through Geldern, a complicated operation whose success displayed a new facet of Marshal Montgomery's skill in handling a large army group spread out over a considerable area. The holding back of the British Second Army, deployed across the Maas from the Germans who were winked out in this pincers, was a sound and rather crafty decision, probably inducing in the Germans a certain sense of false security which it is quite useless to enjoy when one faces Montgomery. Sir Bernard often moves exceedingly slow, but when his mind is made up and he has a good day, he is nobody to fool with.

The most important advance, of course, was that of the Ninth's main force around and through München-Gladbach to Neuss, across the Rhine from Düsseldorf, and Krefeld, on the way to Duisburg. These are the approaches to the great industrial centers of the Ruhr, whose loss, on top of the loss of Silesia's, would render the German war machine incapable of replenishing its basic matériel.

So now there is a new watch on the Rhine. What of General Eisenhower's objective—to destroy these Germans west of the Rhine where they stood? The three northern Allied armies, from Düren to the Hochwald, took 40,000 prisoners in a week; figures for killed and wounded must have run comparatively high on the Roer. But evidently the bulk of von Rundstedt's forces got out in time, as usual. Rundstedt might have made the crossing of the Cologne plain a bloody and expensive business, fighting from every village; in which case it would have taken longer and cost more for the Allies to reach the Rhine. But they would have reached it, and left Rundstedt depleted for the far more important business of defending the Rhine's east bank. He therefore chose the militarily sound course in pulling back so many troops. This is not much comfort to the soldiers who must now fight their way across the Rhine, thinking bitterly that Jerry always seems to get away with enough troops to make a stand on the next ridge or river line. However, there is comfort in the thought that Rundstedt will have fewer troops to hold a longer and more twisting

line, from Arnhem to Cologne and the south. There is further comfort in the thought of the fresh British Second Army, no doubt well supplied with boats and bridges, and General Brereton's Airborne Army, the bulk of which has had a long rest. A river line is not, actually, any better than the troops and weapons which control it: no obstacle is real unless it is covered by a field of fire, and Eisenhower will have the attacker's advantage of picking the spot where he wants the Airborne Army to drop and establish a bridgehead to which the ground troops can cross.

Allied control of the air has played a large part in the success of the action thus far, and will continue to do so. The isolation of the battlefield may well be air power's most substantial contribution to warfare at its present stage of development: when aerial superiority approaches the shining goal of aerial supremacy it can seriously cripple the flow of supplies and troops, and do much damage on retreat-clogged roads. Recent operations against railway marshaling yards, switch points, rail lines, and highways have been far more

extensive than those which preceded the Normandy breakout last summer, and the effect on German movements has been correspondingly more stringent. As was the case in the Normandy battle, the Allied air forces are ranging well behind the battle zone—as far back as Berlin, Magdeburg, Leipzig, and Nürnberg. These attacks, now that the squeeze from east and west on Germany has really begun, directly aid the Red Army as well: an attack on Berlin, which is long-range and therefore "strategic" for the Western Allies, is close-range and therefore almost "tactical" for Zhukov's armies only forty miles away.

These armies have been enjoying their "creative pause" while Eisenhower's troops have been sweeping up to the Rhine, there to enjoy their own "creative pause." The great potentiality of the situation thus unfolding is that Zhukov's flanks will be finally cleared at about the same time that Eisenhower is ready to go forward again. A truly combined brace of offensives against Berlin and the Ruhr will then unfold naturally.

## Chapultepec Love Feast

BY ANITA BRENNER

*Mexico City, March 2*

THE road to collective peace and security has led through Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks to Chapultepec Park. But so far Chapultepec Park cannot be described as a clearing. And it is still impossible to see the forest for the trees. The representatives of twenty nations gathered to consider inter-American problems of war and peace have had a week of glorious speeches and intoxicating vistas of economic and political brotherhood, with the boyish friendliness of Nelson Rockefeller and the almost priestly benevolence of Ezequiel Padilla keynoting the scene. Noble resolutions and more practical proposals have flowed through the steering committee by the hundred. Filtered by this committee, which consists of the heads of all the delegations, the proposals being considered still number 150, with the case of Argentina far down on the agenda. However, the proposals run mostly along similar lines, indicating a real community of problems and points of view, and much previous consultation. The only maverick resolutions have been demands for a break with Franco and Cuba's appeals in behalf of Poland and Palestine, invoking the principle of security of minor peoples. All these have been cut off with the formula that they are not inter-American affairs.

Padilla, as president of the steering committee, blandly shelved the Franco question, thus relaxing Mexico's previously stiff policy and souring the happiness of those delegations that have specific mandates to insist on a break, principally Uruguay, Colombia, Cuba, and Guatemala. The concerted break proposed is out, though there may be bloc action. The Franco question often reappears riding on amendments to approved proposals, such as the United States plan to check the activities of enemy agents. A definition that would

include phalangists will probably go through with hedging qualifications. Unexpectedly, the case of Argentina has not overshadowed the deliberations. Feeling about Franco runs much more strongly, but this, too, is secondary to the four themes repeated again and again in the resolutions submitted—mutual economic safeguards, protection of the rights of states, protection of the rights of individuals, and prosecution of the war.

At the start of the conference two things infused it with an extraordinary spirit of frankness, earnestness, and goodwill. The first was the urgent desire to have again open covenants openly arrived at; in this spirit all the principal committee meetings were thrown open to the press. The second was the strong hope that the United States would express a clear-cut post-war economic and political policy that would leave weaker nations less vulnerable to military and economic might. As the first fresh bloom of enthusiasm evaporated, this hope became a determination to get at least as strong a commitment from the United States and as much general accord on the fundamental problems as possible. What Latin America fears most is that its economic and social organization will become a shambles, first, because markets will collapse, as Peru puts it, "with the explosion of peace," and next because chiefly agricultural or raw-material-producing nations will be unable to compete with the United States industrially.

In its production of metals, rubber, oil, coffee, cotton, henequen, sugar, and other raw materials for the world market Latin America must compete with Oriental coal-labor after the war. Its only lifeline, it believes, is the diversification of production through industrialization. In order to maintain the price of vital products and at the same time obtain needed industrial equipment, Latin America wants a

tight economic alliance with the United States, insuring, first, price stabilization through stockpiling and clearing arrangements and, second, priority in the purchase of machinery. The United States delegation has answered these pressing demands with declarations and proposals that seem to promise sweeping compliance but actually promise nothing except "we will do the best we can for you."

Assistant Secretary of State Clayton paid homage to all the sacred cows of the free-trade doctrine and at the same time promised stockpiling, continuation of controls, and government banking, thus creating considerable confusion. Our more ambitious document, the economic charter, is only a declaration of fine principles and was received as such. Since even the labor clause, which declares that workers ought to have the right everywhere to organize and bargain collectively, can be subscribed to by such nations as Brazil and Peru in principle, it seems evident that the United States wishes to eat its cake and have it too. So the principle makes a mighty talking point at least and may have far-reaching effects, particularly with the addition Mexico proposed—to continentalize the right to strike. The San Francisco conference may offer better bargains in political positions and above all in commercial arrangements than are found in the hemispheric preferential set-up asked for by Latin America. The corollary of such a development would be strong post-war bidding from other nations for Latin American markets. The other conflict in what was announced as the first important statement of United States foreign economic policy seems to be between the old catch-as-catch-can imperialism and the newer doctrine of industrialization and wage increases to create a consumer market.

In the political field, except for the Franco scandal, we have done relatively little weaseling. A mutual-aid agreement

protecting national sovereignties and boundaries, with strong machinery to implement it, will probably go through; in Latin American eyes the Monroe Doctrine will then have been replaced by the Declaration of Chapultepec. The re-organized Pan-American Union is to be a real league of American nations, functioning through specially appointed representatives holding regular meetings and consultations, and implemented for emergencies. The permanent council has been given authority to act on any matter concerning American nations. This puts substance in the good-neighbor policy and is besides of immediate importance to some nations which fear imminent aggression. One of Uruguay's delegates told me that his country, lying between strongly armed Brazil and Argentina, feels like Belgium, with the extra hazard of having a liberal, democratic regime in a neighborhood where democracy is not popular.

So much can be chalked up to the credit of the streamlined State Department. It was not, however, a difficult job, since the United States and Latin America were in agreement. The utter absence of even the appearance of Machiavellianism in Nelson Rockefeller's manner has warmed the cockles of many a delegate's heart. In this mood Latin America has accepted the United States policy as progressive while clearly recognizing it for what it is—the official version of Luther Johnson's plea for meeting the under-dog halfway and giving him something before he bites. Fundamentally what motivates this conference and draws the delegations together is the basic fear of today's governments—the fear of revolution. Thus its success or failure will not be measured by diplomatic victories but by the degree to which the peaceful industrial progress blueprint in the proposals prevents the violence simmering in many parts of America from erupting.

## The Legal Case Against Hitler

BY RAPHAEL LEMKIN

### II

THE traditional war crimes fall into the following categories: (a) crimes committed against prisoners of war; (b) acts contrary to the rules of warfare, such as the use of poison gas, the torpedoing of hospital ships, and the like; (c) crimes committed against inhabitants of the occupied countries. Because Germany has had demographic aims and tried to change the European balance of populations in its own favor, the most numerous and monstrous of its crimes fall into the third category. The fear of reprisals has also kept it from acting as ruthlessly against prisoners of war and in violation of the rules of warfare as it has acted against the captive nations.

In addition to the traditional war crimes, Hitler and his associates since 1933 have been guilty of murder, loot, torture, false imprisonment, and other crimes against residents of Germany hated or feared because of their religion, race, or political affiliations. The problem arises now whether the

Allies can punish crimes of this kind, and by what means.

The opinion has been advanced that a state's treatment of its own nationals is an internal matter and of no concern to other states. The evolution of international law and international relations in modern times does not, however, justify such an isolationist view. There have been many instances of states expressing their concern about another state's treatment of its own citizens. The United States rebuked the governments of czarist Russia and Rumania for the ghastly pogroms they instigated or tolerated. There was also diplomatic action in behalf of the Greeks and Armenians when they were being massacred by the Turks. States have even entered into international treaties by which they assumed obligations as to the treatment of their own nationals or undertook to protect the citizens of other states against their governments. In a treaty with Spain in 1898 the United States assured the inhabitants of the ceded territories "the free exercise of their religion." In 1919 and 1920

several treaties were signed under the auspices of the League of Nations for the protection of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities in Europe. The Declaration of the Eighth International Conference of American States provides that "any persecution on account of racial or religious motives which makes it impossible for a group of human beings to live decently is contrary to the political and judicial systems of America."

#### CRIMES AGAINST GERMAN NATIONALS

The doctrine and experience of modern international law on this subject have been summed up in a study published in 1944 under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The ruling principle is compellingly stated: "Each state has a legal duty to see that conditions prevailing within its own territory do not menace international peace and order, and to this end it must treat its own population in a way which will not violate the dictates of humanity and justice or shock the conscience of mankind." Since 1933 Germany has consistently flouted this principle. The concept of the "master race" which has the right to oppress and degrade "inferior peoples" was expanded to justify the conquest of other nations. The Germans started with the Jews and ended by enslaving all Europe. Even before the war the Nazi persecutions disturbed normal international relations. Large numbers of German citizens were expelled and had to be taken care of by the countries to which they fled and such organizations as the Evian Conference on Refugees and the International Red Cross. Wholesale confiscation of the property rights of entire groups of German citizens has been detrimental to the property rights of their foreign creditors and undermined international trade. Clearly the problem is not Germany's private concern.

Not even the Nazi state has dared to legalize crimes recognized in every penal code—common murder, mayhem, torture, false imprisonment, loot. The German penal code defining these acts as crimes has survived intact. The Nazis have tacitly admitted that these acts are illegal. When the disgraceful pogroms swept over the country, especially in 1938, the German government disowned responsibility for the "spontaneous indignation" of its agents who had robbed and tortured helpless people. The Nazis have simply arrogated to themselves a de facto impunity for their crimes. To restore law and order such impunity must be abolished. Order and safety cannot exist while masses of criminals remain at liberty.

The authority to restore law and order was granted to an occupying power by Article 43 of the Fourth Hague Convention, which reads: "The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all the measures in his power to restore and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country." After the defeat of Germany the Allies will assume the rights of an occupying power, either by the fact of occupation or by an armistice agreement. Thus no legal difficulty bars them from punishing the Nazis for crimes committed against German nationals. Use of the authority granted by the Fourth Hague Convention is the simplest and most direct way to achieve the end sought.

#### JURISDICTION—ALLIED OR GERMAN COURTS?

The Allied military courts should conduct the trials. Persons who refer to jurisdictional obstacles to trying German war criminals in other than German courts cite the case of *Coleman v. Tennessee*, which was decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1878. In this case a soldier of the Northern army who had committed a murder in Tennessee had been brought to trial in Tennessee. The Supreme Court denied that a Tennessee court had jurisdiction after the end of hostilities between the Northern and Southern states, holding that the courts of formerly occupied territories had no jurisdiction over dismissed members of the occupying army.

In Belgian and French cases dating from the First World War, however, the opposite view has been expressed. An outstanding instance is the case of Bockstegen ("Pasicrisie belge," 1920, I, p. 104). Bockstegen, a former member of the German army of occupation in Belgium, was recognized by a Belgian soldier with the Belgian army of occupation in the Rhineland as the murderer of several people in the Belgian's native town. The accused was returned to Belgium to stand trial for his deeds and was duly sentenced. In an appeal to the Belgian Cour de Cassation he asserted that only German courts had jurisdiction, but the appeal was rejected, the court holding that Belgian courts could try men who committed crimes in Belgium while members of the German occupying army. It is obvious that this Belgian case is more to the point than the *Coleman v. Tennessee* case. Cases growing out of the First World War show a closer analogy to the present war-crimes problem than cases growing out of the American Civil War.

In addition to legal precedent, which supports the jurisdiction of Allied courts, there are strong reasons why the Germans should not be allowed to try their war criminals in their own courts. After the First World War the Germans extorted a similar privilege from the Allies despite the express provisions of the Treaty of Versailles that war-crimes trials should be held in Allied courts. A list of 896 war criminals was submitted to the Germans. By clever bargaining the Germans got the number reduced to forty-five. Only twelve were actually brought to trial in Leipzig, and only six were convicted. Farcically light sentences were imposed.

Moreover, the German judiciary has been morally depraved by the Nazis. Under the present regime German judges have enjoyed a large amount of discretionary power. They have had the right to establish their own definition of a crime when an express criminal provision was lacking in the penal code, and they have misused this right by sentencing thousands of innocent persons to death or hard labor. To let the German judiciary act in these cases would be like setting one criminal to try another.

The argument may be advanced that no precedent for the establishment of a tribunal for trying war criminals is available in international law. Actually such tribunals were provided for by Articles 227-30 of the Treaty of Versailles. Yielding to German pressure, the Allies consented to the trial of German war criminals by the Reichsgericht in Leipzig, but they expressly reserved the legal right enunciated in those articles.

The Germans have estopped themselves from using the *ex post facto* argument against the establishment of a tribunal for trying war criminals by their promulgation on December 13, 1919, of a special law providing for such a tribunal; this was an *ex post facto* law for dealing with crimes committed in 1914-18.

#### PUNISHMENT BY POLITICAL INSTEAD OF LEGAL ACTION

A suggestion that the leading Nazis should not be brought to trial but "disposed of" by political action has aroused considerable discussion. One argument for this course is based on the doubtful legality of the proposed trials, but it is difficult to see how political "disposition" has a firmer legality than the judicial process. Another argument, much more dangerous, holds that the singular impressiveness of the crimes committed justifies action of an equally impressive character, that is, political rather than juridical. The case of Napoleon is cited as comparable in political significance to that of Hitler and his henchmen, who should therefore receive similar treatment. Napoleon, however, was not charged with any war crimes, nor were his armies accused of cruel or unusual behavior. And the transformation of European political and social institutions under Napoleon can in no way be compared with the destruction worked by Hitler's policies.

An additional reason for favoring the judicial process is that if Hitler and his associates should escape, their extradition could be more effectively demanded on juridical than on political grounds. It should be remembered that the Dutch government refused extradition of the Kaiser after the First World War because the request was formulated as a political one.

Moreover, the German overlords have deposited their ill-gotten gains in various neutral countries and under various legal fictions of title. Eventual release of this property can be obtained only through verdicts issuing from legal action against the criminal depositors.

It is the obligation of our generation to bring Hitler and his associates to trial. It is necessary for us to put on record a moral evaluation of their acts and to clarify the standards by which international society can live. The conscience of shocked humanity demands that justice be done. Also, although Hitler is guilty of the murder of millions, he must be tried and sentenced as a common criminal to preclude as far as possible his survival in German history as a martyred hero.

The Nazis have destroyed whole nations, a crime for which the present writer has coined the word "genocide"—in analogy with homicide and fratricide. The world should feel and express its solidarity in the condemnation of so monstrous a crime. Expression of such solidarity might well take the form of an international treaty, to be signed by the United Nations and the neutrals, in which "genocide" would be placed on the list of international crimes, along with piracy and trade in women, slaves, and narcotics. The crime of genocide should be made extraditable. Thus neutrals, as signatories to such a treaty, could not grant asylum to escaping war criminals or treat a demand for extradition as an infringement upon their sovereignty.

[The first part of this article appeared in the issue of February 24.]

## 25 Years Again "The Nation"

IN A WASHINGTON DISPATCH to the New York *Evening Post*, Mr. Mark Sullivan writes that the railway legislation "is a sign of the strongly conservative state of public opinion in the United States at the present time." This is probably an accurate analysis, except that some people will be disposed to substitute for "conservative" the stronger word "reactionary." The present state of public opinion in America is due partly to the fact that we suffered less and learned less in the war than did Europe; partly to the natural continuation of despotic methods to which the war accustomed us at home; partly to great industrial prosperity which silences criticism and discontent; and partly to extensive insidious propaganda intended to prejudice the public against the new political and economic ideas with which the rest of the world is throbbing.—March 6, 1920.

IT WOULD BE TOO OPTIMISTIC to assume, merely because the leaders in the House of Representatives have decided to omit universal military training from the army bill this year, that the demand for such a program is dead. . . . In any event, time will run in favor of the opposition. As the war fever cools, and as workmen realize that one of the motives behind the demand for conscription is not fear of foreign aggression but desire to have an army to use against organized labor, the chance of foisting this sinister plan on the country will dwindle.—March 13, 1920.

THE BELGIAN CHAMBER [has] granted suffrage in communal elections to women twenty-one years of age, with an amendment excluding women of "notorious misconduct." All Catholic members voted for the measure, all but two Liberals against it, while the Socialists were divided.—March 13, 1920.

FOR THE MILITARIST COUP in Berlin the responsibility rests not upon Ebert or Erzberger, nor upon any political forces within what remains of Germany, but upon the Big Five and the Supreme Council. . . . Throughout the war Mr. Wilson called upon the Germans to throw off the Hohenzollern yoke and to take into their own hands the reins of government. They did so, but it availed them not. . . . Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Orlando acted as if they desired chaos in Germany and Austria, as if the best way to enthrone order and stability in Berlin was to weaken and humiliate the Ebert government in the eyes of its people.—March 20, 1920.

PRECISELY as was to have been expected, the Lusk committee has fizzled out in its report to the New York legislature. It admits that "the laws already on our statute books, if properly enforced, are adequate to protect the institutions of this state and to preserve the constitutional rights of its citizens." Exactly so. . . . Nothing but politics is behind the various bills which the committee has submitted to the legislature in order to justify its existence.—March 27, 1920.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, "The American Credo"; Edwin Muir, "We Moderns."

# Should Veterans Have Legs?

BY EDWARD M. MAISEL

THE Senate Subcommittee on War-Time Health and Education, under the chairmanship of Senator Claude Pepper, announced last week a full-scale investigation into the needs of returning veterans. One of the first items which the committee should take up is the artificial-limb industry's sabotage of improved mechanical appliances for the crippled. Encouraged by governmental indifference, this has developed into a first-class scandal.

As the casualty lists come in from Iwo Jima, they should make us realize the tremendous number of permanently crippled and disabled men we shall have in America after the war. Booby traps, mines, and high-explosive shells don't make nice clean wounds; they shatter legs and arms and hands. On February 11 Dr. Sterling Brunnel, consultant to Secretary of War Stimson, told an army surgical conference that more than 15 per cent of all battle casualties have been hand injuries.

But veterans are not the only ones who need artificial limbs. Secretary of Labor Perkins reported last week that about 2,250,000 persons were disabled by industrial accidents in 1944, and a considerable number of these probably suffered amputations. Furthermore, the 1944 epidemic of infantile paralysis was the second worst in the recorded history of the disease in this country, and some of its victims will undoubtedly want to replace a withered, useless limb by an efficient prosthetic appliance.

In spite of optimistic stories, progress in the design and construction of artificial limbs has been slow. The aims of the manufacturers have changed little from Civil War days, when bracemakers fashioned crude peg legs for men who had lost a leg in battle. A serious need for intensive research in the mechanics of artificial limbs has long existed, as both the physically handicapped and the orthopedists know only too well.

Betsy Barton in her admirable book on the problems of disability, "And Now to Live Again," referring to the "medieval" equipment with which the handicapped must learn to manage, voices the thought of many a disabled veteran. "It has always surprised me," she says, "that the construction of invalid equipment, which ought to call for all the care and inventiveness that a Bel Geddes puts into discovering a new way to make light invisible in our homes, should be so devoid of imagination. The lame and weak and helpless of the world are pushed into back bedrooms and left because no one has taken care or time or trouble to look into their deepest needs and help them invent something which would make their ability to get around a little less tiresome and limited." Even such advances as have been made, Miss Barton points out, create a problem, because "the prices of all these things are still exorbitant, not easily accessible to the vast majority of people who are needing and going to need them."

The necessity for scientific investigation in this field and

the responsibility of government for such research were plainly acknowledged during World War I. An official report in the National Archives (S.G.O. 442-3, Artificial Limbs) in Washington outlines the technical complications of the subject: "The study of the general action of artificial limbs and the determination of the relative value of the many different devices for obtaining a natural knee- and ankle-joint movement are questions that can be solved only by long and patient investigation. The undertaking is obviously not one to be considered during war but offers a very proper subject for the attention of the government in time of peace."

In time of peace, however, this turned out to be a responsibility which the government failed to discharge. Research was left mainly to the sporadic and uncoordinated efforts of the limb manufacturers. *Surgical Business*, in its issue of September, 1939, described how this peace-time research was in the main conducted. "In the mad rush to secure the profitable private amputee market," it said, "quite a few makers have resorted to 'secret' processes and new 'inventions' designed to attract the interest of prospects. These developments unfortunately often exist merely in the mind of the manufacturer. Often they are merely a springboard upon which to launch a new selling effort. It is obvious that, given an opportunity, any worth-while development will stand on its own feet, and bring prestige and profit to the inventor. On the other hand, some hoard a 'secret' process for a lifetime and very often die with it."

It is shocking that after three years of war the spasmodic research efforts of the limb manufacturers, augmented by contributions from the army, navy, and Veterans' Administration, still provide most of the experimentation in this field.

There has been only the most inadequate investigation of the possible utilization of plastics. The "Celastik" process, for example, which appears to have been effectively demonstrated in South Africa, uses a plastic material which is molded while soft about the stump of the amputated limb. After the mold has solidified, it is removed and inserted in the artificial limb, assuring an exact fit. A new Celastik insert can be made whenever the stump shrinks or alters. This method not only gives a better fit but greatly reduces the time required for adjusting an appliance to the wearer.

What the scattered victims of accidents endure in normal times is universalized in time of war. As their ranks are swollen by the wounded soldiers, their plea mounts in volume and begins to make itself heard. In 1942 the annual convention of the American Legion adopted a resolution which frankly stated: "Improvement in the manufacturing of artificial limbs has not kept pace with mechanical progress shown in many other phases of engineering; and progress in mechanical construction of artificial limbs cannot be expected because the manufacturers have neither the

resources nor the equipment to engage in extensive research engineering work unless government agencies will assist in the research so that scientific talent can be applied in solving this urgent and important problem." The resolution went on to indorse all efforts "to establish a laboratory for scientific research in artificial-limb manufacture and . . . to secure federal and other funds in order to establish this laboratory immediately, so that victims of this world war can be the immediate beneficiaries of this much-needed service."

With the enormous influence of the American Legion behind this injunction, what happened to sidetrack the immediate setting up of the "much-needed service"? On November 14, 1942, Chester C. Haddan, president of the Association of Limb Manufacturers of America, received a letter from Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, regarding the resolution which had been adopted at the American Legion convention. Mr. Haddan gave this report of the letter's contents: "General Hines stated in his letter to me that it had been his impression that competition was particularly keen in artificial limbs, and that he supposed . . . each manufacturer of artificial limbs would be under the necessity of making a product that would attract and hold patrons, and . . . would be alert to such improvements of his product as would extend his market. The General said further that it had been his impression that the artificial limbs, of certain manufacturers at least, have attained a high degree of ingenuity and design, and that he was not aware that the improvement in the manufacturing of artificial limbs has not kept pace with the mechanical progress known in many other phases of engineering."

Needless to say, the president of the Association of Limb Manufacturers of America hastened to assure the General that he was entirely correct in his "impressions," that the American Legion was indeed all wet, and that progress in the limb industry had exceeded even the General's generous estimate. He added that some of the members of his organization "maintain a research department and have spent many thousands of dollars year after year in research." (It is hard to discover any members who have spent thousands of dollars year after year in research. They have certainly issued no regular scientific reports embodying the results of their costly research.) In conclusion Mr. Haddan revealed the core of his worry: "It would appear that there is absolutely no necessity for the allocation of any federal funds for research in this field at the present time."

Thus so powerful an organization as the American Legion was thwarted in its declared intention of establishing a "much-needed service," essential to the welfare of the disabled veterans of World War II.

"This is an illustration," Mr. Haddan informed his associates after further correspondence with General Hines, "of how the association can protect its members by promptly and properly meeting such things as this at the time they arise." It was a little unfair to take the full credit; a certain amount of callousness and indifference in the Veterans' Administration was also needed to produce the desired result.

Though Mr. Haddan called the issue "closed," criticism was not entirely strangled. In November, 1943, therefore,

the Association of Limb Manufacturers founded the Research Institute Foundation, Inc., a non-profit, scientific-research organization. Prodding from the National Research Council of the Office of Scientific Research and Development is believed to have been a potent factor in this change of heart. In view of Mr. Haddan's strong repudiation of the need for research, there is grim humor in the prospectus of the new institute. "The need for a scientific organization of this kind," it says, "has long been apparent; it remained, however, for the urgencies brought about by World War II to bring such an organization into being." And after Mr. Haddan's denial of any "necessity for the allocation of any federal funds for research in this field at the present time," there is irony in his announcement of plans for financing the enterprise: "The foundation will be financed by contributions from interested persons or organizations, grants, bequests, and donations; or by allocation of federal and state funds."

Thus far the project has been poorly financed. The National Association of Manufacturers expressed interest but took no action.

At their convention in Chicago on January 30 and 31, 1945, the limb makers were unable to point to any substantial accomplishments of the foundation since its establishment in 1943. Moreover, the existence of "special interests" makes hopeful developments from that quarter seem unlikely. For example, two of the most prominent manufacturers and a colleague in Canada are reputed to be interested in British patents on metal limbs. They will certainly not encourage research that might lead to the adoption of plastic or other novel types of appliance.

It may be too early to judge the new institute, and to decide whether the board of governors recruited from civilian orthopedic surgeons as well as from the army, navy, and Veterans' Administration will be able to rise above the mediocre level of research that has hitherto satisfied the limb industry. It is not too early, however, to repeat the original recommendations of the American Legion. Improvement in the design of artificial limbs is too vital to the happiness and well-being of our disabled veterans to be left to any private group of this kind, however well-intentioned. It is a task for the most extensive, solidly financed, and disinterested research.

## Puritan Poem

New York, February 27. Commissioner Paul Moss insisted on the closing of the play "Trio" as a condition of renewing the lease of the Belasco Theater.

Commissioner of License Moss  
Of public morals is the boss.  
He constitutes himself the law  
On what is clean and what is raw,  
And if he thinks a play is pruri-  
Ent, he acts as judge and jury,  
And saves us, thus, by finer vision,  
From a possibly fallible decision.

And yet, we would not mourn our loss  
If he were ex-Commissioner Moss.

MELVILLE CANE

# Who Are the Partisans?

BY MILTON BRACKER

Rome, February 20

**W**HAT—and why—is a partisan? That is a question which demands an immediate and accurate answer, because the answer will help to provide a solution for acute international problems which refuse to lie quiet until the war's end. Nobody can pretend that the attitude of the Allies toward the "partisans" in Greece and Belgium, and to a lesser extent in France, no matter how "painfully necessary" it may have been, points the way to a harmonious post-war settlement of Europe's troubles.

The word "partisan" used to conjure up a picture of a ragged minute man, unpaid, poorly armed, and ill fed, who ignored incredible hazards to harry the enemies occupying his native land, long after organized resistance had ceased and the nation's leaders had fled. Lately, the term has been in danger of coming to mean something less noble, a sort of political bandit who seeks freedom—if, indeed, freedom is what he is really seeking—as if it were "a harlot to be picked up in the streets at the point of a submachine-gun."

No partisan I ever met quite fitted either of those descriptions. Partisans almost always are men and women who consider it far more important to kill Nazis and traitors than to play dubious roles in "tragic situations." Partisans almost always are Greeks or Belgians or Yugoslavs or Frenchmen or Italians before they are Communists or royalists or collectivists or anarchists or any other form of "ists."

It might help Americans to understand what a "partisan" is if they were reminded that there have been partisans in every age. When a foreign army or a dictator's gang occupies a man's home town he is likely to become a partisan overnight—or no longer a living man at all. A partisan is as old as tyranny, as strong as the spirit of freedom—as weak and imperfect as all mankind.

The men who dumped the tea into Boston harbor were partisans. So were the Carolina patriots who followed Francis Marion through the cypress swamps. Today's partisans, too, fight for an ideal. It may be obscure, confused, ultimately corrupted or even lost sight of, but deep in every man it exists; and it is the very fuel on which they fight. Not even the most bigoted critics of the E. L. A. S. in Greece or of Tito's informal legions in Yugoslavia can accuse them of fighting primarily for territory or money or a strategic harbor or personal gain or prestige. Basically, they fight for the ideal of running their own country and their own people in their own way.

Early in October I sat just outside Patras with Vasilios Riovolas, second in command of all E. L. A. S. forces in the Peloponnesus. He was then known by the impressive mythological name of Hermes; and his enormous beard, glittering eyes, and jutting dagger made him seem almost as exalted a figure to his first interviewer as to the followers who had never seen him. To Hermes, puffing an American cigarette and crossing glossily booted legs, there was no difference between

Germans and anyone who ever flirted with the thought of being "in their camp." Perhaps in terms of human loathing, if not of military justice, his feeling was even greater against "Greeks who tried fascism" than against the Germans.

Up to this point Hermes might have been a Norwegian, Belgian, Dutchman, Frenchman, or Yugoslav. Only when he went into the matter of arms and equipment did the picture tend to particularize. He insisted that the mere possession of anything that the E. L. A. S. might want implied the obligation to give it up if even the least responsible E. L. A. S. man required it. Here obviously was no question of communism. Call his attitude personal, call it even Greek. Whether the views of the E. L. A. S. were right or wrong, there was nothing to indicate they were dictated by Moscow.

The essential fact is that the partisan in every country is an individualist. In the last analysis his only resort is to himself. He cannot go to the dispensary when he is sick or to the quartermaster to draw a pair of gloves to replace those he lost. The tragedy and the glory of the partisan are peculiarly his own, and it is simply not possible to superimpose the hard shell of power politics and expect it to fit the tortured human substance beneath.

The fact that Russia is interested in Greece and Yugoslavia does not mean that every patriot in both countries is a Communist and that one must make up one's mind about the E. L. A. S. or Tito as if communism were the sole issue. The predilection of human beings to misuse the very words for which they will die—democracy, for example—is not new. But probably never in the history of language has a word been used more carelessly than "Communist" when it is applied to partisans of any country, particularly to those of Italy and the Balkans.

Who, then, are the partisans? They are men and women, yes, and children, who fight fire and steel with flesh and spirit. They are the expert Dutch saboteur who taught his infant just two words, *Pappie dood* (Daddy's dead), so that when the Gestapo came to wheedle information from the child that was all they would learn; the wizened French grandmother, Mme Marr, who hid seventeen American and Canadian soldiers; the Yugoslav poet-editor who after letting a Chetnik escape eleven times was asked why he hadn't shot the man and replied, "Don't be ridiculous; we got eleven rifles from him."

They are the men and women whose songs brought tears to my eyes in the broken-down truck which took us from Katakolon to Pyrgos—on stolen German gasoline—the day I made the original landing with the British in Greece. They are the priest, the banker, the storekeeper who rode with us the next day all the marshy way to Araxos, past children weak with hunger and malaria. They are the infuriated intellectuals—yes, some were Communists—who before my eyes smashed two store windows on the Via delle Convertite here and put up prepared signs reading, *Spie degli Tedeschi* (German spies).

They are those other young Italians, with grenades and pistols in their belts, who, crowded into another truck decked with red, white, and green, tried vainly to accompany us into Rome from shell-shocked Centocelle—vainly, because on June 4 last year, as now, Allied authorities here couldn't quite make up their minds about partisans.

They are students, clerks, doctors, lawyers, and bakers; fools, thieves, ne'er-do-wells, and saints; Catholics, Jews, atheists; Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Actionists—and countless others who might literally be called non-partisans because they are certainly not politicians.

They come largely but not by any means entirely from the poorer strata of society. Most of them want a better society to follow their anguish, even if it means hurting some of their own countrymen as well as the invaders. When they were ordered by Field Marshal Alexander to call off organized fighting for the winter, they retorted that their work wasn't "summer sport" and fought on—in Genoa and Turin, in uneasy Bologna, and among the bomb-loosened rocks of the Brenner Pass. They still fight on with a grim patience, for they think that once the north, particularly Milan, is free, the knotty question, "Who is a Fascist?" may for a change be easier to answer.

Here are portraits of three Italian partisans whom I believe to be representative. I have spoken with two of them and I know their families.

Maria never belonged to any party and distrusts politics now. Her husband was captured before her eyes north of Lucca a few months ago; fortunately, her three young daughters are safe. A woman of grace and beauty, in her middle thirties, a fine linguist, she has been risking her life for months acting as liaison worker between armed partisans in the mountains and the silent patriots of the villages. She has seen children hung by steel wire, and watched partisans perform amputations on wounded comrades without anaesthesia. She never thinks of what would happen to her if caught. "The important thing is to act, always to act, never to think of failure," she says.

Bruno, barely twenty-five, lean, intense, crippled in a parachute jump, is the son of a professor. He has two degrees and was what might be called an "intellectual Socialist" or parlor pink. Now he has graduated from another school, an Allied sabotage school, where he learned to plant mines and booby traps. He doesn't know how many Nazis he has killed so far—except that it isn't enough.

Inez Versari loved and followed Silvio Corbara, a Robin Hood of the Romagna. With him it was a question of resistance, not of the politics of resistance. When Silvio and his intimates were ambushed by Fascists near Castrocaro, Inez killed one officer and wounded two others. Then she turned the gun on herself, just in time to cheat the Nazi puppets of the obscene thrill of hanging her in public. They hung her corpse in the piazza at Forlì, which the Eighth Army captured several weeks later.

Idealistic, ignorant, embittered, brave, the partisans are death to the oppressor but easy prey for the demagogue. Beyond question they are, as Anne O'Hare McCormick said when she was here recently, "more than lines on the map; these are the young people who will make the future pattern of Europe."

## Dalhousie Drops a President

BY JUDITH ROBINSON

IN THE week of February 11 most Canadian dailies published on a back page a small news item from Halifax, Nova Scotia. This was an announcement by the Board of Governors of Dalhousie University, Halifax, that after fifteen years in office Dalhousie's president, Dr. Carleton Wellesley Stanley, had resigned. Thus unobtrusively a battle that had gone on for months between anonymous wealth and a college president came to a bad end for the president.

But the end did not come before a member of the British House of Peers had aimed a few buzz bombs at Halifax in support of academic freedom. When Carleton Stanley resigned, the Atlantic cables were still warm with remarks upon the shortcomings of Dalhousie governors sent prepaid in duplicate by the richest and most generous of the university's graduates and benefactors, the Right Honorable Richard Bedford Bennett, Viscount Bennett of Calgary, formerly Prime Minister of Canada.

Lord Bennett's object of attack was the Board of Governors' majority resolution to resign unless President Stanley did. The reason given for the board's action by the chairman was that a committee of five governors charged with preparing a campaign to obtain financial help for Dalhousie's medical school had reported it useless to ask for contributions while Dr. Stanley, who had said things that antagonized rich people and prosperous corporations, was president.

Lord Bennett regretted further that he could not now withdraw the gifts he had made to Dalhousie and turn them over to some institution which considered providing educational facilities more important than alleged antagonism to the president. That one must have shaken up Dalhousie's governors a bit, for last year Lord Bennett gave outright to Dalhousie three-quarters of a million dollars to endow chairs of law and medicine. Recall that in the past he has given, or inspired, gifts of almost a million more, and has promised at least a quarter-million in the future, and it will be seen that the old alumnus was dropping his bombs close to the committee of five. He went on dropping them.

He inquired how many wealthy persons had declined to subscribe to Dalhousie's financial campaign because Dr. Stanley was president. He asked what sums had been promised if he were got rid of. He warned that if Stanley's resignation were forced on such an issue no really competent man would again accept the presidency of Dalhousie. He charged that since he had refused to be a yes-man, Carleton Stanley had never had a square deal at Dalhousie. He exhorted the chairman of the board not to let the enemies of Stanley do irreparable injury to the university's fame in their efforts to injure the university's president.

The chairman of Dalhousie University's Board of Governors is Colonel Kenrick Laurie (Indian Army, retired), a wealthy Haligonian by birth and inheritance. His mentor in university affairs is the ex-chairman of the board, James McGregor Stewart, O.B.E., K.C., one of Halifax's most successful lawyers and a director of many far-flung companies. It was J. McGregor Stewart who framed the unanimous report of the committee of five that it was useless to approach

any wealthy Maritimer for money for Dalhousie while Carleton Stanley remained as president. It was J. McGregor Stewart who pulled the Premier of Nova Scotia into the fight against Stanley by a smart piece of board politics.

Dalhousie is not provincially supported, as are most of the larger universities in Canada. Its founding endowment was provided involuntarily by American citizens more than 130 years ago. The college was established in 1816 by the ninth Earl of Dalhousie, Governor of the Canada of that day, and its foundation funds were takings of the War of 1812-14. Privateers out of Halifax made a good thing of raiding the New England coastal trade in those war years, and the government's percentage on their prizes was collected at the port of Castine, after that Maine village was seized from the Americans. When peace came, Governor Dalhousie endowed the college named for him with the Castine fund.

Last summer, when President Stanley launched the public appeal for funds, he made a direct request to the governments of the three Maritime Provinces to bear an adequate share of the cost of maintaining the medical and dental schools that served all. J. McGregor Stewart seized the opportunity to move at the next board meeting that A. Sterling MacMillan, Premier of Nova Scotia, be made a governor of Dalhousie University. Opposing the motion on principle, President Stanley was left in the ungrateful position of barring from a place on the university governing body the head of the government to which he was applying for money. The Stewart motion was shelved because of Stanley's opposition, but its mover had what he wanted—one more enemy for the president where enemies could do him most harm.

It is admitted by all who know him that Carleton W. Stanley is not a tactful man. He is difficult, exacting, inclined to be high-handed with his staff. But he has resolutely defended the integrity of his university from outside interference. Dalhousie's scholastic standing has risen under his presidency, its endowment fund has doubled, its service to the whole Maritime community has been enlarged, and its part in the war has been played magnificently. What, besides personal dislike, has inspired the successful vendetta against him can best be guessed by glancing at one of the current examples of his lack of tact, the new Dalhousie Labor Institute.

The Dalhousie Labor Institute was inaugurated last spring, first of its kind in any Canadian university, "for the purpose of labor education." Its models were similar institutes already functioning at Harvard and Yale. Its funds were from a Rockefeller grant. Its intention, declared by President Stanley in his annual report for 1944, was to equip union officials with better knowledge of social and economic trends so that they might better serve organized labor.

The biggest single employer of labor in the Maritimes, and one of the five or six biggest industrial concerns in Canada, is the Dominion Steel and Coal Company, known as Dosco. Dosco heads are at present attempting to prove to a federal-government commission that the corporation cannot continue to mine coal, smelt steel, and bless the Nova Scotia worker with employment after the war unless miners' wage rates are cut. Among the union representatives presenting counter-arguments to the federal commissioner

are some who have already made good use of Dalhousie's new Labor Institute. Among the leading citizens of Halifax who have had and hope still to have pleasant and profitable relations with Dosco, its subsidiaries and affiliates, is J. McGregor Stewart, ex-chairman of the Board of Governors of Dalhousie University.

## In the Wind

AMERICAN LEGION POST 591, Hollywood, recently elected to membership a wounded World War II veteran of Japanese descent. The Legion's district commander refused to recognize the election. The post is fighting to have it recognized, and Los Angeles Chapter No. 1 of the American Veterans' Committee has passed a resolution commending the post and criticizing the district commander.

THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING STATION in Europe, announcing the first free election in occupied Germany, reports that an officer of the AMG suggested the title of *Führer* for the German member of the food commission at Aachen. The local farmers didn't like the idea. They gave their man the title of *Vertreter* (representative).

THE MOST SCATHING INDICTMENT of the wrestling industry we've ever heard was uttered by a five-year-old boy in a newsreel theater last week. As the wrestling match on the screen ended he said, "I'm glad that's over. Now we can see some fighting."

FROM THE OBITUARY of Bert Schultz, a farm hand, in the Lagrange, Indiana, *Standard and News* of February 1: "Lucille Hope became his wife, by common law, and three children were born to them. . . . The deceased was a faithful and hard-working man, though of humble station in life. He was not permitted to marry on account of having some Negro blood."

ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM WATSON of Florida advised the state executive committee of the Democratic Party on February 22 that it would be wise to repeal the poll tax. Such a move need not necessarily improve the Negroes' social or economic position, he said. "It can be done in a way that will reduce the evils. You can carry segregation to the nth degree. You can make them register separately and vote separately. If we do it right we can make history. . . . We can do it right. We've got the brains and the patriotism."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Late last year a Nazi meeting was called at Oslo to discuss anti-sabotage measures. One collaborationist, Svendsen Mö, suggested mass executions. Before voting on the proposal the delegates adjourned for lunch. When they returned to the auditorium Mö found a note on his chair saying, "You will be the first." Word has just arrived from Norway that a few days later Mö "departed this life in a rather unpleasant way."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.]

## Brazil Plays at Democracy

**D**ICTATORS all over the world are busy preparing their democratic costumes in order to make an effective entrance at San Francisco. So we were not greatly surprised to learn that Getúlio Vargas had suddenly lifted the press censorship in Brazil. But there are certain illuminating details connected with this change which have not as yet been published and may interest our readers.

The news first reached New York through a telephone call from Rio de Janeiro to Octavio Mangabeira, former Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who together with Paulo Duarte represents in the United States the Uniao Democratica Brasileira. Mr. Mangabeira has been living in New York since the outbreak of the war, aiding the United Nations' cause in every possible way but totally ignored by the State Department, whose policy has always been to brush aside the very men destined ultimately to direct the affairs of their countries, men with whom the United States will have to work. As one of Brazil's most outstanding and responsible statesmen, Mr. Mangabeira has remained quietly confident that one day he would be summoned by his people to resume active political life. But he did not expect that this summons would take the form of a telephone call from Rio while Getúlio Vargas was still President of the republic.

It was the powerful, pro-Ally *Diario de Noticias* which telephoned. It called to tell Mr. Mangabeira that the government had just lifted the press censorship and that the following morning the *Diario* would demand the full reestablishment of democratic liberties and genuinely free elections. The *Diario* editorial and the editorials of four other papers were also supporting the candidacy of General Eduardo Gómez for the presidency in opposition to Vargas. Having remained aloof from all political struggles, Gómez is unknown in the United States outside of limited military circles, where he is considered one of the best officers of the Brazilian army. But in his own country his disapproval of the dictatorship and his pro-Ally sentiments are common knowledge. He was opposed to Vargas's 1937 coup d'état; yet despite his attitude Vargas promoted him from colonel to brigadier general and later to full generalship. Gómez never visited the War Department to express appreciation for his various promotions. The first time that he ever paid a call on General Dutra, Minister of War, was one month ago. The occasion of his visit was to say that since Vargas had promised elections he wished to inform the Minister that he, General Gómez, intended to be a candidate for the presidency. He added: "I hope that this announcement of elections is not merely a maneuver. If that is all it is and if it is meant only to deceive Brazil once again, then I shall not be a candidate for the presidency but for the leadership of a coup d'état against the dictatorship."

General Gómez's visit to General Dutra has played an important part in recent developments. On the one hand, the fact that the Minister of War failed to take any action against Gómez was an indication that Vargas is losing ground even

among his closest collaborators. On the other hand, it gave the opposition a man around whom pro-democratic elements in Brazil might gather. Although, under other circumstances, a civilian candidate might have been preferred by certain groups, the fact that Gómez, although a general, is known for his lack of personal ambition and is favored by a large part of the army, has resulted in rapidly increasing support for his candidacy. Today he has become the spearhead of the military and civilian opposition to Vargas.

Vargas's every political gesture is naturally suspect. Already the constitutional amendments decreed by him on February 28, when he announced that the date of the promised elections would be fixed within the next ninety days, have all the characteristics of a maneuver. A political poll carried out by the *Diario da Noite* among the opposition groups brands this "constitutional reform" as a political trick designed not to change but to reinforce the fascist constitution of 1937, under which honest and free elections can never take place. His opponents are therefore demanding that the lifting of the press censorship be followed by the restoration of other democratic guaranties. In a statement made in response to the telephone call from the *Diario de Noticias*, Mr. Mangabeira said that "in order for freedom of the press and all other freedoms to become truly effective, they must not be bestowed as favors by the government but must be guaranteed by the existence of a democratic and firmly established constitution." In the same statement Mr. Mangabeira welcomed "with enthusiasm the movement in favor of Eduardo Gómez," whom he considers "capable of presiding, with the support of all Brazilians, over the task of national reorganization."

Possibly the Brazilian dictator is aiming at something more specific than improving his position at the Mexico and San Francisco conferences. Possibly, while passing through Rio, Secretary of State Stettinius made it clear that Brazil would encounter difficulties in obtaining the position it desires on the council of the new international organization if the present regime should be continued in power without change. But whatever his purposes Getúlio Vargas has been forced to make concessions. The press is already using its new freedom with far more fervor than the regime expected. Besides publishing severe criticisms of the domestic policies of the nine-year dictatorship, it has come out for the immediate destruction of the centers of Nazi agitation still remaining in Brazil. It has also initiated a powerful campaign in favor of a general amnesty for political prisoners. If Vargas attempts to regain ground for the dictatorship after the San Francisco conference he may find that it is too late. The collapse of his regime would have a great repercussion throughout America, especially in Argentina. It would be one of the people's victories of this war.

The article which follows, by Samuel Wainer, gives a clear, up-to-date picture of the Brazilian dictatorship.

A. DEL V.

# Vargas in Modern Dress

BY SAMUEL WAINER

**S**URVIVAL of the Vargas regime after the defeat of the Axis would mean that Brazil would continue as a model and inspiration for fascism in America. For Argentina it has already served these purposes. In an article in Rio's *O Jornal*, Caio Cesar Vieira, Perón's intimate friend, quoted the Argentine dictator as having said that he was "inspired by the processes and methods of the *Estado Novo* to consolidate his own regime." The ousting of Vargas and the reconquest of the Brazilian people's fundamental rights would, on the other hand, lead to the democratization of more than half of South America and shake the foundations of remaining dictatorships. Brazil's two million industrial workers could then immeasurably strengthen the four million members of the Confederation of Latin American Workers in their struggle for freedom. In a speech made last May Vargas inadvertently revealed the strength of the workers' resistance to the *Estado Novo* when he stated that less than 20 per cent of Brazil's workers belonged to the government-controlled syndicates.

Vargas's totalitarian state, the first American version of fascism, is closely linked to its European prototypes and is based on the systems evolved by Mussolini, Salazar, Pilsudsky, and Hitler. It is not, as some would have it, a personal *caudillo* dictatorship of the type that occurs periodically in Latin America. Vargas, who was forced into the war against the Axis when the pressure of foreign events stimulated internal resistance, still hopes to survive the peace. He cleverly utilizes the prestige accruing to him from Brazil's participation in the war. Each laudatory morsel from the United States is fully exploited; at one time all newspapers were ordered to feature excerpts from "The Time for Decision," in which Sumner Welles expressed ardent admiration for Vargas's regime. In April, 1944, however, popular pressure forced Vargas to announce that he would permit elections "with the objective of completing the existing institutions" (the constitution) of the *Estado Novo*.

In the following months pro-democratic organizations increased their efforts, and last week Vargas announced that the date of the elections would be set within the next ninety days. He also lifted the press censorship. The elected President is to be inducted thirty days after the polling and Congress sixty days after. The question of modifying the present constitution or creating a new one is left to the new Congress. Did Vargas at last recognize that democracy is the wave of the future, did he fear a people's revolution, or did he merely wish to strengthen his hand at the Mexico and San Francisco conferences? The next months will give the answer. But two facts are certain: once the lid is off, events will happen quickly in Brazil; and if Vargas is reelected, the elections will have been faked, for the people are overwhelmingly against him.

What Brazil would have been like tomorrow had the people accepted Vargas's April promise of elections "to complete present institutions" is revealed by a glance at Brazil today. Vargas can now annul any Supreme Court decision by simple *decreto-lei*, a power that he has already

used and that is authorized by the 1937 constitution. Political parties have been dissolved and unions incorporated into the state. Union meetings and elections require police approval and the presence of police agents. Strikes are crimes against the state, and strikers are brought before the nine-year-old "Emergency" Tribunal of Justice. The quality of justice handed down by this court may be gauged by its recent sentencing of the journalist Jader de Carvalho to a seven-year prison term because in 1942 he made a public speech hailing the victory of Stalingrad and demanding amnesty for political prisoners. The rigid censorship in effect until last week was a throw-back to the era of Portuguese emperors who closed the colony's ports "to avoid contraband of merchandise and ideas."

But neither censorship nor police activity can control certain war-produced phenomena. In its September 2 and November 11 issues the conservative *Revista da Associação Commercial* revealed that the cost of living in Sao Paulo, Brazil's wealthiest region, had increased 210 per cent, while wages had risen only 40 per cent; the average monthly wage is 480 *cruzeiros*, or \$24. Coffee, of which Sao Paulo is the world's largest producer, meat, rice, green vegetables, and eggs have increased 140, 125, 130, 161, and 199 per cent respectively. In northern Brazil, where 40 per cent of the population is concentrated, the cost of living has increased more than 300 per cent, while daily wages remain on the starvation level of 50 American cents. Vargas did not seek to remedy this situation by establishing a Brazilian OPA or by taxing excess war profits, which have soared from 100 to 1,500 per cent. His "solution" was inflation: money in circulation rose from 6,646 million *cruzeiros* in 1941 to 13,667 million in August, 1944. Vargas brought Brazil to the brink of economic catastrophe.

Economic crisis sharpened the political crisis, and police terror was the first answer to increasing popular protests. The people reacted quickly. The Uniao Democratica Nacional was organized to replace the Uniao Democratica Brasileiro, whose principal leaders, expelled by Vargas in 1939, are still in exile. The U. D. N. is "dedicated to bringing together all democratic currents of the country in a United Front with a program for the reestablishment of legal government by means of elections under the democratic constitution of 1934, which Vargas abolished in 1937." Established organizations such as the Order of Lawyers in Rio and Bahia asked for the immediate amnesty of political prisoners. A Congress of Industrialists in Sao Paulo voted unanimously for free elections, for "only with the guaranty of a legal and democratic regime" could the tranquillity necessary for economic development and for the attraction of North American capital and machinery be restored.

The smoldering struggle has now broken into the open. U. D. N. activity is spreading like wildfire, and the underground press is flooding the country with manifestoes, pamphlets, and satirical poems. Last December Vargas was greeted on a visit to Sao Paulo with clouds of paper floating down from the buildings bearing the words: "Down with the *Estado Novo*. Brazil demands free elections according to the constitution of 1934!" In January General Goes Monteiro, chief of the military group that promoted Vargas's 1937 coup d'état, publicly admitted the need for abolishing

the *Estado Novo* constitution, asked for the election of a Constituent Assembly to write a democratic constitution, and called for a general amnesty.

The initiative had passed to the people. Vargas could not imprison the whole country or solve the situation by demoting the army officers who formed the democratic wing of the *tenentistas*, those popular heroes of the revolutions of 1922, 1924, and 1930. Neither could he accuse the U. D. N. of communism, for in it are represented the most responsible elements of the old liberal and conservative parties. The failure of increased restrictions and police activity to counteract the rising opposition to his regime finally forced Vargas to grant freedom of the press and free elections.

A firm declaration now by the Inter-American Conference adopting as a permanent common policy Mr. Stettinius's statement, "We do not want fascism in this continent," would greatly strengthen democratic forces inside Brazil in the struggle in which they must now engage to make Vargas's democratic words come true. Dictators generally die hard, but Brazilians are not in a mood to be betrayed again. Let the American republics take notice that if the Brazilian people are again frustrated in their hopes for a restoration of democracy, they may conclude that only by force will Vargas return to the people that which he took from them by force.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE question has been asked: what will happen to the German mark after the war? The answer depends on how much power the ruling authority in Germany will have and how this power is used. Even today the very existence of the mark rests on the single fact that an omnipotent government prevents it from being used freely as a standard of value in a free market. If it were permitted to find its own level, the mark would have already reached the last stage of depreciation. For the amount of money in the hands of the people is tremendous and in ridiculous disproportion to the existing quantity of goods. The amount of paper money—banknotes—has risen from 10 billion marks at the outbreak of the war to 50 billion marks at the beginning of this year. And the amount of money in commercial and savings-bank accounts has increased proportionally even more. Moreover, it should be noted that for both forms of money the increase is proceeding at an accelerating pace. The circulation of banknotes, for instance, was swelled by 5 billion in 1942, by 9 billion in 1943, and by 16 billion in 1944. Bank accounts and savings-bank deposits show a similarly accelerating rate of increase.

The reason for this acceleration is no mystery. In a recent speech Dr. Funk, Reich Minister of Economy, admitted that the costs of the war were steadily growing, and that only a diminishing percentage of the expenditure could be covered by taxation. Thus an ever-widening gap has to be filled by inflationary expedients. In consequence the amount of paper money and bank deposits at the disposal of the population is six or seven times greater than before the war. If this

money could freely rush into a market catastrophically depleted of goods, its value would rapidly depreciate to nothing. Prices in terms of the mark would rise to dazzling heights, and peasants, manufacturers, and merchants would very soon refuse to sell their goods in exchange for currency.

By enforcing an iron control the government has so far prevented this money from breaking into the market. First it set up a rigid and all-inclusive rationing system which precludes any normal competition between the purchasers of commodities. Secondly, to prevent price rises within the framework of the rationed quantities, it maintains a draconic system of price control, applying to everything and extending to every stage of production and exchange. There still remained the danger that considerable quantities of goods might escape into a secret, illegal free market and that devastatingly destructive prices might develop on this black market. A system of meticulous physical control of the stocks, raw materials, output, purchases, and sales of every single peasant, manufacturer, and merchant has cut down the escape of goods into the black market to a negligible figure. The net result is that while the money is there, it is frustrated. Inflation exists, but the bulk of the inflated money is forcibly debarred from any use and any effect.

For maintaining the internal value of the currency this system has worked fairly well. But it presupposes the existence of an authority fully equipped with the instruments of power necessary for its operation. The enforcement machinery required is tremendous—millions of obedient controllers and supervisors, the assistance of the greater part of the population, each one observing his neighbor, spying and denouncing, and the use of revolting brutality and terror. When the Nazi rule collapses, this apparatus too will collapse. All the dams which have prevented the colossal amounts of existing money from rushing into the market will crumble. Prices will run wild in the practically empty market, and in a very short time the value of the currency will probably evaporate nearly to nothing. To prevent this, the authority succeeding the Nazis—be it the AMG or something else—would have to preserve or re-create their machinery of control. And this machinery would have to obtain the same degree of obedience and assistance, and quickly become as effective, as under the Nazis.

It is hard to believe that this could be accomplished. It is equally hard to believe that the American and British administrations would be very eager to revive Nazi enforcement methods. One must expect, therefore, that after the defeat the German currency will be headed toward rapid and nearly complete extinction. This will add to the chaos in the country, and for the middle classes, in particular, it will amount, as in 1923, to a terrific expropriation. Yet in spite of these very disagreeable prospects the Allied administration may arrive at the conclusion that the wisest course of action is to establish a brand-new currency and not bother at all about the old one. In time some rate of exchange between the old mark and the new currency will automatically develop, infinitesimal as the value of the old mark may be, and in the end the remnants of the old mark may possibly be exchanged into the new currency. This, incidentally, was the method the Germans themselves applied after their currency collapsed in 1923.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

A CORRESPONDENT was kind enough to send me a copy of "The Robe," which is by way of becoming the best seller of all time. A million copies have been printed, and the only limit on its further distribution is the available supply of paper.

I've read "The Robe," and I am impressed again with how hard "easy reading" can be. I've also read an article by its author, Lloyd C. Douglas, entitled *Why I Wrote "The Robe,"* which appeared in the *Cosmopolitan*. A reprint of it is being distributed by Houghton Mifflin, publishers of the book.

I found Mr. Douglas's article more illuminating than his book. Here are the salient parts:

Stories about Jesus are always welcome.

Authors of successful stories about Jesus need not be persons of great reputation in the literary world. . . . A large, ready-made audience waits to read any new evaluation of the old story, provided it is told simply, sincerely, and with a careful avoidance of the controversial issues which have rent Christianity into 247 separate organizations.

Any time is the right time to do a novel about the Carpenter of Nazareth. Fifty million people in the United States think of Him as their Master.

It is true though that in a time of general calamity, when the customary reliances are in jeopardy if not altogether overthrown, thoughtful people are disposed to examine their religious foundations. . . . They long to recover the effortless faith of their childhood.

It was not easy to decide just how or where such a story should begin. . . . One day I had a letter inquiring whether there was a story about the robe that the Roman soldiers had gambled for while its Owner hung dying on His cross. Instantly it occurred to me that this robe was exactly the right instrument to use in a novel about the Master.

. . . I firmly believe that my use of modern speech had a great deal to do with the apparent readability of "The Robe."

I receive many letters from persons who do not understand that "The Robe" is a novel. . . . They complain that they have gone through the four Gospels with a microscope and have found no trace of the crippled girl, Miriam, who was given the marvelous voice. . . . And to all of these good people I reply: You must remember that "The Robe" is a novel. . . . It is just one man's attempt to draw a picture of Jesus and the people with whom He walked and talked in an age so very like ours that it wouldn't surprise me very much if—somewhere—in one of these wounded, weeping little countries, He should come again to renew His peace terms to a bewildered world.

Mr. Douglas's frank and business-like brochure on how to manufacture a best-seller includes many of the specifications he has used, but not all. For obvious reasons he leaves out some of the most important. In "The Robe" there are beautiful girls, handsome slaves, luxurious houses, royal palaces. There is romance and sex in a nice combination which titillates but never goes too far. He has mentioned the use of modern speech. He also tells his story in "modern" prose—"with Diana's warm and supple contours snuggled close

against him" is a sample. The book has what is known as glamour and a very intricate, long-drawn-out plot.

On one level "The Robe" combines the "appeal" of the Little Colonel series, the perennial tale of boy meets girl, the historical novel, and a Hollywood spectacle in technicolor, which "The Robe" will soon turn into. In addition, there is the story of Jesus, which in the course of two thousand years has generated a store of emotion and interest that can be tapped by any writer who cares or dares to tap it. Finally there are the miracles, which here become matters of fact, not legend, for they are performed before the very eyes of the hero, his friends, and the reader.

What Mr. Douglas has devised and carried out, according to his own account, is a bold and quite unashamed exploitation of what the public is supposed to want. He plunges in where a more sensitive man, an artist, say, would fear to tread. He has no inhibitions about staging miracles. And he has no inhibitions, either, about making his Galileans just folks.

I find his miracles dull if only because they are stripped of wonder; his Galilean folks are movie folks; his Romans are drawn from the same Hollywood archives, despite his vaunted research.

And I doubt very much that the average reader is any more convinced than I am by the miracles, the stereotyped characters, the backless prose. Such books fall into the same category of "entertainment" as the general run of movies and the non-comic comics. All are designed to induce a pleasant state of suspended disbelief, to fill the time, to keep the mind, if not exactly occupied, at least passive—and to sell like hotcakes.

TO ME THE SIGNIFICANT THING about the popularity of such entertainment is its indication of the sort of fare in which presumably adult minds can be absorbed. The public taste, as defined by the purveyors of synthetic and sensational fiction, of which "The Robe" is a relatively high-toned example, has always seemed to me partly an invention. I've never felt, in other words, that the natural taste of the ordinary man was as bad as it is said to be by those who make a business of giving the public "what it wants." I still cling to this belief, but I'm beginning to feel that public taste is actually becoming as low as the hucksters of trash have always assumed it was. If so, it is partly because the hucksters have, over a long period, fed the public "what it wants" in overwhelming doses and have at the same time proclaimed more and more openly that their product is literature.

In this activity they have been getting, I might add, more and more cooperation from reviewers. One of the literary phenomena of the day is the review that asserts: This book is good in spite of the fact that it is bad. And vice-versa. For there is also the review, reserved for any book that taxes the mind, which says: This book is bad in spite of the fact that it is good.

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Unfinished Debate

PROFESSOR FRANK KNIGHT, an economist, and Professor Thornton Merriam, a teacher of religion, carry on in "The Economic Order and Religion" (Harper, \$3) a debate on the relevance of religion to economic life. Professor Knight believes that a democratic society requires impersonal standards of justice, to be arrived at rationally. The Christian ideal of love, in his opinion, is a much too sentimental and personal attitude toward economic and social issues. In this criticism he certainly scores off certain modern forms of sentimentalized religion, but he hardly deals adequately with the source of the will to be just to the neighbor, distinct from rational elaborations of standards of justice. Neither author is concerned with the problem of the relation of ultimate moral principles to relative and historical standards of morals, which is in a sense the crucial issue in any discussion of the relation of religion to social ethics. Knight wisely remarks that "absolutism toward principles and instrumentalism are twin or polar vices of modern intellectual life," but the question how to prevent pragmatism from degenerating into moral nihilism and how to prevent any high sense of moral responsibility from developing too absolute and fixed historical standards is not answered.

Professor Merriam challenges Knight's rather too vigorous *laissez faire* social philosophy and arrives at a greater emphasis upon social planning, but Knight may be right in suggesting that Merriam has not proved that his social philosophy follows naturally or necessarily from a Christian view of life. Certainly many Christians do not hold it and many atheists do.

The definitions of religion and Christianity are not sharp enough, and the analysis of the relation between ultimate beliefs and social philosophies not critical enough, to be of very great value.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

### Work in Progress

AN INTERESTING MISCELLANY of subjects is treated in a collection of essays by anthropologists and sociologists entitled "The Science of Man in the World Crisis," edited by Ralph Linton (Columbia University Press, \$4). The discussions of the nature of culture, the existence of races, minority problems, colonial administration, the status and future of the American Indian, and associated themes contain some illuminating analysis and comment. As a whole, however, the collection falls short of meeting the expectations aroused not only by the ambitious title but by the much more modest editorial preface. If this is the best fruit frontier thinkers can harvest from their recent labors, they should be thanked for their honesty, restraint, and freedom from sensationalism. But one wonders a little why they didn't wait until they could bring back something of special significance. It is not made clear what "the science of man" is, or how there can be such a science as distinct from a scientific approach to specific human problems by cooperating scientists who care more about carrying solutions forward than about the

"proper" limits of their professional discipline. And the "world crisis" remains just as dark and dread as before.

The news from the field of "race" indicates that anthropologists are not making new discoveries about races but are refining their concepts. It is no longer fashionable, and indeed it was never sensible, to say "there are no races." This was a non-sequitur from such truths as that there is no Jewish or Aryan race, that heredity takes place only along family lines, that races overlap in respect to certain features, that races have histories. The whole theoretical problem seems to be largely a matter of semantic clarification and distinction of meanings. It might be well to add a professional logician to the working company of anthropologists and sociologists.

SIDNEY HOOK

### French Arms in America

"WE HAVE BEEN contemporaries and fellow-laborers in the cause of liberty, and we have lived together as brothers should do in harmonious friendship." With this quotation from a letter of Washington to Rochambeau, written in 1784, Stephen Bonsal opens and closes his beautifully written "When the French Were Here" (Doubleday, Doran, \$3). This history of the French army which, together with the French navy, made Yorktown possible is a rare and happy combination of careful scholarship and fascinating narrative. Mr. Bonsal has followed the army from the time it assembled in Brest in the spring of 1780 until it embarked from New England ports late in 1782.

The descriptions of the siege of Yorktown are good, solid military history. The impressions of the French soldiers in a new country, as revealed in their diaries and letters, together with the reactions of the Americans to their new allies, constitute invaluable social history of the kind too seldom seen. Appraisals of Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and a host of lesser figures, made by their contemporaries, are interesting and significant. The part played in our Revolution by intrigue and diplomacy is made more lucid. A large number of important but nearly forgotten incidents—such as the naval clash between Destouches and Graves off the Virginia capes in March, 1781, and the brilliant, reckless charge by Wayne which saved Lafayette at Green Spring—receive deserved notice. This small book covers a brief period in our history, but its importance far outreaches its span.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

### Facing East

FOR MOST AMERICANS Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, is explainable only in terms of Japanese treachery. Few have any real understanding of the shortcomings in American policy during the crucial thirties which encouraged the Japanese in their belief that they were destined to dominate the Pacific. And in the absence of this understanding very few have a clear idea of how American Pacific policy should be shaped in the post-war period to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of recent years. In "America's Far Eastern Policy" (published by International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, distributed by the Macmillan Company, \$3) T. A. Bisson presents an extraordinarily clear, unvarnished picture of how this country stirred

up Japanese antagonism by verbal opposition to Nippon's pan-Asiatic aspirations while providing it with the basic war materials without which its aggressive program could not have been maintained. In this perspective Mr. Bisson considers the basic security problems which this country faces in the Pacific in the post-war period. Of particular significance is his analysis of the prospects for the regeneration of Japan through economic reforms that will strengthen the influence of the farmers and the wage-earning groups within the Japanese population.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

### Four Explorers

NEVER WAS THERE such a cluttering of publishers' lists with rubbish as now in the case of books about Latin America. Yet the number of good books also constantly grows. The latest is "South America Called Them," by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen (Knopf, \$3.75), which contains well-made accounts of the lives and principal Latin American explorations of four scientists. The first, and the one which I found most absorbing, is a study of the work of La Condamine, the eighteenth-century Frenchman whose expedition was undertaken to settle the dispute between the Newtonians and the Cassinians concerning the shape of the earth. The others are Humboldt, Darwin, and Richard Spruce, the botanist who, together with Wallace and Bates, laid the foundations of Amazonian naturalistic studies. The book also forms an admirable introduction to Southern Hemisphere geography, and because of its author's lively interest in the social life of the time, it will be of very great value to the historical student, especially the first section. The documentation is never less than adequate, and the use of it is responsible. There is an unfortunate tendency to push the story along with unnecessary violence, as in such a sentence as this, "When Humboldt wrote of the electric eels, all Europe gasped in astonishment." Nine-tenths of the book, though, is so absorbing that in these times it must be described as first-rate.

RALPH BATES

### Lumber Workers

ABOUT HALF of "Lumber and Labor," by Vernon H. Jensen (Farrar and Rinehart, \$3), is devoted to events prior to 1933, and the remainder is taken up with the growth and problems of unionism since the first Roosevelt Administration. While the early material is available elsewhere, the sections dealing with recent events contain much new information not available in monographic or book form. The chapters on the growth and internal difficulties of the unions are full of details on the rise of the new unions, the split and formation of two non-company unions, and the factional controversy within the International Woodworkers of America. Dr. Jensen glides over some of the differences within the C. I. O. union. Officers who were following the Communist anti-war line early in 1941 are euphemistically described as having "an anti-war philosophy." No effort is made to examine the reasons why the same officers were more conciliatory and tractable in the fall of 1941, or to indicate that their new attitude reflected a change in political view by certain union leaders, or that the change was influenced by non-union considerations. On the whole, the author has

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shown much diligence in gathering and assembling a large mass of material, and readers of these pages will be rewarded by much interesting information.

PHILIP TAFT

## A Way of Peace

THE TECHNIQUES of psychology and anthropology have been applied to the study of an early and still actively functioning American Indian culture in an important study, "The Hopi Way," by Laura Thompson, an anthropologist, and Dr. Alice Joseph, a neuro-psychiatrist (University of Chicago, \$3). The Hopi, a group of 3,500 American Indians living in the remote highlands of northern Arizona on a site they have occupied since about 1150, are one of the most ancient population groups of the American continent. Their name means the "peaceful people," and their intricately balanced organization is oriented toward peace. The methods by which the Hopi maintain a peaceful, democratic society, the gains the individual makes and the price he pays in accepting certain group restrictions which are at once both limiting and liberating are fully explored in this excellent little volume. An understanding of the institutions, types of relationship, and basic concepts that permeate the Hopi way can be highly suggestive to all persons concerned with the immediate and century-old problem of aggressive hostility in the Western world. Although the book is mainly confined to the presentation of its rich material and indulges in few generalizations, its total effect is to reaffirm the belief that democratic peace cannot be achieved merely by means of

covenants between great powers. What is even more essential is the constant effort to that end of individuals in societies that are both sufficiently elastic and sufficiently firm to allow for social change and individual expression.

"The Hopi Way" has an introduction by John Collier, until recently Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and is illustrated with beautiful photographs. It is the first of a series of volumes resulting from a three-year collaboration between the Indian Service and the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. VIRGINIA MISHNUN

## Facts Only

DARRELL GARWOOD, the author of "Artist in Iowa," a life of Grant Wood (W. W. Norton, \$3.50), refers to his subject at one point as the painter who knew more about farmers' overalls than any other painter in this country. This pretty well captures the tone of the biography.

In a book about a painter whose position is by no means unassailable it is not over-exacting to look for some positive evaluation of his work and some indication as to how his work is related to the sort of life he lived—at a level a little deeper than "there was a water can nearby, so that got into the painting too." But little is said about Wood as a painter that would not be just as revealing had he been a photographer. There are a few references to matters of technique that are more misleading than otherwise. The importance of Wood's technique as formed and affected by his outlook as a painter is largely disregarded. Granted that it is difficult to perceive which factors determine which brush strokes, it is none the less an effort to which a painter's biographer is committed. No information on which pictures sold for how much to whom can replace that.

Even more irritating than Mr. Garwood's shortcomings as the biographer of a painter is his consistent and bland incuriosity as the biographer of a man. Wood's protracted adolescence in his relations with women, the failure of his marriage, and the conflicts of his personality with other personalities at the university where he worked certainly deserved more extended treatment.

But if all you are looking for is the facts about Grant Wood, this book will do.

ARTHUR LIDOV

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## Doctor and Patient

THROUGH ALL THE HISTORY of medicine, from Esculapius to Jean Hersholt, the ideal has been the humanist as physician; and there has always been a large enough minority of humanists in the profession to give the concept some reality. But latterly we have been rather self-conscious about them, assuring ourselves of their existence by means of movies, radio programs, novels, advertisements, biographies, and all the other modern vehicles of myth. For we are uneasily aware that the doctor who served his community as healer, confessor, and God the Father is becoming extinct. For one thing, the modern community is too heterogeneous to be comprehended by one man; the doctor knows his patients almost as little as they know each other. For another, the growth of medical knowledge has made the family practitioner inevitably dependent on the specialist; the doctor

who prescribes for Johnny's cough is neither the one who delivered him nor the one who will remove his tonsils, and Johnny's parents wouldn't want it to be otherwise.

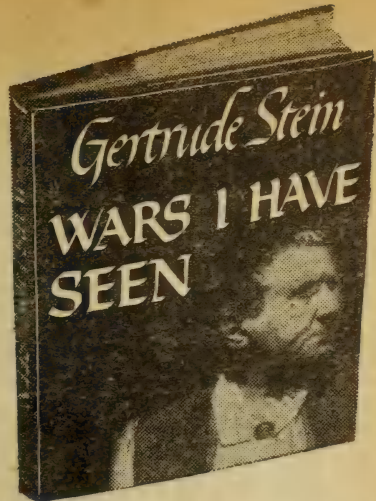
The modern system has obvious advantages. The paradox is that it is often less effective than the makeshift methods of the old horse-and-buggy doctor. An outstanding medical humanist, Dr. Henry B. Richardson, explores all the implications of this paradox in "Patients Have Families" (The Commonwealth Fund, \$3). The main trouble, says Dr. Richardson, is that under modern conditions both patient and doctor tend to lose their identity as human beings, the one becoming merely a diseased organism and the other merely a technician; the doctor is not aware that a specific ailment may have social as well as physiological causes, and it doesn't occur to him to prescribe social treatment. Dr. Richardson calls on the physician to recognize his natural allies, the psychiatrist, the social case worker, and the community agencies, and coordinate his efforts with theirs. This takes some imagination; it won't appeal to the high priests of the American Medical Association, whose attitude toward social work would be less shocking if they were bartenders. However, only thus can the modern physician add to his own advantages those of the old-style doctor who brought his patients into the world and stayed with them for life.

J. MITCHELL MORSE

## FICTION IN REVIEW

THERE has been a small spate of novels by newspaper correspondents. In recent weeks four have come my way—"The Troubled Midnight" by John Gunther (Harper, \$2.50), "It's Always Tomorrow" by Robert St. John (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), "Return to the Vineyard" by Mary Loos and Walter Duranty (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), and "The Open City" by Shelley Smith Mydans (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50)—and they have started me wondering, among other things, why so much of a point has always been made of the inability of reporters to write fiction. For if by the ability to write a novel we mean simply the ability to compose a story with some kind of plot and characters, there is no evidence that newspapermen have any more difficulty than other mortals in achieving this questionable distinction; and if we mean something more, if we mean the ability to write a *good* novel, then it seems to me that the profession of the author is irrelevant: the incidence of creative talent in the journalist's trade is no more interesting or significant than the incidence of creative talent in any other field.

But on the other hand—and I am not being paradoxical—of the four novels I have been reading, two, Mr. Duranty's and Mr. St. John's, are worth discussing only because they are by newspaper people. That is, while Mrs. Mydans's novel and Mr. Gunther's are not good books, we pass this judgment quite without reference to the way their authors earn their livings; but we cannot read either Mr. Duranty's novel or Mr. St. John's without being struck by their lack of the very power which we look for in the trained journalistic mind—the power to understand the political events with which these authors have been professionally concerned.



INTIMATE friends of Gertrude Stein, aware of her indomitable courage and resourcefulness, were not at all surprised when she emerged unscathed from the Nazi occupation of France, with even her Picasso collection absolutely intact, and her poodle Basker wagging his tail contentedly at her heels. But Miss Stein had had her full share of troubles and excitement in the past four years, and it is this unbelievable period that she describes in full in this most graphic and revealing of all her books.

Gertrude Stein proved in her *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* that, when she wants to, she can write straightforward English that any average high-school student can understand. *Wars I Have Seen*, with a few very minor aberrations, is another such book. The first half, in fact, which conveys an impression that the author was more concerned with foraging food for her dogs than with the fate of democracy, struck this publisher as all too comprehensible. Before long, however, Miss Stein very obviously was caught up in the heroic exploits of the Maquis; her sense of Olympian detachment vanished in the excitement of a battle for liberation; the coming of the Americans gave her the thrill and supreme delight of her whole crowded life.

Bear in mind that this entire book was written in longhand under the very noses of the Nazis. After they were driven out of France, Alice Toklas typed the manuscript and Frank Gervasi, who moved in with General Patch's Seventh U. S. Army, brought it back with him to America. *Wars I Have Seen* is the on-the-spot story of what the common people of France endured from 1940 to September, 1944.

  
PRESIDENT, RANDOM HOUSE

## WARS I HAVE SEEN

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ment.

For instance, in "Return to the Vineyard," Miss Loos and Mr. Duranty deal with the theme of the resettlement of a devastated European village. It is a subject to which one would suppose that someone of Mr. Duranty's experience would bring a certain sense of political reality. Yet except for the single insight that it may be difficult, after this war, for the peasant populations of the liberated countries to get the aid of the occupation authorities in resuming their lives exactly as they were lived before the war, Mr. Duranty contributes not a jot to either our emotional or political comprehension of an enormous problem. "Return to the Vineyard" turns out to be a "Swiss Family Robinson" of post-war reconstruction climaxed with a ridiculous sequence of Hollywood gangsterism. Even its parable tone and poster-like characters are an offense against reality. Yet Mr. Duranty—I know nothing about Miss Loos—for years played a major role in forming American opinion about a very important reality indeed, the Soviet Union; it was through his eyes that millions of us saw the workings of the Five-Year Plan, the Moscow trials, the Russian purges. In the light of this sample of his thinking on the subject of post-war Europe, how are we now to evaluate Mr. Duranty's interpretations as a journalist?

The case of Mr. St. John is even worse; in fact, it is much worse. Miss Loos's and Mr. Duranty's novel has at least a serious point of departure, but "It's Always Tomorrow," the story of a newspaper correspondent who falls in love in Poland, loses his love but finds his soul in Hungary, Rumania, and France, and finds a new love and a strengthened soul in England, is from start to finish pointless, exhibitionistic, and vulgar. I have never read Mr. St. John's "From the Land of Silent People" or listened to his broadcasts; this first-person narrative is my only experience of his work. But I think it would be hard to convince me that the mind that deals in the primitive politics of "It's Always Tomorrow" could ever, under any circumstances, give me a political fact or interpretation that I could now trust.

It is difficult to explain why the novels of Mr. Gunther and Mrs. Mydans do not raise this question of their authors' professional authority. Perhaps it is merely because, in the case of Mrs. Mydans's "The Open City," the narrative stays so close to actual experience, and because, in the case of Mr. Gunther's "The Troubled Midnight," the pages of political discussion with which the trivial narrative is larded are sufficiently thoughtful to be reassuring. "The Troubled Midnight" is about the love-life of a young American Lead-Lease worker in Constantinople; its possible allegorical intention—the young woman chooses for her love among a Nazi, an Englishman, and an American—is not supported by its quality of fantasy. "The Open City" is an account of what it was like to be interned by the Japanese; it might much better have been told as simple fact than as such simple fiction. But although neither book is a very good act of the imagination, they still allow themselves to be estimated as acts of the imagination, not as evidence of a kind of professional inadequacy.

Quite apart from all this: for sufferers from late-winter gripe or other complaints which are alleviated by light novels, I can recommend "Miss Dilly Says No" by Theodore Pratt (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$2.50). DIANA TRILLING

## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

A GOOD movie might have been made from "The Picture of Dorian Gray." Albert Lewin's version is respectful, earnest, and, I am afraid, dead. Lowell Gilmore is close to the mark as Basil Hallward, who tries to be artist, Christian, and bourgeois all at the same time, and I very much like Angela Lansbury as Sibyl Vane. Some people are liable to laugh at her and to think of her as insipid, but I think she is touching and exact in her defenseless romanticism and in a special kind of short-lipped English beauty, appropriate to the period and to Sibyl's class, and evocative of milkmaids in eighteenth-century pornographic prints. In general, too, Mr. Lewin's modifications of the story and his outright inventions seem sensible, and I feel, sympathetically, that he has tried very hard to transfer the tone of the novel to the screen. Yet for all its oddity and outright weakness the novel—which I thank Mr. Lewin for causing me at last to read—is distinguished, wise, and frightening; whereas the movie is just a cultured horror picture, decorated with epigrams and an elaborate moral, and made with a sincere effort at good taste rather than with passion, immediacy, or imagination.

As Oscar Wilde's proxy, Lord Henry Wotton, George Sanders delivers the epigrams almost too expertly. They will doubtless panic the public they were intended to pulverize, as I gather Wilde's epigrams, and most other good ones, always have; but they sound too purely like the nervous merciless rattle of cellophane. In tone and pace that could be good; but it isn't good here, because the shallow clatter completely fails to reveal Sir Henry's boredom and melancholy or his stature as an intelligence and as a moralist. Within these limits I think Sanders very capable, but two better men for the role would have been Robert Morley and the late Laird Cregar; and I suspect Henry Daniell or Alan Mowbray might have done better, for that matter. Nobody can be blamed very severely for the failure to cast Dorian Gray adequately; the only proper actor I can think of is John Barrymore in his early twenties. I realize that Hurd Hatfield represents a most unusually hard try at good casting, and once cast he certainly tries as hard as the wrong man can; but it

is sad, like watching an understudy fall short with the chance of a lifetime. My main over-all regret about the movie is its failure to reveal in these two characters the depth and force and meaning that are in each, and to develop between them the philosophical tension and the sense of irresistibly challenging, ambiguous moral vortex without which their story is just an ornately naive tract.

I wish somebody would take book lovers like Mr. Lewin aside and explain to them, once for all, that to read from the text of a novel—not to mention interior monologues—when people are performing on the screen, while it may elevate the literary tone of the production, which I doubt, certainly and inescapably plays hell with it as a movie. I also regret the choice of Ivan Albright—and his brother Szygzy too, if both are responsible—to work out Dorian's portrait in its later stages. I no longer loathe the work of the Albrights as I used to before I realized how innocent it is; but I can't see Dorian Gray, even at his ripe, as a cross between Ivan Albright and the Wild Man of Borneo. I can't see either why Dorian's sinning—aside from the harm he does others—should culminate in a couple of visits to a dive where an old man plays Chopin. I can understand least of all why Mr. Lewin and his associates passed up the best movie chance of all: to let the portrait change before your eyes, rather than bringing it on, changed, at set intervals. At the end, to be sure, it goes through a climactic welter and emerges in its original state. But Hays Office or no Hays Office, if the camera had kept steady watch over the painting while Dorian was off about his undistributable business, it could have put the audience through the whole thesaurus of evil, and scared them stiff into the bargain. Since practically nobody thinks it civilized, or in the interests of the common weal, to believe that there is such a thing as evil any more—in the bright lexicon of youth there are only war criminals, vitamin deficiencies, and similar social diseases which a little common sense will cure—this failure of opportunity is all the more to be regretted.

In Early Issues of *The Nation*

"The Young Jefferson"

by Claude Bowers

Reviewed by Lionel Trilling

Richard Wright's "Black Boy"

Reviewed by Henry A. Wallace

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

THE Monte Carlo Ballet Russe has returned to New York's City Center impressively strengthened in repertory and performance. The repertory, first of all, has been enriched by a number of the ballets of George Balanchine, whose inexhaustible invention and originality, imagination, and wit in his use of the dance medium make him the greatest of choreographers. Three of these ballets have been given thus far. On the opening night the company gave its first New York performance of "Ballet Imperial," in which the music of Tchaikovsky's Second (not First) Piano Concerto provides a basis for a grandiose evocation of the atmosphere and style of the St. Petersburg ballet of his period through a rich elaboration of its idiom, against an appropriate "imperial" backdrop of Dobujinsky. On the second night "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," given in an unfinished state last fall, was presented with its choreography perfected and secure and flowing along with the Strauss music that it uses so well, the magnificently extravagant Berman costumes and scenery properly fitted, hung, and lighted, and all these elements adding up to one of the most delightful of dance comedies. And on the third night there was "Dansees Concertantes" again, in which, thinking in terms of bodies clothed in Berman's wonderful costumes and placed in front of his wonderful scenery, Balanchine realizes the dance impulses of Stravinsky's ugly musical soundtrack in movement that is something special even among the astoundingly original and beautiful things he has done.

As for performance, the company dances not only with engaging liveliness but with newly acquired security and precision; and when the work is properly cast the performance is first-rate. Thus, headed by Danilova and Franklin the company carries off the intricacies of "Dansees Concertantes" with brilliant perfection; and it achieves superb though not unflawed performances of "Ballet Imperial" with Moylan and Tallchief and of "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" with Moylan and Krassovska—the flaws being Magallanes's insufficient brilliance in the first, and Bliss's lack of Lazovsky's sharpness and force in the Indian Dance of the second. And there we come to the company's weakness—which is its lack of enough first-line

dancers for all the important roles of the repertory. What the management does is to use its lesser dancers—Danielian, Magallanes, Bliss—in leading roles, and its stars—Krassovska, Franklin—in roles for which they are not suited. And the result is a "Swan Lake" with Danilova's sovereign performance, but flawed by the miscasting of Franklin, the gawky darting about and angular mining of Danielian; or an ineffective "Sylphides" with Krassovska, Boris, Etheridge, and Danielian—as compared with a "Gaîté Parisienne" with the brilliance and impact that it has from the fact that its leading roles are danced by the company's great dancers, Danilova, Franklin, and Lazovsky.

Nor should I fail to mention the orchestra—small in size, poor in quality—with which Balaban labors; and the particularly atrocious arrangement of the music of "Les Sylphides."

There is important news about books. Bernard Shaw's "London Music in 1888-1889" has been seen again in bookstores recently; and if you missed it when it was first published, don't miss it now; for the day-to-day happenings of London's musical world were the occasion for some of the most perceptive and readable writing that has ever been

done about music. If it is public demand that has led Dodd, Mead to make the book available, I hope this demand will induce that company to issue the three volumes of "Music in London 1890-1994," which it has not even allowed to be imported from England.

Shaw's writing is for anyone who knows music from listening to it; if in addition you have the sort of knowledge that is acquired from study of music you will want one, if not both, of the latest volumes of Tovey's writings published by Oxford University Press; for Tovey is the one scholar whose investigations into the language, style, and form of music proceed from love of music and implement insight into it as an artistic communication, and therefore illuminate and enrich the reader's own experience of it as such a communication. You will certainly want the volume of "Musical Articles From the Encyclopedia Britannica" (\$4), with Tovey's general article on music and his articles on melody, harmony, rhythm, and the various forms. And you may want also the volume of "Essays in Musical Analysis: Chamber Music" (\$4), with his general article on chamber music (but not, regrettably, the article on Haydn's works) from Cobbett's Cyclopaedia, and his discussion of Bach's Clavierübung, Goldberg Variations, and Kunst der Fuge, Beethoven's Diabelli Variations, and some of the piano works of Haydn, Schumann, Chopin, and Brahms, in addition to discussions of a few works by Mozart, Schumann, and Brahms for piano and strings or winds.

Turner's book on Mozart has been seen in some stores marked down to \$1.95; and if that means it is on its way out of print it is very bad news indeed; for the book contains some of the most penetrating and illuminating observations on Mozart's music that I have read. And it will not be replaced by Dr. Alfred Einstein's new "Mozart: His Character, His Work" (Oxford, \$5), in which the scholar has assembled considerable factual material about Mozart and his music, some of it interesting, and the thinker has produced around this material a largely confused, pointless, pretentious gabble like that of Dr. Einstein's "Greatness in Music." The German scholars as compared with Tovey remind me of what someone I know said recently about Ernest Newman as compared with Turner—that Newman knew everything about music except what it is.

## CONTRIBUTORS

ANITA BRENNER grew up in Mexico and has written several books about it, of which the most recent is "The Wind That Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution 1910-1942," with 184 historical photographs assembled by George B. Leighton.

RAPHAEL LEMKIN was formerly a member of the International Office for Unification of Criminal Law and later head consultant to the Foreign Economic Administration. In this column on February 24 it was erroneously stated that he is now lecturing at the School of Military Government at Charlottesville, Virginia. He is no longer connected with the school.

EDWARD M. MAISEL was formerly director of the Service Men's and Veterans' Division of the National C. I. O. War Relief Committee and editor of the *New Veteran*.

MILTON BRACKER is a war correspondent for the *New York Times*.

JUDITH ROBINSON is the editor of *News*, a weekly journal of opinion, in Toronto.

SAMUEL WAINER was for seven years editor of *Directives*, a Rio de Janeiro weekly which has recently been suppressed.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, a contributing editor of *The Nation*, is professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary and editor of *Christianity and Crisis*, a fortnightly journal of Christian opinion. His most recent book is "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness." Among his other books are "The Nature and Destiny of Man" and "Christianity and Power Politics."

SIDNEY HOOK, chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University, is recognized as one of the leading exponents of logical empiricism. He is the author of "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy" and "The Hero in History."

RALPH ADAMS BROWN is now an instructor in the Coast Guard Academy Preparatory School. He has written for the *Yale Review*, the *Survey Graphic*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and other publications.

ARTHUR LIDOV is a young painter from Chicago.

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# Letters to the Editors

## Conscription for Peace?

*Dear Sirs:* The proponents of peace-time conscription, and most of the critics as well, assume that the United States is a generous and peace-loving nation, working for all that is right and just in the world. But can the rest of the world afford any such assumption? If the United States demands the right to maintain a five-ocean navy and an army of some ten million men, including the trained reserves, will not the rest of the world be justified in looking at us as Public Enemy Number One of the world, and in taking economic and military measures to balance this threat to world peace? Will it not lead only to a new armament race? Will not a new armament race lead only to war?

Even the critics of peace-time conscription may hold that the attitude of the rest of the world is wrong, and that the United States will not use its armaments for aggressive purposes. Unfortunately for the peace of the world, the people of the United States are very apt to be wrong, and the rest of the world absolutely right.

There are many factors which indicate that the United States is almost certain to be the next nation to start out to conquer the world. This will be especially true if we have a huge army and navy to start with. There are many factors which indicate that the American industrialist who is credited with asking if we are seeking to destroy in Germany the very thing we are fighting to preserve at home may have been speaking as a prophet as far as the post-war United States is concerned. We are very apt to find ourselves in the same position following this war as Germany did prior to the present one. We are very apt to find that our failure to meet the domestic problems following the war will bring about a fascist dictatorship here in the United States. We did not fall so far short of going fascist in 1932 as most people would like to think. We had many of the elements here that would have given us fascism. Next time we may well be less successful in avoiding it.

I do not profess to say that cutting down the navy and army to the barest minimum will prevent us from becoming fascist. But it will help. It will also give the anti-fascist forces within this

country a better chance to counteract it, and give the rest of the world the opportunity to prepare to meet this challenge.

When I read the title of the article by Mr. Nollen I thought that this might be the point of attack which he was going to make, for the really important thing is whether we build a peace-time army to promote world peace and security, or whether we build such an army to conquer the world.

CLARENCE ARMSTRONG  
Baltimore, Md., February 26

## A Chance for Negro Education

*Dear Sirs:* The bill introduced by Senators Hill of Alabama and Thomas of Utah to provide \$300,000,000 for federal aid to education is a necessary and forward-looking measure because it will help to make our children better educated and better able to discharge their political duties as citizens and their economic duties as producers.

The Southern states tend to have the highest birth rate. Yet they have the lowest per capita income. Consequently they spend only about one-third as much per child for education, even for white children, as the national average. The bill would partially remedy this by providing that part of the federal funds should be distributed in greater proportion to those states where the income is less than the national average.

Negro children in most states which have separate schools get a still smaller sum for education because of racial discrimination. The bill would reduce this injustice by forbidding those states where there are separate schools to spend a smaller proportion of federal funds for the education of Negro children than the proportion of Negro children to the whole number of children. Otherwise the bill would provide no interference whatever with our tradition for the control of education.

In some states the proportion of men rejected in the draft for lack of a minimum education was from 7 per cent to 10 per cent. Since the proportion of Negroes rejected for this reason was higher than the proportion of whites in all the Southern states except Tennessee, it is obvious that the white man is

forced to pay with blood for the anti-Negro prejudice which discriminates by denying to Negroes a fair proportion of the funds raised for education in some Southern states.

CONSUELO C. YOUNG,  
N. A. A. C. P.

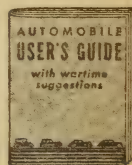
New York, February 13

## Democracy in China

*Dear Sirs:* Like so many accounts of contemporary China, the conditions that the anonymous Chinese scholar (see *The Nation* for January 20) highlights need to be seen in a wider perspective than is usually accorded them.

The Kuomintang is indeed nearly all the bad things one wants to call it—reactionary, conservative, anti-foreign, anti-Communist, autocratic, fascist. Nevertheless (1) there are historical reasons for its having changed from its original role as a radical revolutionary party, one of which is that no nation can engage in total war without a good deal of regimentation; (2) the reign of the

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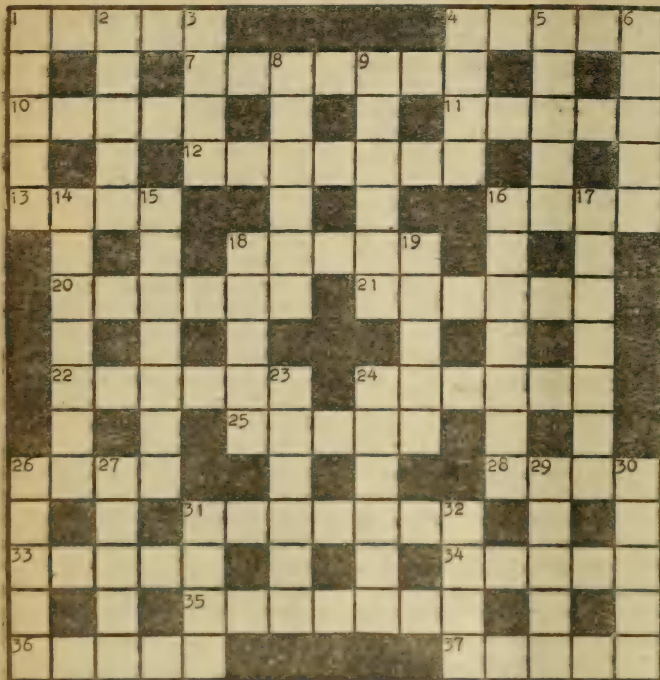
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 106

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 When lying is permissible to the upright
- 4 Giant, prince and astronomer, in Welsh tradition
- 7 Not down?
- 10 A nauseous but 'useful oil
- 11 This London Guildhall giant includes the other one
- 12 They come from a live set, these priests
- 13 Laws are broken to produce the tools
- 16 Alfred turns to tea and finds it tasteless
- 18 This Musketeer is a host in himself
- 20 Mariana said she was
- 21 Not a soul
- 22 He believed in smiting the enemy hip and thigh
- 24 Did he ever see the pie that was credited to him?
- 25 A Scot appears in this Italian opera
- 26 First brewed by the early Romans
- 28 Not founded to commemorate the Gunpowder Plot
- 31 Encircles
- 33 Go back in the bus
- 34 Vocalists have sung of this Robin
- 35 He owed much, had nothing, and gave the rest to the poor
- 36 A lightweight never seen in the ring
- 37 Devour (two words, 3 and 2)

## DOWN

- 1 I am discovered in furnishing foreign capital
- 2 Mr. Ford

- 3 If you want things to come to you, try this
- 4 Theories which upset a spinster
- 5 Drink up in royal fashion
- 6 Gee, this is a spectacle!
- 8 The goal of wit
- 9 It has been said that the happiest one is that which has no great men
- 14 Dispute noisily
- 15 Slim with the end in the middle
- 16 Lion tied up in a fog, playing the giddy goat
- 17 What 21 hasn't got, either
- 18 Once the talk of thieves and vagabonds
- 19 It cannot be said that this composer didn't have a sou to start with
- 23 Bar with nuts on a tug
- 24 If you lose at this card game you may finish up in the middle!
- 26 Native bamboo mostly
- 27 Marbled ink
- 29 Here a punt is unsuitable
- 30 Sweet and soothing
- 31 Boy's, or a girl's, name
- 32 Blue photographic paper?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 105  
ACROSS: 1 UNDERSTAND; 6 CALL; 10 BAD FORM; 11 TRANSIT; 12 FIRECLAY; 13 REGAL; 15 EDGED; 17 MECHANISM; 19 HOME SITES; 21 ESTER; 23 SALOP; 24 PLODDING; 27 LININGS; 28 INVOICE; 29 HIBS; 30 PENNYROYAL.

DOWN: 1 UMBO; 2 DODGING; 3 RHONE; 4 TIME LIMIT; 5 NATTY; 7 ASSEGAI; 8 LITTLE MARY; 9 MARRIAGE; 15 MOTHUSLAH; 16 DUSTPANS; 18 CUSTODIAN; 20 MELANGE; 22 TANTIVY; 24 PASSE; 25 DIVER; 26 HELL.

Kuomintang is temporary, now that Chiang has promised constitutional government within the year and begun to bring some of the more prominent liberals into his Cabinet; and (3) there are many democratic movements going on in China outside its control.

One of these is democratic *thinking*. The Chinese cannot be regimented; like the Americans they can detect propaganda a mile off. Officialdom has been at its wits' end to keep up "spiritual mobilization," as the Japanese call it. There is no real indoctrination in Sanminism going on; students give the expected answers, meanwhile keeping their thoughts to themselves. This is not hypocrisy, simply prudence; the Oriental has a longer time-span than we; he can wait for freedom. Besides, there are ways of circumventing the rules—I have been doing it for twenty-five years. It is rather expected in China, which doesn't pay too much attention to the letter of the law. A greater danger than attempted "suppression of thought" in Chinese education is the fact that every student is supported by government bonuses and subsidies.

Finally, the fourth ideal of the New Life movement is not "modesty" but honor, to offset the theory of face-losing. Honor motivates apology, which the Orient has never practiced, preferring suicide (Japan) or resignation (China). No mistakes in China ever get repaired by the man who made them.

RODERICK SCOTT

Claremont, Cal., February 12

## S. O. S.—S 101

Dear Sirs: Senator Taft of Ohio has introduced a bill which would create a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission *without enforcement powers*. This is a severe blow to S 101, the bi-partisan FEPC bill introduced by Senators Chavez, Downey, Wagner, Murray, Capper, Langer, and Aiken, which has enforcement powers. S 101, drafted by a legal committee headed by Max Delson, counsel for the Workers' Defense League, is backed by every major progressive group.

Act now! Wire or write Senator Robert A. Taft, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., opposing his weak FEPC bill and urging him to withdraw it and to back S 101. Also urge your two Senators to work hard *now* for passage of S 101. Send their replies to us.

COMMITTEE ON DISCRIMINATION,  
WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE  
New York, February 11

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

THIS IS A STORY STRAIGHT OUT OF BRAZIL'S recent pro-democratic somersault, when elections were announced and the tight Vargas press censorship was suddenly lifted. It seems that after General Eduardo Gómez visited the Minister of War to announce his intention to run for the presidency, certain Brazilian generals who had been most intimately associated with the dictatorship decided that the rules of military strategy demanded a change of front. General Goes Monteiro, chief of the General Staff and Vargas's right arm in the 1937 coup, was the first to embrace democracy. He sent a statement to the newspapers urging a return to normal constitutional government and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia. The Office of Censorship, part of the Department of Propaganda, immediately banned publication of the statement. Furious, Monteiro went to the Minister of War. It was the second time within forty-eight hours that the Minister had received a protesting general: first, the known anti-fascist Gómez; then the known fascist Monteiro. Wanting to avoid trouble, the Minister authorized the publication of the statement. News of the incident spread swiftly through the offices of the press. The liberal editors decided to be bold. One of them, just to explore the ground, prepared a strong anti-Vargas editorial and sent it to press without submitting it to censorship. The editors waited for their paper to be closed down. Nothing happened. So an inquiring reporter went to the Office of Censorship to see what was going on. He found the chief of the office in a rage. The Minister of War had gone over his head in the Monteiro case, and he no longer gave a hang what the press did. Twenty-four hours later, ignoring the censorship, the entire, pro-Allied and anti-Vargas press launched a campaign for the candidacy of Eduardo Gómez for the presidency of Brazil. Freedom of the press was a fact. Vargas evidently thought it best to accept the fact and put his signature to a solemn decree lifting the censorship.

✱

WE ARE GLAD THAT MR. MORGENTHAU IN HIS statement to the House Banking and Currency Committee on the Bretton Woods legislation emphasized the point that "our country has as much to gain, perhaps more, than any other" from the enactment of the monetary agreements. Propagandists inspired either by malice or ignorance, or both, have spread the idea that the proposals now before Congress are designed to subsidize foreign countries at our expense and were sold to our dull-witted Treasury officials by the machiavellian Lord Keynes. Actually, there is more truth in the charge of the British opposition to Bretton Woods

that the scheme has been custom-built to American requirements and gives insufficient consideration to the problem of the debtor countries. Again, there is a notion that if Bretton Woods is dropped we shall return to pre-1914, or at least pre-1929, conditions in the foreign exchanges. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, pointed out to the Banking and Currency Committee that the real alternative is the chaos that prevailed in the thirties. In the absence of a fund providing a cushion for currencies under pressure, many nations, he said, would be compelled to resort to "all the tricks" of economic warfare—multiple currencies, barter, dumping, quotas, exchange controls. As a creditor country, the United States would not find it easy to retaliate with the same weapons. With a large favorable trade balance we are not in a good position to use clearing arrangements, which would necessitate either reducing exports or increasing imports. Nor can we easily resort to currency depreciation: as the world is really on the "dollar standard" other countries would revise their exchange rates automatically. And, unless we cut loose from the gold standard altogether, we would have to raise our price for gold, encouraging mines the world over to increase production and pour the stuff in on us. Even bankers should know by now that it's not edible.

✱

WE ARE NOT IGNORING THE FACT THAT THE American Bankers Association has made provision for currency stabilization in its proposals for amending the Bretton Woods plan. While anxious to drop the International Monetary Fund the bankers have indorsed the International Bank and suggested a change in its articles so that it can make loans for stabilization purposes. We can understand the attraction of this scheme for the big financial interests. The International Bank is to operate mainly by guaranteeing loans made by private capital. A billion-dollar loan to Britain, guaranteed by an international institution, would be a very nice piece of business for Wall Street. The only difficulty is that Britain is determined not to borrow one dollar, let alone a billion, for stabilization. It takes the view that it is already sufficiently burdened by foreign debts and it is unwilling to increase the load except for projects which will earn the foreign exchange necessary to meet loan charges. Other countries with "soft" currencies are almost certain to follow the British lead. So the bankers' road to currency stabilization promises to prove a blind alley.

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THE ENTRY OF UNITED NATIONS TROOPS INTO Mandalay is the climax of one of the most brilliant campaigns in the war. For more than a year Chinese, American, Indian, and British forces have been pushing forward in a coordinated effort, in the face of seemingly insuperable natural obstacles, to clear the Japanese out of North Burma and the greater part of Central Burma. Although the campaign has received comparatively little newspaper space in this country, it has probably accounted for about as many Japanese as Admiral Nimitz's drive against the Pacific islands. And its full fruits are yet to be realized. A few days before Indian troops pushed into Mandalay a strong British armored and motorized column cut through the jungle to capture

Meiktila and Thazi, thus cutting off a Japanese withdrawal into South Burma. Meanwhile the Chinese had pushed forward in the north to capture Lashio, former terminus of the Burma Road. The 50,000 Japanese in the Mandalay area were left the precarious prospect of withdrawing along mountain trails into Thailand, but as the Allies have complete mastery of the air not many of them are likely to escape. The success of the Burma campaign is important primarily because it raises the possibility of opening more direct supply lines into China. But it also represents a significant political setback for the Japanese, since it was in Burma that the Japanese originally enjoyed some success in obtaining active support from the native population. This support appears to have evaporated completely after three years' experience with co-prosperity.

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THERE'S A FINE OLD COLONIAL CUSTOM THAT the English have carried down through the centuries of stamping as "British" anything unclaimed by anybody else. It is undoubtedly meant as a compliment. Unfortunately, Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, and South Africans—the ingrates—frequently fail to see it that way. Take this war. The combined war effort of the Commonwealth nations has been magnificent. But dispatches from fronts on which Commonwealth formations are engaged usually short-cut specific designation by reporting simply on "British" operations. Recently, much to British chagrin, the shoe was on the other foot. It so happened that at certain stages in the tough fighting at the northern extreme of the western front, a good proportion of the combat troops in the Canadian First Army under command of the Canadian General Crerar were from the United Kingdom. A question had to be raised in the House: "What, what, British serving in the Canadian army without proper recognition?" The official Canadian explanation of the outrage struck us as both dignified and sensible. It read: "Modern armies are not static in position. Divisions or other formations from other armies may be engaged with the Canadian army for varying periods, and similarly Canadian formations may in turn engage in operations under other than Canadian command. This is in keeping with the flexibility of modern warfare, which demands mobility of troops over wide areas. It must be remembered that the First Canadian Corps and other Canadian troops form a major part of the British Eighth Army in Italy." The statement might also have recalled that fully one-third of all air crew personnel under the British air command is Canadian, either in the squadrons of the R. C. A. F. or in the R. A. F. itself. From what we know of Canadians, they have no objection to serving alongside British forces or even having British forces serve under their command. Perhaps the issue will have to be settled once and for all by granting Britain dominion status!

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IN APPOINTING FRED M. VINSON AS FEDERAL Loan Administrator, William H. Davis as Director of Economic Stabilization, and George W. Taylor as chairman of the War Labor Board, President Roosevelt has done a good deal to improve his economic high command. All three

men made enviable records in their previous positions. Judge Vinson has shown himself to be a man of courage and integrity, qualities which he will need in resisting the pressures of big business in his new post. His great popularity with Congress should prove an invaluable asset in the legislative storms that are bound to arise over the interpretation of post-war lending policy. Mr. Davis takes over as economic stabilizer at a particularly difficult period. Organized labor is intensifying its campaign against the Little Steel formula. The recent bull market in Wall Street reflects the opinion of financial circles that a mild inflation is already under way and a more drastic rise in prices cannot be long delayed. Mr. Davis's appointment and that of Mr. Taylor, who succeeds him as head of the War Labor Board, indicate that the Administration will continue to hew to the stabilization line. But it is probable that Davis will be somewhat more liberal than Vinson in authorizing "fringe" wage adjustments—most of which are non-inflationary in the sense that they do not justify an increase in the level of retail prices. The three appointments should go a long way toward assuring Congress, and the public, that economic affairs will be effectively handled during the crucial reconversion period.

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THE O'MAHONEY-KILGORE MAN-POWER BILL passed by the Senate was a far cry from the national-service act requested by the President at the urgent bidding of army and navy officials. And as it has little in common with the May-Bailey bill for "limited national service" passed by the House, it is difficult to foresee what sort of compromise measure is likely to be worked out by a House-Senate conference committee. The recent Allied triumphs on the eastern and western fronts, foreshadowing an early end to the European phase of the war, have undoubtedly dampened the enthusiasm of Congress for any kind of man-power bill. Few Congressmen appear to take seriously the Administration's argument that the need for man-power controls will be greatest after VE-Day, when it will be necessary to prevent employers and employees from carrying out their own private "reconversion" plans without regard for the requirements of the Japanese war. While the hour for a drastic national-service bill appears to have passed, it is to be hoped that the House-Senate conference will not let their differences over fundamental policy prevent the adoption of any measure at all. With all its faults, the O'Mahoney-Kilgore bill would serve a useful purpose in preventing labor hoarding and in giving teeth to the directives of the War Manpower Commission. There is much to be said for letting the WMC run the show, but it must have adequate power to carry out its program.

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IF THERE IS ANYTHING LESS ADMIRABLE THAN censorship, it is underhanded censorship like that indulged in by Paul Moss, who used his power over theater licenses in New York City to close down "Trio" because he disapproved of its theme—or was egged on by professional disapprovers of the sort of exposed by Wolcott Gibbs in the current *New Yorker*. Mayor LaGuardia, after having defended Moss with extremely illogical arguments, has now agreed to support legislation which would make it impossible

for license commissioners to set up as commissioners of morals. This sensible ending doesn't help the producer of "Trio," of course. He is suing the Commissioner for \$1,000,000. We hope he wins. We are in favor of any action that would set Moss back.

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WE'VE BEEN READING THE PAPERS AGAIN. Mexico's delegates in Chapultepec have introduced a charter for women of the Americas. "Women," says the preamble, "as individuals of the collectivity, are vital elements of life: first, as coproductive agents and, second, as the generic essence which is the building of human material from which new continents are made." . . . William C. Morland, Idaho Republican, took to the woods in 1932 because Hoover was defeated by Roosevelt. He stayed there until a week or so ago, when he was tracked down and arrested for pilfering supplies from ranger stations. He didn't know that Roosevelt was still President, and he hadn't heard that there was a war on. But then we didn't have any idea that we had been out of the woods for thirteen years. . . . "I have decided," Hitler is reported to have said, "to leave only ruins, rats, and epidemics to the Bolsheviks, Jews, and plutocrats." Obviously it should read:

Epidemics, ruins, and rats

To Bolsheviks, Jews, and plutocrats.

. . . A correspondent of the *Herald Tribune* has recalled what she describes as the "significant words" of the late Calvin Coolidge, uttered in an address February 23, 1926, in which he said: "Envy, malice, uncharitableness, class jealousies, race prejudices, and international enmities are not realities. They do not abide. They are only the fictions of unenlightened comprehension."

## Italian Mystery Thriller

WHEN Mario Roatta walked out of the Virgilio Army Hospital in Rome he wrote the first chapter in a mystery thriller that is still unfinished. Nobody knows what the ending will be or exactly who the villain is; too many necessary clues are still hidden behind the blackout curtains of the Allied military censorship. Still, the facts already in hand are worth examining. They are suggestive if not conclusive.

Roatta is supposed to have been ill as the result of an automobile injury. (Was he really ill?) This was the reason given for his detention in the army hospital instead of in prison. Press reports stated that his wife had called on him about nine o'clock on the evening of his escape—long after visiting hours. (Why was she allowed to come at that time?) Then, it seems, "the lights went out for an hour." (Why?) At the end of an hour the lights came on, and, presto, the injured prisoner had disappeared through guards, locked gates, and over the high prison wall. (How?) He is still at large; the police are looking for him "with the help of the Allied authorities." (Where is Roatta hiding? Who is protecting him?)

Now let's go back a little. In any crime story the first things to do are to look for a motive and then figure out who had the best opportunity to do the deed.

Roatta was a wholesale murderer and terrorist and Marshal Badoglio's long-time chief of staff. He was on trial not only for his official conduct during the glorious days of the Ethiopian campaign and later in Spain and later still in Greece and Yugoslavia. He was on trial also for treasonable acts committed at the head of the S.I.M., the Fascist military intelligence service. After the 1943 armistice Badoglio had kept Roatta in this post with the full knowledge and approval of the British and American authorities. He was dropped only when both Yugoslavia and Greece, in the late autumn of 1943, demanded the right to try Roatta as a war criminal; he was charged among other things with the mass murder of hostages, including women and children.

Throughout the Fascist era in Italy Roatta was a favorite of the leading industrialists who maintained Mussolini in power and of the Black Shirt élite. They valued him because he knew leftist and liberal Italy and had no scruples about crushing opposition by blackmail, murder, and bribery.

When Badoglio came to power Roatta was obviously the man to handle the delicate job of shifting Italy from the losing to the winning side in the war without dislocating the social, financial, and industrial order established by fascism. This was what the British Tories wanted, too. But Count Sforza, as head of the purge commission, apparently took seriously the armistice provision that Italy be purged of Fascists. At any rate, he had Roatta arrested along with an underling, Colonel Santo Emanuele, and a number of lesser officers of the S.I.M.

These men quite naturally felt themselves betrayed. Had they not been faithful servants of the monarchy and the Marshal? Under examination they "squealed," and the evidence they gave, it is reliably reported, would, if made public, force a general purge of the whole Badoglio crew, the rich Fascist angels of banking and industry, including many men now working hand in glove with the new occupying authorities. It would have been a sharp defeat for Churchill and his policy in Italy and for the Allied military and political regime, a victory for the forces of the democratic left in Italy. The word went out that Roatta must not come to trial. Americans recently back from Italy have reported this without qualification. They do not know—or at least they have not told—who gave the order. But Roatta's escape saved both Fascist hold-overs and Allied officials from acute political embarrassment. The motive is there, not to be questioned; but many men share it.

As for the opportunity: The prisons under fascism were in the hands of Roatta's S.I.M. The Allied Commission had ordered the retention of a large proportion of the old guards and administrators on the ground that they were "experienced." Colonel Agrifoglio, who succeeded Roatta as chief of the S.I.M., was one of the S.I.M. gang from fascist days. Under such circumstances the necessary complicity of the authorities must have been easy to arrange.

Nor is this the first time a strategic disappearance has been arranged. Luigi Federzoni, ex-president of the Fascist Senate, skipped to Vatican City just before his purge trial was to begin. He is now in Portugal, and the report from Lisbon is that he arrived on an American plane. General Carboni, another S.I.M. chief who threatened to spill inconvenient facts, also disappeared; he has been variously re-

ported in the United States, in England, and in the Portuguese embassy at Rome. It is even rumored that Badoglio himself spent some weeks in the British embassy—weeks that coincided with Count Sforza's last few weeks as head of the purge commission.

Meanwhile the Cabinet crisis that followed Roatta's escape and the riotous demonstration last week has ended for the moment with a decision that these events do not warrant the Cabinet's resignation. Instead it has decided upon "fundamental" reforms. The purge commission, diluted after the retirement of Sforza, has been reorganized and strengthened. And General Taddeo Orlando, another Roatta man, has been dismissed from his job as head of the Carabinieri.

This is the way things stand as we go to press: the mystery still unsolved; the Italian government shaken but holding on. One thing we are sure of is that things won't stand still for long. For the Italian people have shown that they will not forever stand being kicked around and sold out. They are sick of being ruled by left-over Fascists held in office by Allied officials; sick of seeing Fascist criminals protected by their fellows in office or by Allied intervention. The Roatta story isn't over—but enough has happened to show how the Italians feel about their present bosses.

## Senatorial Trouble-Maker

SENATOR VANDENBERG'S latest speech indicated that he is almost certain to play a disruptive role at the San Francisco conference. He took as his starting-point in the Senate a statement on Poland made by Foreign Secretary Eden in the Commons, but the Senator from Michigan characteristically stressed only one side of that Eden "warning." "It is imperative," the British Foreign Secretary has declared, "both that the Lublin administration should take no measures against Poles merely because they do not recognize the authority and that such Poles should cease active resistance to local authorities which endangers the line of communications of the advancing Russian armies." Though Senator Vandenberg began by saying "both these warnings are imperative," he made no further reference to the second. Yet judging from the anti-Soviet propaganda and activities of Polish émigrés in London and Polish-American groups in this country, it is not difficult to imagine that the Lublin regime must be confronted by similar activities at home. Abroad the Poles have become the principal instrument on which rest German hopes for splitting the United Nations. The Copperhead press, which slyly apologized for Nazi aggression, is now weeping crocodile tears over "poor Poland," and under cover of his new "conversion" to international cooperation Vandenberg is encouraging Polish intransigence.

To suggest, as Vandenberg did, that the Yalta settlement on Poland "shall pass in full review at the final peace table," is to strike at the very basis of Allied unity. The support given by Kerensky and other anti-Soviet Russian sources abroad to Moscow's insistence on the Curzon line indicates how deeply Russians, irrespective of politics, feel about this issue. In their eyes the land east of the Curzon line was wrongfully taken from Russia at a time when it had been weakened by war and revolution, and taken from it in defi-

ance of a ruling made by a British diplomat who was certainly no sympathizer with Bolshevism. Polish treatment of the Ukrainian people in that territory, once the subject of a sensational exposé by the Manchester *Guardian*, did not help to reconcile them to Polish overlordship. It may be added that the White Russians and the Jews often suffered the same kind of treatment. If Senator Vandenberg is concerned with "basic justice," as he says he is, he might well consider how much "basic justice" there would have been in a decision which returned to Poland this territory in which the Poles are and were a minority. It would have pleased the Poles, but would it have been just to the White Russians and the Ukrainians? In pursuit of that same "basic justice," Senator Vandenberg might also ask why the Polish government in exile never offered to return the Teschen area, which was Poland's share of the loot in the Nazi dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

Anyone who tries to disentangle the historical rights and wrongs, the mingled ethnic populations, the equities of territorial allocation in Eastern Europe will soon see the impossibility of any solution that will seem fair and just to every group involved. In our own opinion the majority of the people east of the Curzon line will be better off in the Soviet Union than they were in Poland. The non-Polish peoples will not suffer racial discrimination—and neither for that matter will the Poles—and the peasants will certainly have greater opportunity than they had in the backward and landlord-ridden Polish state.

These considerations aside, the fact is that the Russians feel that this territory is justly theirs and necessary to their security. They will not give it up, and they would fight to retain it. This is a fact we must recognize. We must either accept it as the *sine qua non* of Allied unity or drift into a state of hostility toward an ally over lands the Poles themselves seized by force after the last war. The choice between those two courses was made long ago by the responsible leaders of the British and American peoples. The Poles would be well advised to accept it as a fact and to reconstruct their national life on that basis. No change can be made in those arrangements without a third world war. Therefore, those who suggest, as Vandenberg does, that the Polish settlement be revised are heading us away from world peace and toward a new catastrophe. Is this to be Vandenberg's line at San Francisco?

#### COMING IN *The NATION*

LIN YUTANG: *Reply to Edgar Snow*

JACQUES MARITAIN: *The Faith Behind Democracy*

CHARLES G. BOLTE: *A Veteran Looks at  
Peace-Time Conscription*

CHARLES ABRAMS: *The Walls of Stuyvesant Town*

## Fair Employment in Massachusetts?

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

Boston, March 7

THE Massachusetts Legislature's Committee on State Administration held a hearing today on legislation to outlaw racial and religious discrimination in employment. By an unaccountable lack of coordination the liberal groups backing such legislation had allowed seven bills to be presented instead of one, and at 10:30 this morning, when the hearing was scheduled to begin, they had not yet agreed on a united attack.

Fortunately, the committee was tied up elsewhere until noon. The eight hundred spectators were restless, but the witnesses for the C.I.O., the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other interested groups improved the time by getting together on a program. When the hearing finally got under way witness after witness announced that his organization would support any one of the seven bills or any new synthesis that might be worked out. The legislators who came in to record themselves for the legislation followed suit. The committee will most probably have to write a new bill, and in the process differences can be ironed out.

The seven bills differ only on matters of administrative detail; the one serious point of disagreement was eliminated before the hearing started. The Massachusetts C.I.O. and the New England division of the American Jewish Congress, sponsoring identical bills, had made a deal for the support of the American Federation of Labor by exempting trade unions from the provisions of their bills. This would have allowed the A.F. of L. to continue its discrimination against Negroes. But the A. F. of L. didn't deliver, and its lack of support will probably turn out to be a good thing after all; for this morning the bills were amended to include unions.

The most sensational development of the day was a strong statement by Richard J. Cushing, Catholic Archbishop of Massachusetts, to the effect that he favored any bill that would outlaw the anti-Christian practice of discrimination. Similar statements were made by Henry K. Sherrill and Lewis O. Hartman, respectively the Episcopalian and Methodist Bishops of Massachusetts; Frank Jennings, executive secretary of the Massachusetts Council of Churches; the Rev. Kenneth Hughes, a leading Negro minister of Cambridge; Father John S. Sexton, editor of the *Pilot*, the official Catholic archdiocesan weekly; Emory Stevens Bucke, editor of *Zion's Herald*, an independent Methodist weekly, and Rabbi Joshua Liebman, of Temple Israel, Boston. Oddly enough, the Rabbinical Council was unable to agree on an official statement; Rabbi Liebman spoke only for himself.

No organized opposition is yet apparent. A few seedy-looking Christian Fronters circulated petitions outside the statehouse, but if it occurred to any of them to attend the hearing they held their peace. Backers of the legislation think the really effective opposition will take the form of private

pressure on individual legislators by organizations which legislators are accustomed to regard with respect, if not with awe.

The committee itself was neither too friendly nor too bright. In questioning the labor witnesses several members made objections that drew shouts of laughter from the audience, and the chairman warned against "spontaneous outbursts." One said he didn't think questions as to race and religion on employment application blanks were intended for purposes of discrimination; another asked, "If an employer doesn't know his employees' religion, and one of them gets a heart attack, how will he know whether to call a rabbi or a priest?" The more astute objectors asked if it wouldn't be better to wait one or two years and see how the New York law works out, or to submit the Massachusetts bill to a referendum. I was reminded of Browning's Count Guido Franceschini:

—How, ready enough to rise at the right time,  
I still could recognize no time mature.

But the committeemen's state of mind is simpler than that. From the hostile and badgering manner in which they put their questions it is obvious that they just don't want to outlaw discrimination, now or ever. Fortunately, they are on the defensive. The hearing will be resumed Tuesday, March 13.

## Over the Rivers

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE squeeze is now put on Germany hard, with the establishment of Allied bridgeheads on the Berlin side of both the Oder and the Rhine. The two great barriers of east and west have been breached; the Allied generals have a firm hold on the initiative; and the German high command has lost in a single week its two remaining chances of winning major delays in which it might have improvised some desperate measures of defense.

Withal, the only thing to be said about when the war will end in Europe is just what could have been said at any time in the last six months: it may be tomorrow and it may not be for weeks. After the way the Rhine was crossed, it is pretty clear that anything can happen in these closing phases of the war against Germany. And after the way the Germans rallied to make counter-attacks upon the bridgehead, it is also pretty clear that "anything" will not be enough to finish the Wehrmacht: *everything* will have to happen to it. Therefore the chances are that these crossings of the Rhine and the Oder, important though they are in saving lives and time and in embarrassing the German high command, have only brought us appreciably closer to victory; they have not established victory as an event of the next moment.

When this is said, one must admit that one would not like to be in the shoes of the German commander on either the eastern or the western front. Each heads a sadly battered force, patched together out of odd lots of troops, scrambled divisional elements, and ill-trained over-age *Volksstürmers* of dubious quality. They are short of armor and growing progressively shorter of gasoline, what with the repeated air attacks on refineries; yet they must keep their striking forces mobile so as to meet new threats in unexpected

quarters—as when the Americans showed up on the wrong side of the Rhine fifty miles south of where they were expected. They almost entirely lack air support, not only for cover and counter-attack but for vital reconnaissance; so that they are, as it were, half-blind. And they face troops numerically far superior, backed by fresh reinforcements, enjoying plenty of armor and superlative air support, led by commanders who can dictate the time and place of every battle on terms most advantageous to themselves, and with their morale boosted sky high by the apparent closeness of victory.

The manner of the Rhine crossing must have been an added fillip to morale on both sides of the Reich, although hardly so within it. It is a scenario fit only for a Grade B movie: the rapid advance of the armored patrol through the quiet Rhine country above Remagen, the sighting of the great railroad bridge still standing, the hasty request for permission to cross passing up through channels, the lone and small explosion as the patrol went across, the pulling off of the detonators, the fanning out on the other side against meager opposition, the patrol leader's happy bride saying in New York that she was surprised her lieutenant could even find the Rhine because "he never could find anything at home."

These things are ordered better in Hollywood Grade A pictures: there the bridge would have been at Cologne or Düsseldorf. It is of incomparable advantage to have the bridge, and the fact that it was unblown and nearly unguarded is deeply significant of breakdown in the efficiency of the Wehrmacht; nevertheless, this is not the best place to cross the Rhine. Eisenhower's main strength is concentrated to the north, opposite the Ruhr, where lie industrial targets of great strategic value, as well as the beginnings of the wide, flat North German plain stretching toward Berlin. In the north is tank country, ideal for encirclement and pursuit; behind the Remagen bridgehead lie hills, woods, and no targets of great importance. On the other hand, it is probably fair to say that the seizing of the bridge saved a division in Allied casualties; and if the Allies win the race to pile up troops and guns inside the bridgehead for a breakout before the Germans move down troops and guns to smash it in, the fruits of a flanking sweep down the Rhine's east bank through Siegburg toward the Ruhr, or even farther east toward Kassel, are potentially great.

In any case, the forced transference of troops from the Düsseldorf-Wesel sector to contain the bridgehead will make a crossing in the north far less costly, and such a crossing—or crossings—with the British Second Army and the First Airborne Army not yet committed, is distinctly probable.

Meanwhile, the big Russian drive for Berlin seems to have got under way, after a month in which the flanks of Zhukov's dangerous salient were rolled out. With the enemy's Baltic front virtually eliminated and Danzig and Stettin invested, the Red Army points toward Berlin from a nearly straight line on the Oder-Neisse. From this firm base one of the last great battles of the European war will be fought; and its inevitable outcome will spell at least the beginning of the end of organized German resistance, for without Berlin the already shaky internal administration of the Reich will collapse.

# It's Not the Clockwork

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 8

IN FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN'S apocalyptic "Europe on the Eve," there is a quotation from Arnold J. Toynbee that comes to mind in considering the voting arrangements agreed upon for the new international security organization. "The British electorate of this generation," Toynbee wrote in 1935, "were the children of an age in which a ci-devant Christian society had come to believe that its talent for clockwork—institutional as well as metallic—could dispense it from the need of holding convictions and of summoning up the courage to act upon them when the consequences of such action were likely to be unpleasant." Despite the wise and thoughtful position taken by such great organs of conservative opinion as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, discussion of the new security organization is likely to focus on the voting arrangements, on the "clockwork," in a kind of naive and indolent reliance on the magic of formula. Preliminary rumblings from the Senate, as in the extraordinarily woozy speech made by Bushfield of South Dakota Tuesday, indicate that the obstructionist and the perfectionist will find this their happest hunting ground.

It may serve to clear the air of pending obfuscation if certain facts are made clear at the outset. The first is that the original proposals for Dumbarton Oaks, as put forward privately by President Roosevelt to the British and Russians last June, called for unanimity by the great powers whenever sanctions were to be applied against aggression. This veto against the use of force to be enjoyed by any one of the great powers flows in the sphere of theory from the concept of sovereignty; a sovereign power cannot be forced into war without its consent. More practically, in the sphere of politics, this veto reflected past experience with the Senate in the League and World Court fights. No proposal which would commit this country to military action without its consent stands a ghost of a chance in the Senate. Even before the meetings at Dumbarton Oaks, this principle of unanimity was accepted by the British, the Russians, and the Chinese.

So far as the great powers are concerned, the new voting arrangements are those of an association of sovereign nations, in the full sense of that term so sacred to the Senate, and not of a super-state. So far as the smaller powers are concerned, Dumbarton Oaks marks a first, though still vague and tentative, step toward a world order. The League of Nations operated, like the old Polish Diet, on the principle of unanimity; any power, however small, could block action by it. The new setup, still far from satisfactory, requires unanimous action by the five major powers which will occupy permanent seats on the proposed eleven-man Security Council and two of the six lesser powers to be elected to the Council by the Assembly of all the United Nations. Here it seems that the Russians, fearful of delays, were for action on the unanimous vote of the Big Five and that Mr. Roosevelt prevailed upon

them to agree to add two votes by smaller powers. This may some day prove an additional clog on action, but it is certainly better than the voting arrangements of the League.

At Dumbarton Oaks the question arose as to what would happen if one of the great powers were itself accused of aggression. Would it have the right to veto action against itself? In the League an accused member was not allowed to vote on its own case. The Chinese seem to have been strongly opposed to giving an accused great power the right to veto action against itself. This was also the American position. The British position was not made public. The White Paper on Dumbarton Oaks does not even mention the problem. The one correspondent who was able to get real news out of Dumbarton Oaks, James B. Reston of the *New York Times*, reported on September 8 that the British "make clear that the whole success of the League will depend on the 'trust and confidence and sincerity of purpose of the four great powers' [this was before the decision to admit France as a fifth], and they seem to indicate that in dealing with the problem of aggression by one of the permanent members, there is a limit beyond which the machinery of the proposed league cannot go." The Russians were insistent on retaining their right to veto action against themselves, and the best information I can obtain is that they were adamant at Yalta on two points—(1) retaining the veto and (2) barring any further expansion of the membership of the Security Council, which they fear may become a debating society if it grows too large.

The reasons for the Soviet position were reflected in another Reston dispatch of September 29, which bore the earmarks of an "off-the-record" talk with some Soviet official. "Soviet Russia," Reston reported, "is eager to cooperate with the United Nations in a system of collective security, but she has not yet got over her fear that the other great powers may try to turn a proposed league of nations into a sort of capitalist alliance against her. . . . Soviet Russia still remembers that . . . while the League never seemed to be able to get the necessary 'unanimity' to take action against Germany or Japan, it was able to get the necessary support to ease Soviet Russia out of the League at the time of the first Finnish war. Furthermore, the Soviet officials cannot forget that, even as recently as late 1939 and early 1940, the British and French had prepared an expeditionary force to send to the aid of Finland against her . . . 'the capitalist bogey' in Russia is still as strong as 'the Communist bogey' in the West."

The few smaller powers which had already expressed an opinion on Dumbarton Oaks before these voting arrangements were made public all opposed the grant of veto powers to one of the Big Five in a case where it was itself accused. A possible compromise was foreshadowed by L. B. Pearson, the Canadian ambassador to the United States, in a speech at Winnipeg last December 27. "In any circumstances," Pear-

son said, "everything depends on the close and friendly co-operation of the great powers. The right of veto, in itself, is of no great importance. If it doesn't exist, and action is taken by a majority against a great power, then the organization may go down before the threat of another world war. If it is granted, *without limitation, and is used by a great power to prevent the organization even considering a dispute to which that power is a party, then the organization becomes almost a farce, and the non-veto powers would probably not consider it worth preserving*" (my italics). The compromise achieved by the President at Yalta permits the Security Council to hear a case against a great power without its consent and to do what it can to bring about a peaceful settlement. But it permits any great power to veto sanctions or military action in a case in which it is itself accused.

This has already been used to impute sinister designs to the Soviet Union and has furnished ammunition to the Soviet-baiters in Congress and out. It may be useful to recall that the compromise accepted by the Soviet Union goes considerably beyond what the Senate of the United States has been willing to accept in the past. One of the points which the Security Council can decide without the consent of the accused great power is "whether the legal aspect of the case should be referred to the court for advice." The court in question is the proposed new international court of justice

which is to be part of the new security organization. The terms of the Dumbarton Oaks agreement provide that the statute of this court shall either be the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the so-called World Court, or a new statute based on it. The Dumbarton Oaks agreement also provides that "all members of the organization shall *ipso facto* be parties to the statute of the international court of justice."

When the question of our adherence to the World Court was before the Senate in 1935, one of the fears was that the court might consider a case against the United States without our permission. This was reflected in the Vandenberg "reservation" put forward at that time. The late Senator Norris sought to make this reservation stronger. He insisted that as a condition of our adherence the World Court be forbidden to hear any case against the United States unless the Senate had first, by a two-thirds' vote, given its consent. This strict veto was demanded, not against sanctions, military or economic, but against the peaceful adjudication of an international dispute to which the United States was a party. The recollection of this may serve to make us a little less pharisaical about the Soviet position.

Had the Soviet Union not insisted on the retention of its veto against sanctions in complaints against itself, the Senate might very well have done so. It is not difficult to imagine Senatorial oratory on the threat of foreign armed interfer-



DISAPPROVING EYE

ence in the event of a complaint by a Latin American country against the United States. The universal tendency seems to be to deny a veto to others but reserve one to oneself. Thus while the Dutch in their own official "Suggestions" on Dumbarton Oaks oppose the idea of allowing a great power to veto military action against itself, they want to retain the right to decide whether to join or not to join in sanctions in any dispute of this kind. This, to quote a famous comic-strip character who may be little known to our more erudite readers, is the "Let's you and him fight" attitude of Popeye's friend, the tireless moocher, Mr. Wimpy. Bushfield's is even

simpler, a monumental piece of national egotism. His position seems to be that other powers should be governed by majority rule—while we should retain a veto against action of any kind. The real answer, of course, is that without unity on the part of the great powers, the new organization and the world with it are doomed to a new world war anyway. It is on the growth of better mutual understanding, on the willingness of the peoples of the major powers to see each other's point of view and to make the necessary adjustments and compromises, that security depends. Not on clock-work.

## What Happened in Mexico

BY ANITA BRENNER

*Mexico City, March 8*

AT THE closing sessions of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, the twenty nations which had sought a formula on Argentina discarded the "having wonderful time, wish you were here" message favored by many at the beginning for a longer statement. The Argentine flag had been included in the decorations because, said the gentleman in charge of protocol, "We feel Argentina will be here with us before this conference ends." But obviously he had not consulted Mr. Stettinius. Even delegates from countries close enough to Argentina to fear its armaments favored hands off and thought the Argentine people should be left to handle their militarists themselves.

The rub, or as Latin Americans put it, the "neuralgic point," was that two issues not directly connected with the war had got tangled up with the Argentine government's equivocal behavior in regard to the Nazis. The first was an issue that for many years has disturbed relations between the United States and Latin American countries—whether granting or withholding recognition should be used to exert pressure on de facto governments. The second threatens the peace of some of our closest collaborators in this hemisphere—what price democracy? In Latin America as in the United States most people seem to believe that a victory for the Allies will by itself bring a victory for democracy, and our own propaganda in this hemisphere has certainly underscored this idea. Embarrassingly for us, however, in many American countries belligerence in the war is tied up with the notion of fighting immediately against tyranny at home.

Under the nimble generalship of Padilla, Berle, Rockefeller, and Messersmith, all speaking Spanish, these two most delicate questions were disentangled from the point the United States wished to press—namely, that we are all in the anti-Axis fight and the Argentine boys are disturbing our security by trafficking with the enemy. Since no American government could balk openly at this, the wish was expressed—wrapped in flowers, condolences, and regrets—that the Argentine nation would put itself in a position to become one of the United Nations, and not just on paper, either.

Very likely this can happen even if the Perón crew man-

age to engineer the announced Argentinian elections in their favor. But even as an ally Argentina can continue trafficking with the enemy through its main conduit, the Franco government, as long as the United States and other American governments, each for its own reasons, maintain friendly diplomatic relations with the Spanish dictator. No doubt the solution to that problem will be found in some clever device for enlisting Franco's Spain also as one of the United Nations.

The pronouncement on Argentina came bang at the very end of two weeks of deliberation on other matters. Since it was debated by the Foreign Ministers behind closed doors I cannot report on which negotiator argued for what. However, there was no secrecy in the discussion of the 287 proposals, telescoped into 60, that went through the democratic conference mill, and all agreements reached through this process were evidently genuine. Moreover, since they are healthily out in the open, they are susceptible to further friendly work on them. This, more than any resounding document, is the real achievement of the conference, and it is a truly momentous one.

The fundamental difference between the United States and the Latin American position was that we think first of the war and view most matters from that angle, whereas Latin America thinks first of national security. In page after page of objections to Dumbarton Oaks and in other statements the Latin Americans demanded that the political and territorial integrity of every nation, however small, be guaranteed. This was assured, in substance, by the two principal documents of the conference, the Act of Chapultepec and the Declaration of Mexico. The United States delegation, and American opinion generally, take them to mean that at last Latin America fears us no more; Latin America sees in them a strong pledge from us against interference of any kind in its affairs. But at any rate they were signed in mutual happiness, though how effective Chapultepec will be in inter-American clashes remains to be settled, alas, by the wider decisions to be taken at San Francisco.

The divergent voices of the United States and Latin America on the war and peace reshaped many proposals, altering some to dismal before-and-after exhibits. Haiti, for instance,

proposed a strong-toothed agreement binding the Americas against racial or religious discrimination, on the ground that such discrimination and all propaganda for it are anti-scientific, anti-Christian, and fascist. As passed, the agreement merely remarks that racial and religious discrimination are indeed anti-scientific and un-Christian, and will every nation please do the best it can about them. A resolution binding the signatories to fight the activities of agents of totalitarian countries and their satellites was passed with "totalitarian" blue-penciled and "Axis" substituted, thus becoming a military measure rather than the broader and longer action against fascism that Latin American spokesmen wished to make it.

As between the American peoples, the only real difference of view that the conference brought into the limelight was a business argument. The delegates on the famous Economic Committee wrestled with the problem tenaciously, changing phrases as late as the night of the last day, but the basic difference remained: Mr. Clayton asked for every guaranty and protection for private enterprise, including lowered tariffs, while the Latin Americans upheld government participation in business, government price cushioning of products vital in each economy, and government development and protection of industry, including keeping tariffs up. It was all put into the Economic Charter, which, one delegate afterward drily remarked, is a "document for another world." There was strong unanimity on one point—that economic salvation lies in increased consumption, to be achieved by stepped-up production, lowered prices, and rising wages. Perhaps action based on this doctrine will bridge a good many of the conflicts at the inter-American economic conference scheduled for June. Some of the delegates muttered that what we were up to was imperialism and that Latin American economies would be sunk if they played the game our way. But one distinguished scholar said that, after all, at the end of the war the world will need to buy a lot of things, and that there might turn out to be no problem for his country if the Russians would learn to drink coffee. Banking, therefore, on a lot of buyers in Europe, Latin America is worrying over what the devastated lands are going to use for money.

The subcommittee that worked on economic problems from the angle of individual guaranties and benefits hardly locked horns at all. Its prettiest product is Miss Lenroot's "Declaration of Social Principles of America," founded on the idea "that man must be the center of interest and efforts of nations and governments." (America speaks here for physical protection in the form of public-health programs and industrial safety devices, for economic protection in the form of a real wage rising as the cost of living rises, plus freedom of organization and the right to strike, for social protection in the form of honestly adequate social-security programs, and for the implementing of these protections by private, governmental, and international action.)

Other proposals passed came out for increased participation of women in state and inter-state social-welfare activities, and for inter-American help to the homeless children of Europe. When this committee finished its work, its members spontaneously thanked Miss Lenroot for her brilliant leadership; one delegate, a doctor, burst out in a warm aside, "That woman is a jewel."

All these welfare recommendations can, of course, be dismissed as mere words, but they are not ambiguous words. They emphasize an important intangible that undeniably affected the whole tone and manner of the conference—the presence of what seemed to be an American spirit, a community of feeling on fundamental human questions. It is the real strength in the papers that were signed.

## 10 Years Again "The Nation"

ALMOST COINCIDENTALLY with the President's message to Congress asking that the National Recovery Administration be retained in substantially its present form for at least another year, Senator Wagner introduced his industrial-disputes bill, which he calls the National Labor Relations Act, and which calls for considerable modification of the labor provisions of the NIRA. Although Senator Wagner need not expect the support of either Mr. Roosevelt or Secretary Perkins—who prefers to keep industrial-disputes machinery under the aegis of the Department of Labor—his bill is in many respects admirably devised to eliminate the weaknesses of the present methods of dealing with labor troubles, and it deserves the support not only of the A. F. of L., which indeed it has, but of every employer who honestly wants to live on a democratic footing with his employees.—*March 6, 1935.*

A GREAT EDITOR and a still greater reformer and crusader was lost to journalism in the death of Fremont Older, editor of the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, on March 3. . . . It was he who came to the aid of Tom Mooney and ferreted out the truth about the case, for which achievement the rich and respectable of San Francisco were ready to tear him limb from limb.—*March 13, 1935.*

THE NEW OFFERING of the Group Theater is called "Awake and Sing" (Belasco Theater). The author is one Clifford Odets, who has long been a member of the Group's acting company, and the play reveals as interesting a new talent as I have seen in the theater for a long time.—JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, *March 13, 1935.*

WITH THE DEATH of the second Oliver Wendell Holmes a generation practically disappears; in the handful of remaining survivors of the Civil War there is not one man of distinction. . . . All in all, if there was a man better entitled to be called the foremost American I cannot name him.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *March 20, 1935.*

ADOLF HITLER has administered the coup de grâce to what remained of the authority of the Versailles treaty. By a dramatic act he has officially announced what everybody knew was under way—the complete rearmament of Germany—and has capped it by an impressive military parade down Unter den Linden.—*March 27, 1935.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Ralph Bates, "Lean Men"; Harold J. Laski, "The State in Theory and Practice"; C. Day Lewis, "Collected Poems"; Vincent Sheean, "Personal History"; John Strachey, "The Nature of Capitalist Crisis"; Thomas Wolfe, "Of Time and the River"; Hans Zinsser, "Rats, Lice and History."

# John Bull Looks for Customers

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

BRITAIN, scornfully dismissed by Napoleon as "a nation of shopkeepers," conducted its merchandising so successfully in the nineteenth century that it was able to build out of surplus earnings a large portfolio of investments. To a considerable degree it turned into a nation of *rentiers* and shoppers, buying far more on world markets than it sold and meeting the balance from its foreign interest and dividends. But in the course of two wars these investments have largely been liquidated, and now Britain must revert to the role of shopkeeper in order to maintain its position as an international shopper. The alternative—to reduce drastically its purchases from abroad—is, as I have explained in previous articles, no real alternative, for it would mean empty larders and factories idle for want of raw materials.

It is not surprising, therefore, that all official pronouncements on British post-war economic policy place particular emphasis on the revival of foreign trade. The very first paragraph of the White Paper on Employment Policy issued last June is devoted to the vital necessity not merely of maintaining the volume of pre-war exports but of expanding them greatly. Cabinet ministers, speaking on this subject, have frequently stated that a 50 per cent increase over the 1938 figure will be required. Good authorities consider this an underestimate, but even so it means a fivefold expansion over the 1943 level.

Although its spokesmen constantly stress the importance of exports, the British government has yet to make known any long-term plans to insure their growth. It talks in very general terms of cooperation with other nations for the removal of trade barriers and cites its signature of the Atlantic Charter and the Mutual Aid Agreement as "proof of its intentions." But it has not indicated what positive steps it is prepared to take toward fulfilling the obligations assumed in these agreements. Nor, indeed, has this country, and the truth is the British are waiting for America to make the first move. They are impressed by the blueprints for an expansion of world trade produced by the appropriate departments in Washington; but they know that these blueprints must remain worthless until stamped with Congressional approval, and they fear that economic thinking on Capitol Hill is still strongly tinged with nationalism. The Bretton Woods legislation is the first test; the renewal of the Trade Agreements Act, which expires in June, will follow shortly. Favorable action might induce Whitehall to get off the fence where it perches uneasily while business men clamor for guidance on national policy so that they may draw up their own post-war programs.

However, if official plans are lacking, there is no shortage of unofficial ones. Business organizations, trade unions, political bodies, and various research groups are all busy setting forth their solutions of the export problem. While these naturally vary widely they nearly all have some features in common. For instance, they almost all reject orthodox *laissez*

*faire* principles; almost all accept the necessity of some degree of government intervention, guidance, or control. As the report of the International Trade Policy Committee of the Federation of British Industries (equivalent of the National Association of Manufacturers) puts it, "Market forces cannot be relied upon automatically to establish equilibrium in international trade. The choice is a return to the jungle law of unregulated competition or the adoption of conscious planning to raise world prosperity." As an instrument of such conscious planning the committee recommends the creation of an International Economic Council one of the functions of which would be to "guide international trade into channels where it would be most beneficial to both producer and consumer." The methods by which this objective would be achieved are not very well defined, but the committee approves of commodity marketing agreements and suggests investigation of the possibility of agreements of the same nature covering manufactured goods, to be negotiated by similar industries in different countries. This, of course, means cartels, or, as the British prefer to call them, "trade accords."

The fact is that British business men are terrified of American competition in export markets. "How will the United States use her surplus capacity after the war?" asked Sir George Schuster, M.P., in a speech last October to the American Chamber of Commerce in London. "Will she pour it out on the world . . . or will she concentrate on raising living standards at home and leave some leeway in the export trade for others? . . . We are frightened at what we read on your country's preparations for post-war industry and export."

A survey conducted last year by Harold Whitehead and Staff, Ltd., a London firm of industrial consultants, showed that 77 per cent of the business executives it polled anticipated post-war competition from American products in export markets. To a question whether they favored post-war arrangements with the United States regarding export spheres generally, 60 per cent gave an affirmative answer, while 59 per cent supported arrangements regarding sources of raw materials. Many letters received by the conductors of this survey stressed the strong desirability of close cooperation between both the British and American governments and British and American business. At the same time there was frank recognition of the immense difficulties involved resulting from differences in national outlook. One letter, for example, declared: "In Britain it is thought that wasteful competition can be curtailed with great advantage both to British industry and to American industry, and that in respect of many markets of the world it ought to be possible for arrangements to be made limiting particular lines of manufacture to one country or the other. But this would be completely unacceptable, as far as can be judged, to American industries."

Domestically, British industries have led a rather sheltered

life in recent years, thanks to the thick matting of "orderly trading" agreements which they have been able to weave in the absence of any anti-trust laws. They would now like to protect themselves from the cold winds of competition in overseas markets, and in order to do so would be very happy to make a deal with American industry dividing up world trade, even on junior-partnership terms. In view of the probable strong competitive position of the United States in the immediate post-war era, their fear that American business will scoff at such a proposition may be justified. Actually, however, there does not seem a great deal of difference in the basic attitudes of British and American business men in this matter. The former frankly deplore competition and restrict it as far as possible; the latter talk loudly about their ability to take it neat but in practice dilute it as far as the Department of Justice will allow them.

The kind of deal the British have in mind is not, therefore, totally inconceivable later on, given an old-fashioned Republican administration here and a Tory government in Britain. Its dangers hardly need underlining, for since the primary aim of such a combination would be to secure maximum profits rather than maximum exchange of goods, it would undoubtedly involve fixing of prices to protect the less efficient members of the cartel and limitation of production. This would prove intolerable both to British and American workers and to consumers the world over.

Another British school of planners, which finds support both in the Labor and Liberal parties and even among the Tory progressives, starts from the premise of maximum expansion of production and trade. It seeks, in the first place, an agreement among all industrial countries to put into effect programs of full employment. This would mean a definite undertaking by each country to insure, by government action if necessary, that total outlay on goods and services would always be sufficient to absorb the production of a fully employed labor force. In the second place, planners of this persuasion look to international cooperation to raise the purchasing power of backward nations. As Lord Woolton, Minister of Reconstruction, said to me when I talked to him in London last November, "The great thing is to find means of increasing the consumption of the primary producers who form the greater part of the world's population but enjoy far too few of the world's goods. If the standards of the Asiatic and African masses can be improved even moderately, there will be no need to worry about industrial capacity being too great. There's no such thing as overproduction, though, God knows, there's plenty of underconsumption."

These two objectives—full employment in the "advanced" countries, greater consumption in the "backward" countries—are closely linked. Full industrial employment means a sustained demand for primary commodities and more purchasing power for their producers. And this in turn means steady markets for industrial products. Britain has been committed by its government, and even more strongly by public opinion, to a policy of full employment. And it is committed by circumstances to paying out for imports whatever it takes in for exports. It has abandoned the idea that a favorable balance of trade is a desirable objective; it sees it rather as an export of man-power for which there is no return, and it expects to be short of man-power for a long time.

The United States, on the other hand, is not committed to a full-employment policy; in fact, efforts to promote one are meeting the most intense kind of opposition. And at the same time the United States has taken no positive steps to reverse its consistent practice since the last war of selling abroad far more than it bought. Even now, while there is some talk of correcting the American trade balance so as to secure a steady flow of dollars into the hands of foreign customers, far more attention is being paid to plans for dumping excess production into overseas markets.

It was with regret rather than surprise that I discovered during my visit to England that many of the economic planners had abandoned hope that America would adopt adequate measures either for full domestic employment or to insure balanced trade. Consequently, they felt that a multilateral, free-exchange international system would neither solve Britain's employment problem nor enable it to expand exports. This argument led, as I explained in a recent article (*Memo for Congress*, March 3, 1945), to intense opposition to the Bretton Woods program, acceptance of which, it was felt, would preclude Britain from maintaining exchange controls, from using subsidies to offset fluctuations in world prices of export goods, and from making long-term sales and purchase agreements with other countries.

I have no space here to describe in detail the kind of closed trading system which is now being elaborated by some British economists. Its clearing arrangements, its blocked accounts, its thinly disguised barter methods proclaim it as the child of Dr. Schacht; its remoter ancestors are Colbert and the eighteenth-century mercantilists. Ignoring for the moment the political reactions to such a policy, we may ask: would it even achieve its aims of insulating British economy from external shocks and of insuring a balance between exports and imports? One of its enthusiastic proponents writes:

Being the world's largest single market for raw materials and foodstuffs, she [Britain] possesses an unbreakable bargaining power. If she employs that power not for purposes of buying cheaply and selling dearly, but so as to increase the volume both of her sales and her purchases, she can be certain of success. Where other nations might attempt to sell on credit, thus burdening their customers with debt, she would be selling goods for goods.\*

It is difficult to imagine things working out so pleasantly while foreign trade remains in private hands either in Britain or in the countries it bargains with. The concern of the individual business man is to buy cheaply and sell dearly; as long as he functions he will seek to exploit a closed system to the utmost. As the *Economist*, which itself has toyed with bilateral ideas, said in a recent article: "Schachtian strong-arm tactics, exploiting the attractiveness of the British market to force expensive British goods on those countries that sell here, will work only until the victims find means of escaping."

Adherents of the bilateral principle profess to believe that Britain by adopting it would rally to its side a large group of nations. It would, they suggest, isolate the United States and teach it that America's need of the rest of the world was greater than the world's need of America. This naive view is not shared by many persons in a position to shape or

\*"Export Policy and Full Employment." By E. F. Schumacher. Fabian Research Series, 1943.

influence British policy. There is, on the contrary, a complete realization in most political quarters that any attempt to insulate Britain from America by forming a rival system would be fraught with the gravest dangers; that the beginning would be a furious economic battle, the probable end, a clash of arms. But even the most responsible British spokesmen, while condemning the propaganda of the bilateralists, add: Do not drive us into a corner; do not make it impossible for us to carry on the foreign trade we must have as a condition of existence; do not force us to resort to desperate methods. We will not declare economic war on America, but if you force us to fight, we must use any weapon at hand.

This is a reminder of responsibilities which have yet to be fully recognized in this country. There is, for instance, a tendency to assume that obstacles to international trade are almost entirely foreign growths. Americans are apt to talk of the "elimination" of quotas and import embargoes, the "removal" of exchange controls, the "abandonment" of discriminatory trade practices. These crimes against the spirit of the Atlantic Charter have not been practiced in America and hence are condemned out of hand. But when it comes to the tariff, the word is merely "reduction," and little is said against subsidies used as a weapon to overcome foreign competition. America is not yet leading the charge against the international barricades; it is merely exhorting from the rear.

Freedom of trade, however, is not the sole, or even the most important, contribution that America has to make to the restoration and expansion of world trade. In his foreword to "The United States in the World Economy"—a survey made by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce—Wayne C. Taylor, Under Secretary of the Department of Commerce, declares that its most important conclusion is the vital importance of maintaining conditions that permit a larger and more regular flow of dollars to other countries. "The most essential of these conditions," he adds, "lies not in the field of foreign economic policy as such but in the attainment of a more fully and more smoothly operating domestic economy—the major determinant of the volume and course of our purchases of foreign goods and services." In brief, for his own sake and the world's, Uncle Sam needs to cultivate more intensively his own garden. By maintaining full employment and raising living standards at home, a demand for foreign products and services will be automatically created, enabling American trade accounts to balance at a high level rather than a low one. Under such circumstances other nations will be encouraged to emerge from their barbed-wire entanglements and John Bull will not need to go hunting customers with bilateral dynamite.

[This is the third of a series of articles by Mr. Hutchison on Britain's international economic problems.]

## Syria: Near East Cockpit

BY MICHAEL CLARK

IN HIS recent report to the Commons Mr. Churchill revealed that, so far as the Middle East and its perennial troubles are concerned, no important decisions were made either at Yalta or later in Egypt. The problems of the Arab world and of the Jewish people in Palestine, he said, must be solved when the war is over. His "clarification" of British policy in Syria and the Lebanon was, however, particularly significant in the light of past events there and of the insistence with which some Syrians and Lebanese have been demanding the total withdrawal of the French. His words were soothing: "Finally, we had the pleasure of a long discussion with President Shukri [Kuwatli] of Syria, in which we did our utmost to enjoin a friendly attitude toward the French and to encourage the negotiation of a suitable settlement with the French, affecting not only Syria but Lebanon."

Thus, in passing, Mr. Churchill disavowed Major General Sir Edward Spears, until December 3, 1944, British minister to the Levant states, and three years of British policy in Syria and the Lebanon. General Spears, it will be recalled, made a speech before the Royal Empire Society on January 17 last which is in curious contrast to Churchill's statement. In it he said that "the respect of the immense Arab world might be lost to us over either of two main issues: Zionism and the French position in the Levant." General Spears, as long as he could, worked tooth and nail to undermine the French position. The problem has not been, as Mr. Churchill's words suggested, essentially a local one, but rather an Anglo-French one. It is always easy to fish in the troubled waters of Middle

Eastern politics. General Spears's success was certainly no greater than that of the Germans, who in 1941 were able to provoke an armed rebellion in Iraq, a country under British domination.

It is quite certain that had General Spears not followed a policy of deliberate provocation, there would be no French-Syrian problem at this moment. But the position of France in Syria and in the world was so weak at the time of the Syrian campaign in 1941 and until very recently that the moment seemed propitious for giving the coup de grâce to its influence in the Levant. The temptation was there, and General Spears, ignoring the remoter consequences of such an attitude, succumbed to it unreservedly. In this he had the full backing of British empire builders in the Middle East and, be it said parenthetically, of the American minister in Beirut, Mr. Wadsworth. The Foreign Office, however, does not seem to have wholly approved, to judge from the recent recall of Spears.

Since 1936 France has been committed to the independence of Syria and the Lebanon. By that time their constitutional structure had been completed, and local governments at Damascus and Beirut were functioning. Franco-Lebanese and Franco-Syrian treaties were therefore negotiated along lines very similar to those of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1931. Unfortunately, the ratification of these treaties, bitterly opposed by reactionary elements in France, was blocked by Georges Bonnet's Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the fall of the

Popular Front Cabinet. When General de Gaulle became "trustee" of French interests in the Levant, at the close of the bloody campaign which ousted the Vichy control in that area, he promptly returned to the policy of 1936, and in the fall of 1941 General Catroux, Free French delegate general in the Levant, proclaimed the independence of the two countries. In his proclamation he said: "On the eighth of last June, at the time of the Allied armies' entry into the Levant, in a manifesto which I addressed to you in the name of Free France and of its chief, General de Gaulle, I recognized Syria as a sovereign and independent state, *under the guaranty of a treaty defining our reciprocal relations*" (italics mine).

Although the principle of a treaty was recognized in every official British declaration of that period—for, indeed, Britain had adopted the same formula in Egypt and Iraq—General Spears did everything in his power to defeat it. And now he accuses France of "withholding the transfer of the army in the hope of forcing the republics to sign treaties."

The regime set up in the Levant in 1941, a species of Anglo-France condominium, gave General Spears ample opportunity to take a hand in local affairs. Although French control of civil affairs was maintained, military control came under British Middle East G.H.Q., and the country was, and is, occupied by elements of the British Ninth Army, with political officers—whose attributions are most vague—in every hamlet. Inasmuch as the dividing line between civil and military affairs often all but disappears in war time, there were actually two plenipotentiary authorities in Syria and the Lebanon—the French General Delegation, and the Spears mission plus the Ninth Army.

In January, 1943, General Catroux reestablished the constitutional life of Syria and the Lebanon and provided for general elections to be held in that year. Immediately there arose in Beirut a sharp controversy over what should be the proportionate number of Christian and Moslem seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Dr. Eyoub Tabet, president of the republic, decreed, on the basis of a census, that there should be fifty-four Christian seats to thirty-two Moslem seats. A howl went up not only from Lebanese Moslems but from Moslems everywhere. The Egyptian Premier, Nahas Pasha, supported by General Spears, brought strong pressure to bear on the French in order to obtain twenty-five Moslem seats to twenty-nine Christian seats. Catroux, cowed by this uproar, forced Dr. Tabet's resignation and fixed the number of seats at thirty for the Christians, twenty-five for the Moslems.

In this envenomed atmosphere the Lebanese elections were held. They provided every opportunity for outside intervention, and considerable sums of money were spent by those who had it. The new Chamber of Deputies, of a marked anti-French color, contained many deputies opposed to Lebanese independence in favor of Syrian and Arab unity, a concept dear to the British so long as it remains purely a concept. The British-supported candidate for President, Bechara el-Khoury, was elected by the Chamber while virtually all the country's senior statesmen, including three former chiefs of state—Messrs. Tabet, Naccache, and Eddé—absented themselves in protest. General Spears had previously warned the deputies that if the French-supported candidate, Emile Eddé,

were elected, His Majesty's Government reserved the right not to recognize the new government on the ground that the general elections had been tampered with. With France deprived of a recognized government, that was potent pressure.

Bechara el-Khoury asked a prominent Moslem, Riad Solh, to form the new ministry. This man had worked for twenty years against the Lebanon's independence. Like so many of his coreligionists he looked upon himself as a Syrian and upon the Lebanon as a province of Syria artificially erected as an independent Christian state by the French to please the Christians. He had taken out his Lebanese identity card just two months before the elections. In spite of Riad Solh's former sympathies for Rachid Ali, the insurgent anti-Ally Premier of Iraq, General Spears found him a willing tool.

Almost the first act of the new government, on November 8, 1943, was to "abrogate" the League of Nations mandate, *ipso facto*, by an act of Parliament—in the absence of the French Delegate General, M. Jean Helleu, who was in Algiers. M. Helleu had left Beirut with Riad Solh's promise not to take any action before his return. While in Algiers he had announced that he was authorized to make effective immediately full de facto independence for Syria and Lebanon. The final disposition of the mandate would have to await the end of the war and the setting up of some new international authority. When he reached Beirut, however, he found himself face to face with a *fait accompli*. His reaction to what was undeniably a hostile and illegal gesture was nevertheless precipitate and very unwise: he arrested the President of the republic, the Premier, several ministers, and one deputy, formed a provisional government headed by Emile Eddé, and called for new elections. Trouble immediately broke out in the Moslem quarter of Beirut and elsewhere. Even the Christians, although fearful of Riad Solh's pan-Arab policies, were shocked that Bechara el-Khoury, a good Maronite Christian and the symbol of the republic, was arrested too. Dispatches from Cairo and Jerusalem, dramatically played up in the world press, picture the trouble as a real revolt, with Beirut put to fire and sword.

General Catroux, at that time Minister of State, was rushed from Algiers to take charge of the situation in Beirut. He was handed an ultimatum by the British giving him twenty-four hours to release the imprisoned statesmen, failing which the country would be occupied outright by the British Ninth Army. Military security was invoked as the reason for this ultimatum. General Catroux, fearing an abrupt liquidation of the French position in the Levant, yielded, and the Khoury government was restored.

Since that time, the Lebanese and Syrian governments, whose independence has been recognized by all the great powers, maintain that the French mandate is definitively abrogated. The French, feeling themselves bound by international obligations, have not been willing to concede this. Nor can Britain, also a mandatory power, afford to do so. Apparently, however, our government, represented in Beirut by a bitterly anti-French minister, George Wadsworth, is prepared to look upon the French mandate as a dead letter.

In December, 1943, a tripartite agreement was signed in Damascus by representatives of France, Syria, and the Lebanon providing for the immediate cession to Syria and the Lebanon of all the sovereign powers previously exercised

in their name, except the territorial army. The transfer of the armed forces, comprising some 29,000 Syrian officers and men under French command, is being delayed, presumably until the end of the war. These troops, dedicated to the defense of the Levant, come under the Allied Middle East G. H. Q. at the present time. The French feel, and the British now appear to agree, that the Levantine governments lack the means, financial and other, to maintain the indigenous army on an efficient war footing. They point out that the internal police of the country, assured by two national gendarmeries, has been turned over to the local authorities and adequately armed by the British. Actually, Syria and the Lebanon are quite as independent as any of the neighboring countries. And France deserves some credit for being the only power which, in time of war, has granted independence to peoples placed under its control.

General Spears, in conversations with Syrians and Lebanese, used to stress the necessity of extorting integral independence at once, while France was only a poor relation and De Gaulle a ruler without a realm. Mr. Wadsworth and the OWI, too, tirelessly opposed a treaty with the Committee of National Liberation, which no one recognized as the legal government of France. Both Spears and Wadsworth realized, however, particularly after General de Gaulle had triumphantly weathered the storm in Algiers, that their maneuvers were essentially a race against time.

Their fears were well grounded. The recognition of General de Gaulle's government and the liberation of France strengthened the French hand to the point where overt provocation in the Levant would clearly jeopardize far greater interests. Churchill has emphasized time and again that a strong and friendly France, essential to the stability of Western Europe, is a cardinal point in British foreign policy. It would be pure folly to allow this new *entente cordiale* to come to grief in Syria. In December General Spears, by now anathema to the French, was recalled and replaced by a career diplomat. The Spears mission was at an end. This step taken, Churchill was able the other day to reaffirm the disinterested policy of Britain in the Levant:

I must make clear the position of His Majesty's Government in respect of Syria and the Lebanon and in relation to our French allies. The position is governed by a settlement made in 1941 in which the independence of these Levant states was definitely declared by Great Britain and France. At that time and ever since, His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they would never seek to supplant French influence by British influence in the Levant states.

If Spears is disavowed, however, whatever advantages may have accrued to Britain as a result of his policy in the Levant are tacitly accepted. Then, too, the United States, which is not bound by the same scruples, remains free to follow an independent course. Spears is recalled, but Wadsworth is not. Churchill was quick to add that his words in no way limited American freedom of action:

Too much must not be placed, however, upon the shoulders of Great Britain alone, and we have to take note of the fact that Russia and the United States have recognized and favor Syrian and Lebanese independence, but do not favor any special positions for any foreign countries.

Britain, of course, has special positions in Iraq and Egypt; it governs Palestine outright. These special positions may

need defending at some future moment. It is not yet clear, for instance, what attitude Russia, whose awakened interest in the Middle East has been widely commented upon, will take with regard to the "independence" of Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, and Egypt. A semblance of solidarity between Britain and France may, after all, be worth preserving, even in a British sphere like the Middle East. On the other hand, if what is left of the French position in the Levant succumbs to American, and possibly even Russian, pressure, Britain, whose Ninth Army still occupies Syria and the Lebanon, cannot be held responsible. Long experience has made the Cartesian French wary of the British in the Middle East. Today, as in the past, the French are apt to conclude: *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

## In the Wind

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE apparently considered the first American crossing of the Rhine less important than a local murder. This is how the top of its front page looked on March 3:

 **Chicago Daily Tribune** ESTABLISHED 1847 **.. FINAL**

### KILLS WOMAN, BURNS BODY

*Report Yanks Cross Rhine; Nazis Flee Before 9th Army*

THE MASSACHUSETTS Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, one of the most effective "economy" lobbies in the country, has urged the state legislature to raise the Governor's salary from \$10,000 a year to \$20,000.

A NEW YORK federal district court has held that maintenance employees of building, bank, brokerage, and law firms are outside the Wage-Hour Act because they are not engaged in producing goods for interstate commerce. The March 5 bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States finds the decision "significant and heartening."

ON PAGE TWO of the *Wall Street Journal* for March 7 was a story headed, "Aluminum Called Too Expensive for Wide Use in Autos, Engineer Says." On page four was an advertisement by the Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corporation showing a shiny dream car of the future. "Bohn," said the ad, "is one of America's foremost sources for both aluminum and magnesium products so vital in the modern car."

NOTWITHSTANDING the powerful American Bankers' Association's opposition to the Bretton Woods agreement, the Independent Bankers' Association, an organization of small and medium-sized banks opposed to chain banking, has issued a statement indorsing the agreement in full.

**FESTUNG EUROPA:** The old people's home at Oslo has been requisitioned by the Nazis. The inmates had to move out to make room for German soldiers. The only ones allowed to remain were the old ladies on the top floor, who are being held as hostages against Allied bombing.

*[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.]*

## *V-Day and Revolution*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

NINE MONTHS have not yet elapsed since the liberation of Paris, and already voices are bemoaning the waste of a great opportunity; the people's revolution, like the peace, they say, has been virtually lost. I refer to voices from the left. The right is always more shrewd. No matter what its feeling about the course of events, the right follows a strategy better designed to serve its own interest. And that strategy is to proclaim the imminent danger that all Europe will go bolshevik—still an excellent way of rallying and strengthening the counter-revolutionary forces.

The left, and within the left the intellectuals more than the workers, shows the same unhappy inclination it has had for the last two decades to raise the white flag before the battle has really started. In the summer of 1940 many leftists cried that the war was over, when, as we know now, it was only beginning. So today many leftists have admitted defeat when the great metamorphosis of Europe has just begun to unfold. Here, indeed, is a dangerous tendency, for it demoralizes and consequently weakens the left at the very moment when the real struggle between progress and reaction, inside the victorious coalition and inside almost every European country, has been made inevitable by the approaching end of the war.

It will be a terrific struggle. For that fact the chief responsibility rests with those Allied leaders who did not care to or were unable to wage the war as a political war, as a war which made sense only if it were fought for democracy and the complete destruction of fascism. True, Allied leaders have declared that to be their primary objective; but in practice they have looked for Badoglios to help them defeat Hitler—and revolution. Thus did the statesmen support reaction and give it new life, and thus did they provide the conditions for a clash which will be far more brutal than it need have been.

In 1942 civil war could have been avoided. It was still possible to reorient Allied policy so as to secure a democratic victory without obliging the left to launch a new kind of war against fascism as soon as the military war should have ended. The Western Allies did not want it that way. They did not want a victory of the people. So far as the British government was concerned, its attitude was, perhaps, deliberately counter-revolutionary. On the part of the Americans it was, rather, a lack of understanding of Europe and a still greater determination to ignore the true character of fascism.

No matter what it springs from, the fact remains that on the day Hitler falls we shall find ourselves with one defeated enemy and another enemy still to defeat. An artist friend of mine, who has a taste for Goyaesque etchings, sometimes tells me: "In the morning of that day I shall get drunk to celebrate his fall, and in the evening I shall hang myself in order not to witness the victory of the reaction." It is a question of temperament. For myself I prefer to see the reaction hanged. And it can be done, although the process may be long and bloody.

### THE STRENGTH OF REACTION

The reaction, of course, is all for returning to the situation prior to 1939. Even British conservatives, with their reputation for flexibility and willingness to yield to the demands of the epoch, rejected the Beveridge Plan though it offered the capitalist regime an unexpected respite. The reactionaries will always fight to hold back the victory of the people. The century of the common man is not their century.

For their success, reactionaries everywhere count above all on support from the United States and Great Britain. They have been encouraged by certain miraculous recoveries made when everything spelled doom. Consider the case of the Vatican. Because it had a Pope whose anti-democratic ideas were well known, because of its scandalous silence on Nazi crimes in the years when Hitler was the winner, because of its intrigues in behalf of Franco and the Argentine dictatorship, people generally assumed that the Vatican would emerge from the war badly discredited. This feeling has nothing to do with religion. Splendid Catholics—Spaniards, Frenchmen, Belgians—have publicly expressed their disagreement with the policy of the Holy See. But since 1943 the two great Western Allies, which are officially Protestant, have done everything in their power to repair the much-damaged moral authority of the Vatican. In maneuvers of appeasement, in every attempt to thwart a real people's victory, a Pope with such good fascist connections was an invaluable collaborator.

Were it not for the direct and indirect support given to the reaction by powerful elements of Western diplomacy, working together with the Vatican, the progressive forces would unquestionably come to power all over Europe after the collapse of Nazi Germany. But the appeasers should not think that they are the only ones who will make decisions in Europe. They would give good proof of their sense of reality if they admitted that Russia, too, will have a few words to say.

I know what certain liberals will answer: Russia is interested only in its national advantage. But I would suggest that the national advantage of Russia and the destruction of fascism may be much more compatible than some of our leftist critics seem to think. The liquidation of feudalism is being speedily carried through in Eastern Europe. The great landed estates are being broken up and distributed to a peasant class which has been earth-hungry for centuries. The purge of fascists has been far more rapid in countries liberated by the Russians than in those liberated by the Western Allies. Whatever the final aims of Russia in Europe, an attempt to recapture 1939 is not among them.

So much for the influence exercised from without. Inside every country the reaction can count upon the "200 families" who, in the years before the war, had already chosen their quislings; upon part of the peasantry, which, although not actively reactionary, can be used by the reaction because of its

traditional hostility to anything that smells of socialism; upon the work of Nazi agents distributed throughout Europe; upon the support of the more aggressive Catholics; upon the revival and exploitation of nationalistic sentiment. But all that put together will not be enough to win victory for the reactionaries unless a divided and defeatist left, lacking strong leadership, does half their job for them.

#### THE STRENGTH OF THE LEFT

The chief factor operating in favor of the left is the incapacity of the reaction to stabilize the European situation outside the fascist pattern. Before the outbreak of war that incapacity was already evident. Social stabilization, even in the degree that England achieved it, was not accomplished on the Continent after the First World War. It was that failure of capitalism to cope with the successive post-war crises that brought fascism to power. Everything that has happened since then has helped to intensify the disequilibrium.

To begin with, the middle classes, which in England and the United States are the main elements of stability, have been largely eliminated from the European scene. They have seen not only their homes, their businesses, and their savings destroyed by the Nazis but the very concept of ownership, which was their religion and their philosophy. A fourth of Europe has been destroyed. Of the 19,000 buildings in Le Havre, 10,000 have been utterly ruined, another 2,000 are considered irreparable, 5,000 can be repaired, and only 2,000 are relatively undamaged. But later came Dresden, to make Le Havre look like heaven. By the massive Allied air blows of February 14 and 15, "a great city," according to a direct witness, "has been wiped from the map of Europe."

The right is tied to the conception of property. When property breaks down, or is destroyed, the economic strength of the right deteriorates. And with its economic strength, its political power. Under the stress of pre-war instability the right invested in fascism. Now it has lost or is losing its investment, and the power that went with it. Even the monopoly which the right held over patriotism has slipped out of its hands. It was from the "200 families" that the majority of the collaborationists came. All over Europe the left is now the embodiment of patriotism, with all its magnetism.

The left has learned many things during these five years of war. It has learned, among other things, the Nazi art of clandestine activity. Not long ago, in the London *New Statesman and Nation*, Kingsley Martin told the fascinating story of the Athenian elections held during the German occupation. Loud speakers appeared as if by magic, urging everyone to vote, and then they disappeared from the street corners before the Gestapo could arrive. The Germans were inclined to believe that the elections would be held on a hill outside Athens and took the necessary precautions. Actually the voters filled in the forms in their homes. The voting sheets were carried from house to house, and 400,000 Athenians recorded their votes under the Germans' very noses.

Everywhere in Europe the left has trained itself in action. It is not the same left which in 1937 was satisfied to go to meetings and to pass resolutions demanding "*avions pour l'Espagne*" (planes for Spain) only to fall asleep again and allow the fascists to mature their plans and seize key posts in the administration. Today the left is alert. Under its pressure

every Vichy mayor and police chief in France has been cast out. The revival of armed counter-revolutionary bands, of fascist parties, of organizations of conspiracy like the *Cagoulauds* will not be easy for the right today. Of course it will try, but the attempt will only lead to a sharper fight.

#### THE ROLE OF LABOR

But to win, the left must have a central force around which the various factions can rally and which will be capable of leading them to their last objective: the final destruction of fascism. That force can only be the labor movement. In the long run it cannot be the resistance as a whole. Our faith in the resistance movement as the ally most valuable to the regular armies in the liberation of Europe has been justified everywhere. Not one word written in these columns, from Joseph Kessel's brilliant narrative (January 22, 1944) to our own frequent tributes, need be retracted. One glorious memory will always remain from this war, and that is the memory of the underground's intrepid fight against Nazi armies and internal traitors. But in the resistance many divergent political tendencies were united by the determination to expel the invader. That is why the resistance movement, once the Germans have been conquered, cannot by itself carry a country through a victorious revolution. Its former cohesiveness and aggressiveness are bound to languish when the gigantic enterprise of national liberation is accomplished.

The unquestionable weakening of the movement of resistance from the end of last summer up to now, in France as in other liberated countries, might have proved fatal to the left if there had not been the great reservoir of the labor movement. A most encouraging development is the decision taken by the recent World Trade Union Conference in London to create a new international labor organization. Since it coincided with the meeting of the Big Three at Yalta and with the military successes of February, the conference got less space in the American press than it deserved. It is a supremely important fact that the representatives of more than thirty countries agreed on the need to liquidate the decrepit pre-war trade-union organization and replace it with a new and powerful body in which the most dynamic elements of American labor will work together with the Russian unions, the young but daring Latin American labor organization (the C. T. A. L.), and the reviving movement on the Continent. Labor is no longer the humble supplicant it was in the Geneva days, not when Sidney Hillman could say immediately after the announcement of the San Francisco conference: "The new trade-union international, representing sixty million workers, must take the place that is its due in the first conference called to organize the peace." A statement, not an entreaty. And a statement which made it clear that there is strong direction at the head of the new organization.

That is just what the labor movement has needed—a vigorous leadership, a leadership that knows the power of labor and will not hesitate to use it. We have missed it badly during the last five years. We have missed it particularly in England, where the Labor Party, because it was one of the few working men's parties not destroyed by the war and because of its presence in the government, had an obligation to the whole world labor movement to fight far more stubbornly than it did for the democratic conduct of the war. It was pitiable,

and it plunged large sections of the left into premature pessimism, to see the Labor ministers and a big proportion of the Labor M.P.'s sit silent while Churchill threw life belts to the House of Savoy, uttered eulogies of General Franco, or abused the Greek patriots in the House of Commons. It seems inconceivable that labor should have allowed itself to be kept outside every important international meeting. And now, when a Labor Party representative is to be included in the British delegation to San Francisco, it is the indecisive Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, who has been chosen.

But though it has had weak leadership, British Labor can still be a powerful factor in the transformation of Europe. Its rank and file are eager to further amendment of the conditions prevalent in 1939. Meanwhile, other European Socialists, who were no more fortunate than the British in the matter of leadership, have begun to recover from the disaster into which the Second International's policy of capitulation had led them.

The same is true of the Communists. Although sometimes in retreat, they are still there. True, their position on various European issues has produced surprise and bewilderment among the left. I myself could not accept their explanations of their support of Badoglio. Similarly I was against their policy of including in the Spanish anti-Franco front Gil Robles, Minister of War responsible for the savage repression of the Asturian miners in 1935 and accomplice of Franco in launching the rebellion of 1936. But it is far-fetched to conclude from such mistakes, as many people on the left have done, that the Communists are going to act as a counter-revolutionary force in Europe.

We have the example of France. In September of last year the Communist Party was the strongest as a result of its splendid behavior in the resistance, acknowledged by every Frenchman, right or left, who participated in the movement. From that time on the Communists have been losing ground. *L'Humanité*, the Communist paper, as well as *Le Populaire*, the Socialist paper, have lost considerable circulation in recent months. Because of the need to support the war and their unwillingness to create further difficulties for General de Gaulle, the French Communists have been obliged to retreat since last September, and their influence in the country, as also in a lesser degree that of the Socialists, has been declining. But that does not mean that either party has forfeited its opportunity forever. Already pressure from within their own ranks is forcing them to take a more militant position. They are learning that the men and women who for five long years fought against fascism in the ranks of the resistance are still there—and not too tired to strike again.

#### THE THREE STAGES

This revolution cannot be successfully effected, the many pitfalls evaded, over night. In fact, viewed in historical perspective, the European revolution is going through three stages, none of which has been entirely completed. The first stage is that of the liberation of the occupied territories. There are still countries which must be freed, like Norway; countries like Italy, where large sections are still in enemy hands and where revolutionary forces are still primarily engaged in a desperate fight against the Nazis. The concern felt in Italy for the time when the strong proletarian forces of the north enter the Italian political scene was voiced by the

venerable Benedetto Croce when he asked for the rapid formation of a great conservative party capable of checking revolution. But without waiting for the liberation of the north, the Italians in Rome showed last week that they cannot be forever pushed around. They showed it by the enthusiasm with which they demonstrated against the scandalous escape from prison of General Roatta.

And aside from those parts of Europe officially occupied, there is Spain, whose people, once they have again mastered their destiny, are hardly going to side with the reaction in European politics.

The second stage is the definite collapse of the Nazi state. Even if the outcome of the war has been self-evident for the last two years and may become effective at any moment, we are still waiting to experience its actual consequences. In itself the fall of Hitler will be an event of extraordinary revolutionary importance, which will give new impetus to the progressive elements of the resistance all over Europe. Few people realize what it will mean to the European peoples when the Red Army marches into Berlin.

During the third stage the greater part of the American and British troops will leave Europe, except, of course, those which will be retained for the military occupation of Germany. Their removal will leave the settlement of European problems to the European peoples. A powerful element of possible coercion will be gone. Gone, too, will be the days of "military expediency," in which any betrayal of the democratic cause found a ready excuse, and the days when the left parties themselves hesitated to attack the policy of appeasement lest they endanger the unity of the Allies.

There will remain, of course, the "invisible occupation," with all the subtle weapons of pressure which Europe's misery and America's enormous resources put into the hands of the Western Allies. It will be easy to say to Europe: if you want to eat, you must adapt yourself to our conception of democracy. The question, however, is not only one of eating. Many Europeans ate better under German occupation than they do today, but that did not make them submissive.

There will remain, above all, the iron hand of capital, particularly American capital, which will not yield a fraction of its sovereign rights and which will help in the reconstruction of Europe only if Europe is to be rebuilt, not for the advancement of the European peoples, but for the profit and power of free enterprise. But there is nothing new in that. After the First World War an attempt was made to stabilize Europe in terms of capitalism. It failed. The first result was fascism; the second, World War II. This time the attempt will fail even more quickly. Only through a planned economy and through solutions very close to socialism have the rebuilders of Europe any reasonable chance of success. The day of effective capitalist control is over; the trend of Europe is toward the left. If the democratic powers had been willing to gear their foreign policy to this trend, the change to a socialized society might have been a peaceful one. They have not done so; instead they have moved from one costly experiment in reaction to another, and in doing so they have only promoted revolution. Let them not count upon the apathy of the people to prevent it. Not even war weariness or disillusionment can head off a change which is part of the whole historical process of our time.

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## The Young Man Jefferson

THE YOUNG JEFFERSON. By Claude G. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.75.

NO YOUNG man living 175 years ago more completely embodied in himself the nation as it was to be than did the Jefferson of 1775. What Jefferson envisaged before the American Revolution we are today in the United States in actuality. If Winston Churchill or Joseph Stalin or our Latin American neighbors wish to understand how deeply imbedded is the fundamental essence of American democracy, let them read this latest book by Claude Bowers.

More than any other single individual Jefferson is the prophet and the architect of New World democracy. The British democracy in the time of Jefferson was as restricted in its vision and as narrow in its application as the Jewish religion in the time of King David. Jefferson broke the bonds of an established aristocracy, an established church, and an established ignorance. He believed in the potentialities of black men and Indians as well as of white men. Just as the Apostle Paul was driven by the universal implications of the Christian religion, so Jefferson was driven by the universal implications of Anglo-Saxon democracy.

Prophets and Founding Fathers always seem strangely cold, distant, and inhuman. This circumstance is remedied so far as Jefferson is concerned by Mr. Bowers's most recent book. While not as exciting as his two volumes dealing with the Hamilton controversy and Jefferson as President, this book is probably more fundamentally important. And we gain many fascinating glimpses of Jefferson as a human being during the first forty-five years of his life.

Jefferson, despite his belief in democracy, was definitely not a common man. His father had started out as a common man but had accumulated enough property to marry into an aristocratic family. And so the young man Jefferson had an abundance of opportunity to study, to play the violin, to ride horseback, to dance, and to enjoy all the social amenities, including wine and good cooking. Jefferson was never in any sense dissipated, wild, or profligate; yet we can hardly hold up to the youth of the land his first year of college at William and Mary as one which they should imitate. Neither can we suggest that our young people should literally study their eyes out as Jefferson did during his later school career.

Jefferson undoubtedly felt within himself great creative power extending in many directions. Thus we see manifested at quite an early age an intense yet practical interest in science, in the arts, in agriculture, and in graceful living. His interests were not purely intellectual or passive—he did something about them. It was as a young man, not in his old age, that he designed Monticello. As a young man he was a practical lawyer, trying more than four hundred cases a year and earning more than three thousand dollars in lawyer's fees. As a farmer he made a net income of more than two thousand dollars. Wherever he went he had an

excellent wine cellar. As seems so often to be the case with men of artistic temperament, he greatly appreciated association with women. Bowers's account of his lady friends in Paris just before the French Revolution makes most interesting reading.

It seems to me that Jefferson, a most uncommon man, sensed that every common man had in him many of the potentialities which he, Jefferson, recognized in himself. That is why the phrase, "All men are created equal," became the very core of Jefferson's being and eventually, because of Jefferson's efforts, the very core of American democracy. Believing this so strongly, he fought to make the new Virginia constitution, immediately after the Declaration of Independence, into an instrument for religious freedom, free education, and the abolition of slavery and feudalistic land-holding systems. In the most aristocratic of all the colonies Jefferson planted seed which will bear fruit as long as mankind exists.

Jefferson, because he felt in the very center of his being that the supremely important thing about government had to do with insuring to each individual the dignity of his own soul, was a great believer in freedom of all kinds. He was absent from our Constitutional Convention because he was serving as Minister to France, but when the new constitution was mailed to him he insisted by letter from France that there be added to it a bill of rights which would include among other things security for five freedoms—"freedom of religion, freedom of press, freedom from monopolies, freedom from unlawful imprisonment, and freedom from a permanent military."

It is interesting to note Jefferson's reference to "freedom from monopolies" in 1788, in view of the way in which various types of monopolists have been trying to hide behind the phrase "Jeffersonianism" and "states' rights" ever since the time of Theodore Roosevelt. Prior to the time of Theodore Roosevelt the corporations were on the whole against states' rights because they felt they had a better chance with the federal government than with the state governments. With them it has not been a matter of governmental philosophy but of expediency.

No one can read Mr. Bowers's book on "The Young Jefferson" and have any illusions as to where Jefferson himself would stand today if he had the opportunity to battle in his uncommon way for the common man against the forces of hereditary wealth, privilege, and monopoly.

There is an astonishing similarity between Jefferson and Franklin Roosevelt in many ways. I cannot help feeling that Roosevelt must have drawn more inspiration from Jefferson than from any other of our historical figures. In both are to be found the same artistic architectural bent, the same love of agriculture, the same joy in the amenities of life, the same capacity for the most careful and precise use of political power. In both also we find world-embracing statecraft. Jefferson as a young man visioned the westward expansion of our nation and the building of the Panama Canal. The im-

portance of Mr. Bowers's book is that it spells out for our young people and our friends overseas just how the young man Jefferson got that way. HENRY A. WALLACE

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

ONE OF THE BEST DISCUSSIONS of the problem of Germany and of Europe that I have come across is an essay by Hannah Arendt in the winter issue of the *Partisan Review*—because it seems to me to take account not only of the relevant facts but of the feelings, many of them contradictory, which enter into one's thinking about the subject.

For one thing it cuts under the current argument as to whether or not all Germans are bad and always have been—an argument which seems to me, for practical purposes, fruitless. Parenthetically, I was glad to find William Allan Neilson making these sensible and calm remarks in a recent issue of *Herald Tribune Books*: "Slogans such as 'There are no good Germans' not only are contrary to fact and common sense but have as their corollary the total extermination of 80,000,000 people. We all know that this is not going to happen." Those who cling to the slogan in the first sentence must admit the fact in the second. And even if the United Nations go so far as to kill off several million Nazis, there will still be some 70,000,000 Germans in the center of Europe who must live and be lived with.

It will be assumed that Miss Arendt lets the Germans off easy. On the contrary, she gives them full credit for their crimes. But she also feels that when we copy the Nazis in identifying the present behavior of Germans with German history and character we are not only deluding ourselves into believing that to crush Germany is to eradicate fascism but are also bestowing upon Hitlerism the sanction and respectability of a national tradition—which by some fantastic legerdemain must be made to establish a continuity between Immanuel Kant and Adolf Hitler. "The real trouble lies not in the German national character but rather in the disintegration of this character. . . . But a greater trouble still is this, that the man who has replaced the German—namely, the type who in sensing the danger of utter destruction decides to turn himself into a destroying force—is not confined to Germany alone." We all know, deep in our hearts, that this is true.

According to her interpretation—which was once widely accepted but has been overborne by the far more comfortable concept of the "bad German"—the breakdown of the social, economic, and political structure not only of Germany but of Europe created a vacuum out of which Hitlerism sprang. And one of its most powerful instruments was a new sort of lie. As she puts it, the Nazis "lied the truth." Their answer to the truth that the class structure of European society could no longer function was "the lie of *Volksgemeinschaft*, based on complicity in crime and ruled by a bureaucracy of gangsters. The declassified [in all countries] could sympathize with this answer. And the truth of the decline of the national state was answered by the famous lie of the New Order in Europe, which debased peoples and prepared them for extermination."

"The gullibility of the European peoples—who in so many cases let the Nazis into their countries because the Nazi lies alluded to certain fundamental truths—has cost them an enormous price. But they have learned at least one great lesson: that none of the old forces which produced the maelstrom of the vacuum is so terrible as the new force which springs from this maelstrom and whose aim is to organize people according to the law of the maelstrom—which is destruction itself."

As proof that the Europeans have learned a great lesson she points out that the resistance movements are non-national in character. Their slogan is simply "Europe." This being so, they are not interested in the German problem as it is presented by the experts but only as it is part and parcel of the European problem. There is in Europe intense political hatred for fascists, collaborationists, and their like, of no matter what nationality. She asserts that there is little hatred of Germans as Germans. This seems hard to believe, but she cites telling evidence from the resistance in various countries. The most striking is the statement of Georges Bidault, former chief of the French resistance and now Foreign Minister, who spoke these words to wounded German soldiers immediately after the liberation of Paris: "German soldiers, I am the chief of the resistance. I have come to wish you good health. May you soon find yourselves in a free Germany and a free Europe." After all, she says, the European resistance "has in many instances fought side by side with German anti-fascists"—whom we find it convenient to forget; and she quotes the testimony of a French officer as to the "active help of German soldiers and workers" inside Germany in making possible some contact between French prisoners of war and the French underground.

The Dutch, the Poles, the Norwegians, and the French agree that German heavy industry must be nationalized—Europeanized would seem to be a more accurate word—that the Junkers and industrialists must be liquidated as social classes. There must be complete disarmament and control of industrial output. But they are against the destruction of German industry, lest half of Europe starve; they fear the transfer of populations lest it prolong chaos and reproduce the old dangers of economic imbalance and the secret rebuilding of an industrial war machine. One may imagine that they look upon proposals for forced labor and transported industry with the same misgivings. They are, moreover, aware of the danger of falling into the Nazi error of racism; and they repudiate the all-enveloping state.

One French program calls for the combining in a single economic system, without changing national boundaries, of the industrial regions of western Germany, the Ruhr, the Saar, the Rhineland, and Westphalia with the industrial regions of eastern France and Belgium. And in France also it has even been observed that "essential restrictions on German sovereignty can be envisaged without difficulty only if all the states likewise accept significant limitations on their own sovereignty."

Left to themselves and given luck, the resistance movements would, in a word, establish a socialist democratic United States of Europe, including Germany as an integrated part. But they are not being left to themselves. The governments in exile, largely as a result of having been in exile, lag far behind the resistance movements both in understanding

and in policy. They are still preoccupied with territory and colonies and national glory. As for the Big Three, they have their own fish to fry.

Miss Arendt feels that the return of the governments in exile may quickly put a stop to the new feeling of European solidarity. But she makes a very interesting analysis of the special position of De Gaulle, whom she describes as a nationalist, not of yesterday, but of day before yesterday. For him the war is really a national and not an ideological conflict. By the same token he is a true, if old-fashioned, patriot. This meant that he was incapable of being a traitor. And "his patriotism is so deeply rooted in the popular will that the resistance, that is, the people, was able to support and influence his policies." On this score she notes, for instance, that though De Gaulle, in exile, had demanded annexation of the Rhineland, he stated soon after his return to Paris that all France wanted was an active share in its occupation. On the other hand, it must be noted that his opposition to fundamental economic changes in France is increasing, not diminishing, despite popular pressure for change. Is this the result of Big Three influence coinciding with his own conservative inclinations?

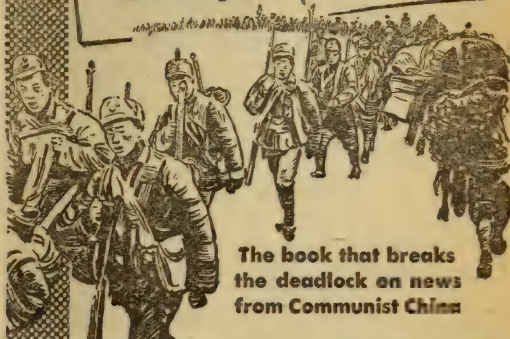
What Miss Arendt maintains, in short, is that nationalism is on the wane among the peoples of Western Europe and that a federated Europe is waiting to be born; that in such a federation the German people would become healthy and, on the political side, finally catch up with the rest of Western democratic Europe; and that the real problem today is how to prevent the Big Three and their dependents, the governments in exile, from smothering the new Europe under the blankets of power politics and attempts to restore the status quo.

I think it makes sense.

VOSKOVEC AND WERICH, who take the parts of Trinculo and Stephano in the current production of "The Tempest," and are, to my mind, the best part of the show, are probably the only comedians who may also be described as contributors to *The Nation*. As the program notes inform us, they have been mainly occupied since their arrival in this country in broadcasting to Czechoslovakia through the OWI. They write their own scripts, of course, and *The Nation* printed one of them two years ago.

FRANCE AMERIQUE, one of the French newspapers published here, reports that the first number of the magazine which will replace the defunct *Nouvelle Revue Française* will appear as soon as Jean Paul Sartre returns to Paris from his visit to the United States—in about three weeks. It is to be called *Les Temps Modernes*, not *La Condition Humaine* as was first planned. Sartre, so the report goes, will contribute an important manifesto under the title "Pour une littérature engagée." *France Amérique* wonders whether this means "the crumbling of the last ivory towers," and answers, "Perhaps." One can understand why the writers of France are not in a mood to look kindly on ivory towers. The great question is when is an ivory tower not an ivory tower. So often the so-called ivory tower turns out to be not only firmly "engagé" but the only structure that survives when the guns are silent.

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## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Falstaff and Doll Common

IT IS FREQUENTLY TAKEN FOR GRANTED by otherwise cautious scholars that the supreme greatness of Shakespeare was already recognized in the seventeenth century. In "Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared" (University of Chicago Press, two volumes, \$7.50) Professor Gerald Eades Bentley presents the result of the most thorough objective inquiry ever made into the question he investigates, and comes up with somewhat surprising results. Having first collected a considerable number of allusions to both dramatists overlooked in the various existing "allusion books," he adds them to the corpus, discards all references which are doubtful or of no significance to this inquiry, and then classifies those which remain—more than fourteen hundred allusions to Shakespeare, more than eighteen hundred to Jonson—into such groups as "passages in which the name of the dramatist is used alone as a standard of poetic or dramatic greatness," "literary references to a character in the works of Shakespeare or Jonson," and so on. In nearly all the twenty different classes recognized, the references to Jonson are more numerous than those to Shakespeare, and Mr. Bentley's conclusion that "to writers of the seventeenth century Jonson was better known and more highly respected than Shakespeare" seems justified. The phrase "to writers" is very important, since writers would be prejudiced in favor of a man universally admitted to be more learned and "correct" than his rival, and it is highly significant that the one very important class of allusions in which references to the work of Shakespeare are strikingly more numerous than references to that of Jonson is the class in which there is a literary reference to a character in a play. The 696 such references to Shakespearean characters contrast strikingly with the 320 to characters from Jonson's dramatic works. It looks, in other words, as though the seventeenth-century writers who had intellectually convinced themselves of Jonson's superiority unconsciously betrayed the fact that even to them Shakespeare's personages were the more memorable. Falstaff, is mentioned nearly four times as often as his nearest rival, Brutus, and nearly five times as often as Hamlet, who comes next. And all three of these appear more often than does Doll Common, who heads the list of Ben Jonson's characters.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

### A Momentous Decade

THE EIGHTEEN-EIGHTIES in England were the years when, according to your point of view, the termites of collectivism started to undermine the economic structure or the warm sun of socialism began to break up the *laissez faire* icefield. Winston Churchill, a nostalgic historian, has written of the period as "the end of an epoch"; Helen Merrell Lynd in "England in the Eighteen-Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom" (Oxford, \$4.50) emphasizes its importance as the beginning of a new social era.

Although she carefully refrains from overstressing the

point, Mrs. Lynd was obviously attracted to this decade in England because of the parallels it affords with that of the nineteen-thirties in America. It was an age when economic progress, which had enriched the middle classes and kept the workers buoyed with hope, no longer appeared automatic. It was an age of agricultural and industrial depression accentuated by the challenge to Britain's muscle-bound monopolies offered by the rising industries of America and Germany. It was an age when the newly enfranchised workers began to be aware of their political and industrial power and to exercise it to improve their conditions. "The poor" could no longer be "kept in their places"; they were becoming "the people," and both the traditional parties were forced to compete for their votes. Willy-nilly, the "upper classes" could no longer ignore such problems as housing, sweating, and unemployment—the word was first used in 1888.

Being a sociologist as well as a historian, Mrs. Lynd is concerned not only with what happened but with why it happened. "How did people more generally become aware of the basic discrepancy between social fact and social theory?" she asks, and seeking an answer she traces the changes in social values in many fields—politics, organized labor, religion, education. The new ideas did not come with a burst of enlightenment, but gradually taking hold, they laid the foundation for the "welfare state" which today is expressed by Beveridge schemes and plans for full employment. Now as in the eighties, Mrs. Lynd points out, we are still stating the problem of freedom negatively: we are seeking freedom from want, freedom from ignorance. The social structure which will provide freedom for the full realization of human potentialities is yet to be built.

In writing this book Mrs. Lynd has obviously mined assiduously a mountainous mass of memoirs, Blue Books, and reports of Royal Commissions, and her labor has been rewarded by many quotable nuggets of pure gold. Better still, she has written so well and organized her material with such skill that her book is as readable as it is scholarly.

KEITH HUTCHISON

### Croce Nods

BENEDETTO CROCE'S "Politics and Morals" (Philosophical Library, \$3) is something of a pot-boiler. Even a pot-boiler by a great master may deserve respect, for some of the wisdom of the master is almost bound to seep into even his most casual work. This new volume by Croce contains passages in which the precision and profundity of a great mind are quite apparent. Croce understands both the moral basis of the political order and the difficulty of equating political standards too simply with moral ones. Yet the work is on the whole slight.

Croce is concerned to defend the liberal tradition against both the authoritarianism of the right and the totalitarianism of the left. He defines liberalism as the capacity to "remain perpetually alive, and able to state and solve the problems that arise ad infinitum in life, and able to develop dogmas perpetually without ever nullifying them but making them always deeper and larger." Curiously enough, he derives political liberalism from philosophical idealism and declares that "naturalism, positivism, and scientific principles" are "all

associated with authoritarian concepts or lead to them." There may be a larger measure of truth in this accusation than many a modern liberal is able to realize, but as a general proposition it seems almost as perverse as the belief that philosophical idealism is the father of political liberalism.

Croce believes in the theory of "free enterprise" as a general basis for the democratic community, but he also believes that "if the theory is changed from a legitimate economic principle to an illegitimate ethical theory, to a hedonistic and utilitarian morality," it sows confusion in politics. Whether modern technical developments give laissez faire theories the validity, even in the economic realm, which Croce ascribes to them is a question that cannot be settled by the *obiter dicta* of even a great philosopher.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## Something Wrong Here

IT IS A STRANGE PHENOMENON that the war now being fought so bitterly against Japan seems destined to result in peace terms that will not greatly change the regime that plotted Pearl Harbor. Wilfrid Fleisher tells us that the terms sketched in his "What to Do with Japan" (Doubleday Doran, \$2) are likely to constitute "the sort of peace we may expect." It will be a peace, he says, that will keep the emperor system, the big monopolists, the landlords, and the bureaucrats. The only group omitted is the militarists, but from this congenial "old crowd" it may be taken for granted that even they will not long be absent. And so one is forced to ask whether the "tough" disarmament provisions that make up the rest of Fleisher's plan will be adequate. A peace of this sort will return the Japanese people to their former servitude to their old despotic ruling groups. It will condemn to the hangman's noose those Japanese who may be expected to struggle for a democratically organized society in the aftermath of defeat. To put it very bluntly, we shall be deliberately seeing to it that the people of Japan are not permitted to have the democracy for which we are fighting. Somehow, one feels, there is something wrong here; this is not a sound basis for a lasting peace with Japan, nor does it square with our professed war aims.

T. A. B.

## Asia Tomorrow

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ASIA in the world of tomorrow is a subject on which most Americans have done far too little thinking and planning. But it is doubtful whether anyone can read Owen Lattimore's challenging "Solution in Asia" (Little, Brown and Company, Atlantic Monthly Press Book, \$2) without a sober appreciation of the critical importance of that area in the post-war world. Mr. Lattimore makes it clear that our pre-war policies in the Far East were governed by an extraordinary hodge-podge of misinformation and smug illusions. We consistently underestimated Asia's revolutionary movements and stubbornly closed our eyes to the significance of the Russian revolution to millions of Orientals. We misread the plain implications of Japan's pan-Asiatic movement and rested comfortably in the assurance that our naval superiority would protect us. When Japan attacked China, we were sure that it was merely a local quarrel with Chiang Kai-shek; no one seemed to realize that the attack was pri-

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marily an attempt to eliminate American and British influence in the Far East.

As a protection against similar errors in the future, Mr. Lattimore makes a penetrating analysis of the Chinese internal situation. He points out that the Kuomintang has deteriorated from a coalition party embodying most of the elements in Chinese society to a relatively narrow one based on landlord support, while the Communists have broadened their basis of support to include not only peasants but a considerable number of landlords, small business men, and intellectuals. The solution of the Chinese situation, he suggests, depends on close collaboration among the British, American, and Soviet governments to coordinate military and economic policy, and on encouragement of democratic reforms. He warns against isolating the problem of the Communist troops, pointing out that a considerable part of the so-called National Army is in fact a Kuomintang Party army and should be treated on the same basis as the Communist army. Although the book was written weeks before the Crimea Conference, it is essentially a challenge to adapt the principles and policies of Yalta to the Pacific, to recognize the tremendous role that Russia is bound to play in the post-war world in Asia as well as in Europe, and, above all, to be sensitive to the newly awakened aspirations and ambitions of the common peoples of this great section of the earth.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

## FICTION IN REVIEW

### Mr. Wescott's War Work

**B**ECAUSE Glenway Wescott's new novel, "Apartment in Athens" (Harper, \$2.50), is written with a specific political purpose—to increase our hatred of Germans and warn us against trusting them even if they should begin to act better—I suppose that any response to it is in large part a response to this central idea; and perhaps, therefore, I should start by making clear my own stand on a controversial subject. Not that I cherish my confusions, but I publish them in order to feel free to discuss "Apartment in Athens" without reference to a hidden political point of view. On the one hand, then, I do not agree with my friends who think of Germany as simply a stage of historical development and of the German people as without special responsibility for the outrages of Nazism; I think that nations have temperaments or characters among which we can choose by a moral standard. On the other hand, I have never seen a statement of the case against the German people—as opposed to the Nazis—which didn't make me as uncomfortable about the condemner as about the condemned.

Of course, the fact that Mr. Wescott's novel suggests the need for this kind of preface to a review strikes me in itself as a sad commentary on the book. We don't expect a writer of Mr. Wescott's caliber to use his talents in the service of propaganda, and I especially didn't expect him to propagate hatred. To the writer of real creative power there is usually something deeply antipathetic in the act of subordinating free creativity to indoctrination, and where there is as much critical awareness of style as in all of Mr. Wescott's work,

I would have expected—though, I now see, mistakenly—to find enough critical awareness of self to save an author from guilty gestures. We are told that Mr. Wescott calls "Apartment in Athens" his war work. It is the kind of war work we commonly look for, not at the head or heart of intellectual and artistic life, but at its fringes, where conscience seems to exist only to be uneasy.

I have read dozens of anti-Nazi novels, set either within Germany itself or, like "Apartment in Athens," in a German-occupied country. Except for its distinction of prose which, through at least the first half of the book, keeps promising that this will be a disinterested creative effort, and except for its wonderful power to evoke physical fact, Mr. Wescott's novel doesn't in any important sense transcend this popular and bad category of fiction. There is not a single political-moral insight in "Apartment in Athens," not a new political perception, such as we have the right to demand from a serious novelist. Teaching us to hate, a questionable activity at best, it doesn't teach us to hate any more intelligently than we might be taught by any writers'-war-board hack. I even find something offensive, or at least wry, in the fact that Mr. Wescott's novel is set in Greece instead of Czechoslovakia or Norway. For although you may need only passion and four walls to make a drama, you need more than passion, four walls, and a glimpse of the Acropolis to give a drama classic dimensions.

In outline the story of "Apartment in Athens" is simple. The time is after the occupation. A German officer, Captain Kalter, has been billeted on the Helianos family—Mr. and Mrs. Helianos and their two children. At first only worn and humiliated by their service to Captain Kalter, gradually Mr. and Mrs. Helianos begin to experience a certain gratification in their subservient role. They are the type for conciliation: before the war Mr. Helianos had been a liberal editor; he loves to think and talk; and Mrs. Helianos is sickly and passive. Then Kalter goes home on leave and in Germany learns that his wife and sons have died in the war. Sufficiently demoralized by this blow to be softened in his attitude toward the Helianos family, Kalter tempts Mr. Helianos to speak a sentence in blame of Hitler and Mussolini. This is the point at which Mr. Wescott discloses the message of his novel: for all his apparent softness, Kalter shows himself to be deeply unregenerate. He has Helianos arrested for the insult to his Führer and even from beyond the grave, after he has shot himself, continues to teach the Helianos family the price they pay for supposing that a German is human when he appears human. The book ends with a series of letters from the imprisoned Greek to his wife, exhorting her to take this moral to heart, indeed, to see that a cousin in the underground gets to America with his urgent warning.

This is the broad substance of Mr. Wescott's novel. It is not a book of action so much as a thickly woven psychological study. But its psychology is chiefly the kind of psychopathological embroidery that current fiction, especially current anti-Nazi fiction, goes in for so lavishly: for instance, a good deal of space is devoted to the two Helianos children—Leda, who has been completely stupefied by her premature vision of slaughter, and Alex, a half-stupid, half-competent young boy whose mind has also been sickened by exposure to brutal-

ity. (Yet the fact that at the end of the book Mrs. Helianos dedicates this poor starveling to the underground is presented as a proper act of maternal fortitude.) However, there is also the detailed investigation of the relation between Helianos and his wife as it changes under the strain of Kalter's powerful presence: some of these domestic scenes are created with an almost unbearable naturalism. These are the moments in which Mr. Wescott is at his most gifted, giving us a glimpse of the talent which signalized even a book that was not entirely successful, his "The Pilgrim Hawk" of a few years ago.

I opened this review with a statement of my own position on the German question. It is a middle and, if you will, muddled position; it doesn't tell us what kind of peace to make with Germany. But it seems to me that as against the "practical" politics of Mr. Wescott's book, it allows for rather more realism. A novel about occupied Greece, "Apartment in Athens" purports to look to the future fate not only of Greece itself but of the other small countries of Europe, in fact, of the rest of the world. It was written not very long ago, and yet, in what was probably the interim between its composition and its publication, consider what actually happened in Athens. Greece was liberated from its German conquerors, but what part of a permanent solution of its political problems did this constitute? In the light of the very recent history of the very country in which Mr. Wescott sets his novel, nothing, it seems to me, could be less practical than to delude ourselves that the solution of the problems of Europe after this war hinges solely on the degree of our distrust of Germany. Whatever our need for realism about the Germans, if we are not going to see the whole political forest for this particular thicket, we are not only going to have bad novels in the post-war world, we are going to have a bad post-war world.

DIANA TRILLING

## CONTRIBUTORS

ANITA BRENNER grew up in Mexico and has written several books about it, of which the most recent is "The Wind That Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution 1910-1942," with 184 historical photographs assembled by George B. Leighton.

KEITH HUTCHISON, an associate editor of *The Nation*, has recently returned from a visit to England.

MICHAEL CLARK was for two years *The Nation's* accredited correspondent in North Africa and the Middle East.

HENRY A. WALLACE'S public career is sufficiently well known to need no recounting here. Among his books are "The Century of the Commn Man" and the forthcoming "Sixty Million Jobs," to be published at the end of April.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is Brander Matthews Professor of Dramatic Literature at Columbia University. In addition to the recently published "Samuel Johnson" he is the author of "Comedy and Conscience After the Restoration" and "The American Drama Since 1918."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, is chairman of the Union for Democratic Action. Among his books are "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness," "The Nature and Destiny of Man," and "Christianity and Power Politics."

MAXWELL S. STEWART, an associate editor of *The Nation*, lived in China for six years. He is a member of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations and author of "War-Time China," published under the institute's auspices.

## MOTION PICTURE

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# Art

CLEMENT  
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FOUR or five pictures at Arnold Friedman's show at the Marquie Gallery (through March 24) establish him as one of the strongest and most original landscapists we have. A member chronologically of John Sloan's generation, Friedman has had trouble finding himself—he earned his living as a post-office clerk—and only lately, being able to devote all his time to painting, has he discovered his true vein—the atmospheric landscape. Perhaps this delay accounts for the unevenness of his work, which even today, like faulted strata that have broken through to the surface, exhibits simultaneously almost every phase of his past. Thus his genre scenes remind one poignantly of the American impressionist-realist school of the early century: Sloan, Glackens, and their fellows—who produced what in my opinion still remains the best American painting of our time. Details in other pictures are reminiscent of later developments. Only in his landscapes does Friedman arrive at himself.

Like most contemporary landscape painters of any merit, Friedman works with the inheritance left by impressionism and Cézanne, eschewing values for frank color and controlling space by warms and cools rather than by darks and lights. His preference for the simple, rectilinear composition is offset, as was the case with Pissarro too, by his success in intensifying surface and texture. He paints best with the palette knife, scumbling colors one over the other, and using very little medium. The result is complex, ripe, wistful, atmospheric, and at the same time solid and monumental.

None of this gives any idea of Friedman's originality. He is possibly the only really original landscapist left in this country after Marin. His originality is the expression of a pure, honest, serious, and independent personality rather than of a method. A character to which all chic and facility are foreign yields an absolute contribution—which is even greater than most of those who admire his art realize. Friedman has managed to make the landscape—hardly the typical genre of our age—express something of this age's abiding emotions: the sad remoteness of nature, the anonymity of cities, and the permanence of art. Here for the first time the real pessimism of suburban life comes through in painting.

Friedman will paint even better in the future, ironing out inconsistencies in quality and receiving, I feel sure, a recognition delayed so far only by the current tendency to identify art with chichi. The irony in the note which he himself wrote for his catalogue is justified, but not its humility.

# Films

JAMES  
AGEE

IN A newsreel theater not long ago I saw a version of the Crimea Conference which was so well photographed and so quietly, sensitively, leisuredly cut that I wished I might know whose work, or even which company's, it was. It had a feeling for weather and light and space, for the proper insertion of side detail, and for personalities and their proper timing, progression, and juxtaposition, which I am tempted to compare with the clean-water physical absoluteness of Tolstoy's writing. Actually, there was nothing about it of that grand order except in the event, even so much of it—a good deal—as one could read in glimpses of the faces; the way it was handled by camera men and cutters was merely right, which is a rarity and somewhere near a God's plenty. I would like especially to suggest that the shots of President Roosevelt, which I thought extremely moving, may turn out to be the most crucial and revealing portraits of him we are ever likely to get.

The other current movies are so tired-out and bleak that I can hardly write of them. "Hotel Berlin," the most heavily routine of Warner Brothers' political melodramas, is stuffed with sympathetic veterans like Peter Lorre and Henry Daniell and George Coulouris and Raymond Massey, and with sympathetic and understandably more eager young people like Andrea King and Faye Emerson and Kurt Kreuger, but the only thing that had even a chance for any pure quality was a bit by Helene Thimig. "Thunderhead, Son of Flicka" has some beautiful horses, especially a heart-stopping, blue-eyed, pure-white stallion whom I would love to see in any adequately fierce movie about Pegasus or the Houyhnhnms or, for that matter, in any really appreciative story about plain horses. This is not such a story. Whenever the horses are busy, it is pleasant to look at; but so are moving clouds, or water, without much credit to their

recorder. The picture gets very little even out of the mild drama it allows itself; nothing whatever of the power and glory there could be in a properly unhuman film about wild and half-wild animals.

Two pictures that I can recommend you are unlikely to get a chance to see—even, I'm afraid, if you live within reach of the small "art" theaters which alone handle nearly all great or even half-good films, along with so much false art and simple trash. "Break the News" was made in England by René Clair, with Jack Buchanan and Maurice Chevalier. It isn't at all on the level with those Clair films of which the mere recall can bring me tears of admiration and of a detached sort of pride; but it is full of ease and fun and extravagant but unstrained irony, enjoyable of themselves, and worth watching too because they so clearly indicate that, though England was not a good place for Clair to work, it was not, like this country, a hell on earth. "I Met a Murderer" interests me particularly because I am forced more and more to the narrow, dismal hope that if good movies are to be made any more at all, in this country anyhow, they will have to be made on shoestrings, far outside the industry, and very likely by amateurs or at best semi-professionals. This one was made in England, several years ago; the only person involved in it whose name I know is the actor James Mason. An unpretentious murder story including a romance and a chase, and strongly influenced by Hitchcock, it seems obviously to have been made in the hope that it could get commercial distribution. And that on the whole I trust, believing that most though not all good films get much of their vitality and resonance by being designed for a broad mixed audience, whether or not they turn out to satisfy such an audience. Though it tries almost too hard for its own artistic good—and often with remarkable smoothness—to look "professional," the picture is streaked with enough amateurishness to pretty well guarantee its commercial failure. There are also some downright poor things in it, some undigested-arty, others catchpenny flops. Often, too, when it might be very exciting—as when the hunt for the killer and the hunt for a fox interinvolve—the picture fails in most of those establishments of casual reality, and oblique cutting-edges of ironic or sensuous detail, by which Hitchcock, for instance, would have absolved or even transfigured and reinforced the over-

obviousness of the parallel. In such passages I have to admit that any professional would have got it by the audience better than any amateur, though probably more empty; and that only a thorough artist with a thorough professional training could really hope to make it come right.

Yet this is one of the fairly few movies I have seen in years in which it was clear that its makers knew and cared and in general had lively, sensible ideas how each shot should follow the next, and what in the way of emotion, atmosphere, observation, and psychological weight and progression each shot and each group of shots should contain. I also thought it graceful, gallant, resourceful, and in every way satisfying and encouraging in its broken-field run through the problems of cost. It is certainly not a great or even a memorably good movie, and in any ultimate sense I doubt that it was particularly worth the trouble to make: except that every such difficult undertaking, even half so well planned and carried out, seems of itself a worthier and more heartening achievement than any save the best films made under whatever circumstances. Without all these special prejudices in its favor, for that matter, I think it better and more enjoyable than most studio pictures.

B. H. Haggin's column on Music will appear as usual next week.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### Prejudice Takes a Licking

*Dear Sirs:* I have read Dorothy Baruch's moving article, *Sleep Comes Hard*, in *The Nation* for January 27 and found particular interest in her account of how the Maxwell family was driven from a white community by ostracism, slander, and threats of violence. I'd like to say that it doesn't have to be that way. Prejudice can be licked. We did it in our own neighborhood. Perhaps the case of the Johnsons of West Hollywood and their victory can be taken as a pattern for similar victories in other communities. The backbone of the pattern is the militant decency of most people once they are informed, aroused, and organized.

The Johnsons—that isn't their real name—are a Negro family, and they couldn't find a place to live at any price. Finally they bought a house in our district, which is white, and moved in. Their next-door neighbors were outraged, drew up a petition, and began a campaign among the whites to force the Johnsons to vacate. The bigots were off to a flying start. But that was as far as they got. As they circulated their petition they were astonished and dismayed to find that people refused to sign it. The Johnsons still live in their new home, and they will continue to stay there. They have not been ostracized, and they are becoming part of the life of the community.

The Johnsons fared better than the Maxwells, not because we have fewer bigots in our district or are in any way unusual, but simply because neighborhood liberal elements were already geared to fight. This is the way we did it. Just before the last election a group of us had formed the West Hollywood Committee to help reelect Roosevelt and to further democracy. After election we enlarged our membership and tried to work at being responsible citizens—we studied local, state, national, and international affairs, formed investigating and study groups, and made our wishes known to our legislators in Sacramento and Washington.

When the Johnson incident occurred, we were prepared. Our first step was to welcome the Johnsons and assure them of our support and friendship. They were asked to join our club and did so. Next we studied the legal aspects of the case and conducted a whirlwind house-

to-house campaign against the petition being circulated by the bigots. Members spoke to non-member friends, who were also pressed into the fight. Naturally not everyone was with us, but the decent people rallied to the cause and we were able to defeat the petition. As a result the Johnsons have a home, West Hollywood has acquired another worth-while family, and the practicing democrats are welded together more firmly than ever by this common experience.

This may be a small victory, but a million similar victories would be a good start toward reclaiming the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment from the junk pile. That is why, while I share Miss Baruch's bitterness at the plight of the Negro, I can by no means accept her despairing view of the problem.

JARMILA MARTON  
West Hollywood, Cal., February 23

### A Welcome Elimination

*Dear Sirs:* After noting the reference in the February 10 issue of *The Nation* to the Gideons and the requirement of that organization that any member be white, I wrote the secretary. You will be interested to know that I received a letter from him dated February 20 in which he says: "I am pleased to inclose a copy of the application blank which we are now using, and you will note the word 'white' has been eliminated therefrom." *The Nation* seems to have become a Christian evangelist.

G. BROMLEY OXNAM,  
Bishop of the Methodist Church  
New York, February 26

### Arms and the Peace

*Dear Sirs:* The chief argument in favor of the enactment of peace-time military training and conscription in the United States advanced by Irving Lipkowitz in his article in the March 3 issue is that it will give us a citizen rather than a professional army.

The assumption on which Mr. Lipkowitz and others base their thesis is an ominous one and requires careful thought. We must be prepared to maintain a much bigger peace-time military establishment than before because "no matter what we say or do within our own country, the world is going to have an armed peace for some years to come."



### LANGUAGE IS POWER

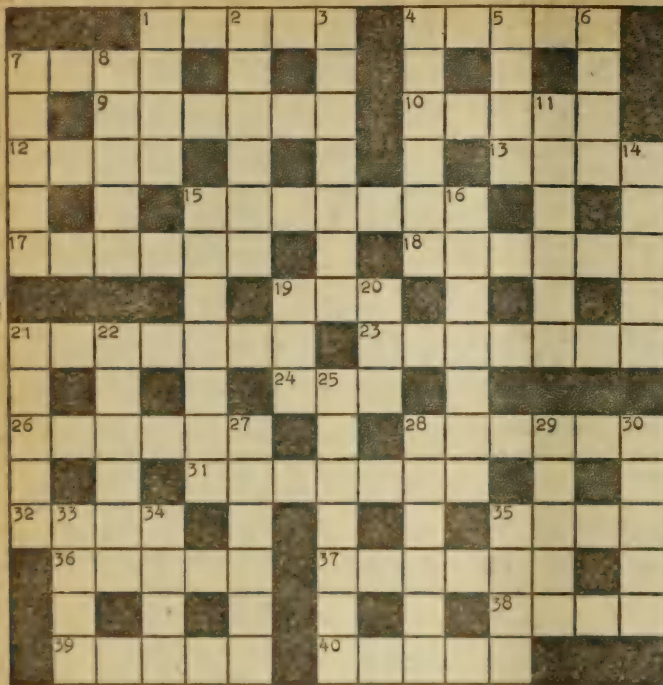
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 107 by JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Of Dido's city
- 4 Two are better than one—except when you have a headache
- 7 Does such knowledge show that a scholar is ready to be plucked?
- 9 Disproves little more than a picturesque enigma
- 10 Treves
- 12 Flying castle
- 13 Usually 4 lbs. in every 104
- 15 A sort of "Who's Who" of the British peerage (two words, 3 & 4)
- 17 German ballads
- 18 A big punch isn't much good without this
- 19 Perhaps you have one to grind?
- 21 Drug popular with insomniacs
- 23 They evidently don't need 21 Across
- 24 Every schoolboy has used this crib
- 26 Not right angle, stupid!
- 28 Only Basques and Scots are supposed to know how to wear them
- 31 Penetrated
- 32 This maintained four men, according to Goldsmith, ere England's griefs began
- 35 A bad wind for anglers
- 36 Series of six numbers (though we can see ten in it!)
- 37 "Loveliest village of the plain" (Goldsmith)
- 38 He made his subjects pay through the nose
- 39 The sun is complete
- 40 Does your pronunciation of this English county suggest pain or cards to you?

## DOWN

- 1 Keep up
- 2 A sexless creature, the honey-bee
- 3 Has yours beautiful eyes? Moliere's had
- 4 Vessel on fire? (hyphen, 3-3)

- 5 Not bad, I think, for a little 'un (hidden)
- 6 As a gun
- 7 "Not ----- sights alone, but ----- sounds, exhilarate the spirit"
- 8 Inclined but flat
- 11 Emblem of purity worn by judges
- 14 This is not what the Spanish and Portuguese call this river
- 15 A sign of indigestion, perhaps (two words, 3 and 4)
- 16 Congenial as a good-natured Russian
- 19 Surprize
- 20 A month on it is quite a fair time
- 21 A musician puts this flower against his neck
- 22 Good soldiers never retreat; they -----
- 25 It may be humbug to you; it is not to the druggist
- 27 Lad One coming up!
- 28 One half of this African stock is just like the rest
- 29 South African antelope found in part of England
- 30 Armchairs covered with this are intended to be
- 33 A hundred strike—for a scrap of paper!
- 34 No one's taken in by it
- 35 He will be sore if you stand him on his head!

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 106

ACROSS:—1 SLEEP; 4 IDRIS; 7 UPLANDS; 10 FUSIL; 11 MAGOG; 12 LEVITES; 13 AWLS; 14 FLAT; 15 ATHOS; 20 AWEARY; 21 NOBODY; 22 GILDEON; 24 ISKIMO; 25 TORCA; 26 BEER; 28 GUYS; 31 ENGIRDS; 32 BOGUS; 34 ADAIR; 35 MOTTEUX; 36 ONCE; 27 EAT UP.

DOWN:—1 SOPHIA; 2 EDSSEL; 3 PULL; 4 ISMS; 5 REGAL; 6 SIGHT; 8 LEVITY; 9 NATION; 14 WRANGLE; 15 SLENDER; 16 FOOLING; 17 ANYBODY; 18 ARGOT; 19 SOUSA; 23 NOUGAT; 24 ECARTE; 26 BAHOO; 27 ELGIN; 29 UNAPT; 30 SYRUP; 31 ESME; 32 SAXE.

Liberals are going to have to get over "their traditional antipathy to all things military," an antipathy of which we used to boast and which was largely responsible for bringing millions of immigrants from lands burdened with conscription to "free America."

To some of us it seems odd that under a system of "collective security" in which nations are going to pool their resources to achieve an "enforceable peace," all of them have to have bigger military establishments than before.

Harry Hopkins, who probably speaks with more authority than Mr. Lipkowitz, lays bare the real difficulty with admirable frankness in his article on the same theme in the March issue of the *American*: "We must accept a new and tough concept in world affairs. . . . America's heart and mind will work intensively day and night to keep the world in peace. But that isn't enough. We can't take a chance. When this war ends, we must immediately prepare to defend ourselves." There is to be an organization to keep the peace, but we can't depend on it; we have to rely on our own defense, hence conscription. Surely no one in his senses thinks other powers will not follow the same plan. This means an armament race of unprecedented magnitude. All such arguments as those we are discussing are escape mechanisms, evasions of the proposition that we can have world organization and genuine collective security or we can have huge national military establishments and an armament race; we can't have both.

Secondly, Mr. Lipkowitz does not deal with the question how large a professional standing army will be needed to train and—in this age of super-mechanized warfare—to supplement the conscript "civilian" forces. The *Army and Navy Journal* on September 9, 1944, remarked that "without a professional army of sufficient proportions, the large civilian reserve . . . would lose a great deal of its effectiveness." Lieutenant General Hugh A. Drum, writing in *American Defense*, July, 1944, presented a theoretical arrangement of figures for a military system based on universal training and allocated a million men to the standing forces of army, navy, and air. Until this and other points are cleared up, how do we know that it is *either* conscription or a large professional establishment and not rather both?

A. J. MUSTE, Executive Secretary,  
Fellowship of Reconciliation

New York, March 5

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

GENERAL PATTON'S LATEST BREAK-THROUGH, this time across the Moselle west of Coblenz, spells the end of the last German holdings on the left bank of the Rhine, and the early expulsion of the enemy from his rich Saar and Palatinate territories. The break over the Moselle was a masterful stroke, rendering the southern portion of the Siegfried Line useless and a quick withdrawal from it imperative. As this is written—Monday morning—Patton's tanks have already advanced through Bad Kreuznach and Bingen on their way to Mainz, but the Germans are still resisting the Seventh Army's offensive, the southern arm of the big envelopment. The final bag of prisoners in this action will never be as big as the premature newspaper headlines, but if Patton maintains enough speed to cut off some more Rhine crossings he may considerably reduce the number of German effectives in the west. This is still the Allies' primary objective; it is still the only way to end the war. The effects of this process of attrition are already apparent in the furious scramble of the German high command to move troops north, south, and back again in an effort to meet each new thrust, and in the failure to mount a major counter-offensive against the Remagen bridgehead. General Eisenhower is taking maximum advantage of his increasing numerical superiority by this Russian-proved strategy of hitting several sectors one after another; and it is good generalship, not just numerical superiority, which has rolled the enemy back thus far in recent weeks. Meanwhile, the build-up of strength for the major Rhine crossing and for the break-out from the Russians' Oder bridgehead continues. The man-power to meet these onrushing contingencies is hardly to be found within the Reich today; yet the Germans continue to counter-attack the Russians in the Lake Balaton region, and to maintain twenty-five divisions in Italy. The only plausible explanation is that Hitler values Berlin and the North German plain less highly than the mountainous region of southern Germany and Austria, which these outlying troops are defending so bitterly. The Rhine break-through and the fall of Berlin will certainly spell the beginning of the end, but they will not necessarily spell the end itself.

★

SOME OF THAT MUCH-DESIRED MAN-POWER IS still holed up in the French Atlantic ports. Those who like to think of Franco as a potential friend should be interested in Ed Murrow's report from Paris Sunday that Allied aircraft recently sank six Spanish vessels attempting to run supplies in to these garrisons.

THE FIVE GREAT INCENDIARY ATTACKS ON Japan's chief cities are proof enough that the B-29 has been whipped into fighting form in a remarkably short time, fit to take its place as one of the most powerful weapons of the war. Flying out three hundred strong, the Superfortresses from the hard-won Marianas bases attacked Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya again. At least twenty-nine square miles of the four cities were burned out in the first four attacks, which makes the A. A. F.'s insistence that these were "precision" raids a little puzzling. More precise aiming is certainly possible from 5,000 feet than from 25,000 to 30,000, the altitude of earlier B-29 attacks, and the planes went in singly so the bombardiers could get the best run on their targets; but the use of the fearsome gasoline-jell M-69 incendiary in such large clusters can do nothing less than devastate a large area. (The bomb weighs six pounds, burns for eight to ten minutes at above 3,000° Fahrenheit, and clings "tenaciously to any surface"; a large cluster of thirty-eight bombs breaks open at 1,000 feet and the separated bombs drop under individual parachutes; "upon impact the delayed fuse starts the mechanism which detonates after five seconds and coughs the oil-filled cheesecloth about twenty-five yards in all directions.") This is a useful variation on the R. A. F.'s incendiary technique, especially effective in cities where so many buildings house subassembly benches for war production. Bombers won't win the war against Japan, but the increased tempo of these attacks, plus further carrier strikes such as Admiral Mitscher's week-end blows at the southern Japanese islands, will mean a much-softened enemy when the troops go in. \*

THE DISCOVERY THAT A "TRADE-UNION POPE" sits in the Vatican is very encouraging. When that Pope turns out to be Pacelli, it is more than encouraging; it is positively thrilling. At least it must have seemed so to the Italian Communists, who announced their discovery on the occasion of Pope Pius's address before the Christian Workers Association. *Unità*, the Communist publication, was profoundly moved by the liberal sentiments expressed by His Holiness and has probably greeted his talk on Sunday, March 18, attacking profiteers and religious intolerance, with even greater joy. For once Pacelli has decided to embrace the cause of the Common Man—now that his former Fascist friends are on the way out—none will surpass him in ardor. Undoubtedly, each of his Sunday pronouncements will be more radical than the last. But if *Unità* so easily forgets the record of the present Pope, *Izvestia* remembers better. On the same day that Rome welcomed Pius XII into the democratic fold, the Soviet paper mentioned him, together with other members of the former worldwide Cliveden set, as an appeaser who would bear constant watching. We are inclined to agree with *Izvestia* rather than with *Unità*. And we wager that before many months have passed the very people who are now singing psalms in praise of the "Trade-Union Pope" will again identify him for what he is—one of the high chiefs of international reaction. \*

WASHINGTON SQUARE IS ONE OF THE FEW places in New York City where the sense of the past still lingers and mingles congenially with the present. Though the

buildings on two sides of the park are more or less "modern," the row of old brick houses on the north side remains intact, and the glow of their faded bricks catching the sun, their dignity and charm still dominate the scene. The scene itself is ageless. The Square is a meeting place for babies and for grownups and for all the ages in between. For all the languages too, though Italian cadences predominate. And one of the chief ingredients is the sunshine which still has pretty much the run of the Square. Robert Moses is determined to keep it that way, and he and Lawrence M. Orton, members of the City Planning Commission, are introducing a zoning-law amendment designed to reduce the height limit on buildings facing parks of more than one acre and all other open spaces throughout the city. The immediate reason is the proposal to build a thirty-story skyscraper that would replace part of the old red-brick boundary of Washington Square on the north. We hope the amendment will be carried. The next thing is to save the old houses on Washington Square from being replaced at all. \*

WE HEAR THAT AMBASSADOR ARMOUR HAS been instructed to ask Madrid for an explanation of the arrival in Spain of an average of fifty Nazi agents a week. As to the reasons for General Franco's generosity in granting entry permits, there is nothing to investigate. The story of the German occupation of Spain is six years old, and it is as natural for the occupying power to send in new men to strengthen or expand its services as for the satellite country to accept Nazi appointees without protest. Some of them are not even supposed to remain in Spain. Spain is simply a stepping-stone to Argentina, and surely General Franco is not going to transgress the tenets of *Hispanidad* by creating difficulties for dear Colonel Perón's prospective guests. But perhaps our Ambassador will inquire not *why* but *how* the Nazi agents arrive in fascist Spain. We can tell him several ways. First, there are the small boats which travel during the night between Spain and the French ports still in German hands. Some of those boats were sunk recently by British destroyers, so that we have official evidence of their operations. Then there are submarines which still find shelter in Spanish ports. Third, and quite openly, Nazi agents arrive by plane flying over France from Switzerland. But since all of these methods are well known to us we may assume that Mr. Armour and the State Department have heard about them too. So we are left to wonder what sort of questions our new Ambassador will put to Franco. We only wish we could hope that, instead of demanding explanations, Mr. Armour on his next visit to the Spanish Foreign Office would demand his passport and come back home. \*

BILLS TO ESTABLISH A PERMANENT FAIR Employment Practices Committee as a regular agency in the federal government, with powers of enforcement, are being subjected to delaying tactics in both branches of Congress. In the House, where a bi-partisan bill has been approved by the Labor Committee, Southern Representatives, on the Rules Committee have succeeded in repeatedly postponing consideration of the measure. Although Republican members of the committee have sufficient votes to force the bill to the floor

against Southern opposition, they have made no move to do so. A petition signed by a majority of the House will be necessary to bring the bill up for consideration. In the upper house Senator Taft, chairman of the Republican Platform Committee, which indorsed a permanent FEPC, has shifted his position and come out against the establishment of such an agency with enforcement powers. Taft has introduced a substitute measure calling for an investigation of racial bias in employment. Despite bitter opposition from the diehard Southern bloc, supporters of the measure believe that they have sufficient support to win in both houses if they can force a vote. The triumph of the New York anti-discrimination bill has made a tremendous impression in Washington, and if the church, labor, and other public-spirited groups that pushed that bill through can bring similar pressure on a national scale, the federal FEPC can undoubtedly be passed.

★

WE STRONGLY OPPOSE THE SUGGESTION OF THE special Campaign Expenditures Committee of the United States Senate to lift the present Hatch Act restriction on the size of individual contributions and the volume of partisan expenditure in political campaigns. It is true that the \$5,000 limit on individual contributions is often circumvented by gifts made in the name of several members of the same family and to several different committees. It is also true that both parties in the last election evaded the \$3,000,000 limitation on campaign expenditures by the use of state and supposedly independent committees. But the answer is to plug the loopholes, not to eliminate the restrictions. The Republican members of "the committee want not only to remove limits on political spending by the wealthy but to impose new restraints on trade-union expenditures through such organizations as the P. A. C. Large contributions by individuals distort democratic processes, but trade-union contributions are not open to the same criticism. If workers may take joint action in their economic interest, what is wrong with permitting them to pool their pennies for political action?

★

IT WOULD BE IRONIC IF THE UNITED STATES, after insisting fiercely upon freedom of the international air, were to submit to the erection of barriers across the domestic skies. But such a development is threatened by a challenge in the name of states' rights to the present system of federal regulation of commercial airlines. A number of state legislatures now have under consideration a model bill drafted by the National Association of Railroad and Public Utility Commissioners providing for state control of the interstate operations of interstate air carriers. With the airlines already very thoroughly regulated under federal laws, this is a proposal which at best would mean wasteful overlapping of authority and at worst forty-eight conflicting sets of rules and a state of confusion which might well ground airliners altogether. It is true that the association is seeking uniform legislation in all states, but as L. Welch Pogue, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, has pointed out, "seldom have uniform statutes been uniformly interpreted and administered." If there must be state regulation of

air traffic, the same authority continued, it should be limited to air carriers not subject to federal regulation. There is no doubt that in this instance Mr. Pogue voices the sentiments of the whole air-transport industry. The plight of the long-distance road carriers, forced to conform to regulations which change at every state border, is a sufficient warning. There have been too many successful efforts by the states in recent years to horn in on interstate traffic, which constitutionally lies within the realm of the federal government. On one pretext and another a network of internal tariffs and trade barriers is spreading across the land, and we are facing the loss of our greatest economic asset—a continent-wide free market. It is time to halt this balkanization of the United States.

★

THE FALL OF BERLIN WILL BE A JOYFUL DAY for every anti-fascist, including those Germans in exile who have been counting the years until their country would be freed of the brown scourge. Among them is Georg Ledebour, who has just celebrated his ninety-fifth birthday. He celebrates it with the same spirit that has made him one of the most amazing figures in the international socialist movement. Active until this very moment, Georg Ledebour has never yielded to pessimism or discouragement. He has been living in Switzerland, writing tract upon tract against Hitler, and waiting for the time when he would be allowed to go back to Berlin. It was in Berlin that he reached his greatest heights—in 1918-1919, at the end of the last war, when it seemed as though the German revolution might actually triumph. The responsibility for its collapse rests with many of his colleagues, but not with Ledebour. He may have been wrong in his obstinate decision to remain at the head of a small dissident group instead of trying to exercise his influence within the party. But he was right in insisting that the weak, continuously compromising policy of the German *Sozialdemokratie* was condemning the entire German labor movement to a state of impotency and heading it toward disaster. We hope that Georg Ledebour may live to return to his country.

## First Test of Yalta

BEHIND the tight Russian censorship, behind the equally effective barrier of British and American diplomatic reticence, the meaning and durability of the Yalta agreement is undergoing a test in Rumania. The importance of the test can be, and is being, exaggerated. It is important, but not so much because it will prove whether the unity of the three big Allies is going to last as because it will indicate what elements are essential to the creation of genuine unity.

Let us look at the Rumanian situation realistically. The fall of the Radescu government was inevitable; correspondents saw it coming weeks before it happened. A slow and ineffective government, it was unable to prevent disorder or put a stop to the persecution of Jews and other minorities, and unwilling—perhaps too weak—to carry through a purge of

the fascists and pro-Nazis with which the army and the whole government structure were riddled; indeed an effective purge would have wiped out too many of General Radescu's old friends. In spite of the array of parties it appeared to represent, it had little popular support; essentially it was the sort of sluggish rightist coalition that would never get around either to pressing social reforms or to a vigorous attack on internal fascism.

Certainly the Radescu government did not provide the conditions demanded by Russia—and Rumania is, as Mr. Eden said last week, a "back area of the Red Army" operating on the Hungarian front. It is not probable that Radescu resisted Russian demands; he simply could not and did not meet them. On February 28 Moscow dispatches announced that the Soviet Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Andrei Y. Vishinsky, had arrived in Bucharest; on the same day Radescu resigned.

His successor, Peter Groza, representing the left parties in what is called the National Democratic Front, is neither an important nor a particularly popular man. He is, however, acceptable to Russia. Vishinsky "consulted" at length with King Michael before the constitution of the new Cabinet was announced. And very soon after the Groza government took over, Rumania was rewarded—and the new regime fortified—by the restoration of the northern section of Transylvania, which had been handed to Hungary by Hitler in 1941. Meanwhile Radescu, the ousted Premier, took refuge in the British embassy, asserting that he feared attack by his political enemies. It was this act that first announced to the world a division over Rumania between Russia and its chief allies.

But presently the State Department let it be known that the United States had invoked the machinery provided at the Yalta meeting for joint consultation and action in regard to liberated areas and that talks with Russia about the Rumanian situation were going on.

That is all we know or are likely to know until after the talks end. But meanwhile it would be foolish to pin too many hopes or fears on their outcome. Without any doubt Russia acted unilaterally in helping General Radescu out of office and Mr. Groza in. On the other hand, the new government has apparently made a good start. Already a vigorous purge is reported under way, and Groza seems to have succeeded in ending anti-Semitic acts and bringing together Rumanians and Hungarians in Transylvania. What can the conversations with Moscow result in? Hardly more, it would appear, than an Allied indorsement of the new regime in Bucharest together with a polite request from the British and the United States that Russia talk things over before it takes action next time. Perhaps they will also get some assurance of protection for opposition politicians, and this would be useful and justified so long as it did not interfere with the legitimate progress of the purge of fascists. But certainly the Allies could not now, if they wanted to, run the picture in reverse: they could not hand Transylvania back to Hungary, release the war criminals, and restore the unfortunate Radescu to power.

The incident shows clearly the limits placed upon collective action by the exigencies of war. Under the formula worked out at Yalta the three major Allies agreed "to consult to-

gether" on measures "necessary to discharge their joint responsibilities" when conditions in liberated or former satellite countries called for such action. No one of them is likely to think that conditions demand previous consultation when its immediate military and political interests are involved, as Russia's were in Rumania. This means, realistically, that some degree of unilateral action is inevitable at least as long as the war lasts. The best one can hope for is that, under the mutual pledge made at Yalta, intervention in the affairs of the liberated countries will not prevent the emergence in those countries of governments which represent a total and drastic repudiation of fascism and Nazism. The wiping out of fascist reaction is still the major political task of the Allied governments. This may have been hastened in Rumania by Russia's unilateral action there; it was tragically delayed in Greece by British action and in Italy by the action of both the British and ourselves. The test of Yalta is not merely, or primarily, whether every move in every area occupied or controlled by the Allies is decided upon jointly. It is rather whether the Allies have accepted jointly a clear-cut anti-fascist policy which will insure basic unity even when unilateral moves are made by one of them.

## Words that Breed Trouble

MR. ROOSEVELT launched the lend-lease program with a famous simile. He said we were called upon to lend a hose to a neighbor whose home was on fire. Today Congress seems dreadfully worried lest the neighbor inadvertently use the hose to water his scorched garden after the fire itself is out. The debate in the House of Representatives on the extension of lend-lease was conducted for the most part on just such a petty and churlish plane.

Debate centered about an amendment forbidding the President to use lend-lease for "post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction." The amendment was fathered by Vorys of Ohio, backed by a Republican minority on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and accepted by the Democratic leadership of the House for fear that extension of lend-lease might be blocked on that issue. The issue itself seems to revolve around another of those unreal questions so dear to the hearts of the cantankerous. The lend-lease agreement with France, which is to be the model for a similar new agreement with the Soviet Union, limits lend-lease to war purposes. But there is a category of products, from essential foodstuffs to locomotives, which have peace-time uses as well. The French agreement provides that if the war should end before delivery of such items the French government would pay for them in cash. Thus the principle of the Vorys amendment was fully recognized and applied by the Administration two weeks before action by the House. This has, indeed, been the basic policy of lend-lease from the very beginning.

Much that was said on the floor of the House by a little group of bitter-enders and isolationists must make the American reader blush with shame. We hope the vote on extension, 354 to 28, and the shouting down of the ultra-restrictionist Buffett and Rich amendments may serve to convince our

allies that the statements to which we refer were not typical of the American people. There seemed a disposition, in these minority quarters, to forget the blood and suffering and heroism with which our allies have repaid many times over the support given them by lend-lease. The prize for stupidity should be awarded to Miss Sumner of Illinois. She wanted to know if there was anything in the amendment to prevent us from building "a proposed TVA on the Yangtze River in China." But the most vicious bit of demagogic by-play was between Andresen of Minnesota and Jonkman of Michigan. "Can the gentleman tell me," the former asked, "why it is there are so many people in high places who want to literally take the shifts off the backs of the American people and give them away?" "I presume," Jonkman replied, "because it is to their personal benefit."

Woodruff of Michigan unconsciously described himself and his fellow-obstructionists when he told the House self-righteously of the situation he found in Europe after the last war: "The ruling classes and officials had learned exactly nothing as a result of their participation in the war. The same suspicion of each other; the same sordid selfishness. . . ." Woodruff was one of those few who voted against extension even with the Vorys amendment. The debate grew so ugly that the respected, conservative Republican Wadsworth of New York honorably brushed aside partisan considerations to defend the good faith of the Administration and to rebut some of the worst falsehoods of oppositionists in his own party. We applaud his magnanimity, and we indorse the warning expressed by Mrs. Douglas of California in her able defense of lend-lease. "Words," she cautioned her colleagues, "ring around the world. Words can destroy the peace we are trying to build for tomorrow. Words today recklessly spoken can fill hospitals twenty years from now."

Some overlapping of war aid and aid for reconstruction is inevitable. Factories are loath to take contracts for lend-lease articles which are also of peace-time value if these contracts may be canceled when the war ends. The French agreement seems to us to handle the problem admirably. But there are deeper questions of economic interest, fair dealing, and humanity which are not answered by any legal or financial devices. Devastated countries make poor markets for our products. Self-interest dictates aid in European and Asiatic reconstruction and development. Fairness requires it. Our own country might have been ravaged had not these allies taken the brunt of Axis aggression; the least we can do is to help them rebuild their gutted homes. If it was wise to give them aid to keep the war from our own shores, it is equally wise to give them aid to avert economic collapse. Other evils beside war may sweep from one country to another. Pestilence is one. Poverty is another. For the lack of European and Asiatic markets, our own workers may be without jobs. The small-minded men who spoke on the floor of the House are unworthy of the preeminent position our country occupies in the world today. Our wealth and power impose responsibilities and call for statesmanlike consideration of world problems. Whether under lend-lease or by some other means, we are impelled by necessity and moral duty to help in world reconstruction. The ungenerous, picayune, and pettifogging yammering in Congress disgraces our country in the eyes of the world.

## John Collier's Record

BARBARIANS, totalitarians, and bearers of the white man's burden generally view alien cultures with suspicion, whereas the truly civilized appreciate excellence in whatever cultural context it appears. Generously as American Indians have contributed to American culture, the former attitude largely characterized federal policy toward them until twelve years ago, when a drastic change was begun by one of the most civilized and able administrators in Washington, John Collier. After holding the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs since 1933, Collier resigned this month to work in a broader field of ethnic relations with special emphasis on Indian problems in the Western Hemisphere.

First as a private citizen and later as commissioner, Collier led the fight to restore the rights of American Indians, a group whose exploitation had endured so long as to become almost acceptable. He was outraged by an official policy that was jeopardizing their lands and threatening to obliterate their culture. For over one hundred years a virtual dictatorship of Indian Affairs had sought to impose assimilation through methods which were sometimes benevolent, more often vicious, and before which the Indians had retreated into apathy or hostility. Not until Collier became commissioner was a serious effort made to give the Indians a measure of control over their own destinies. Under the Reorganization Act of 1934 more than a hundred Indian tribes have adopted constitutions, and local self-government has become well established. Indian culture, once on the point of extinction, has been revitalized and has made a remarkable adjustment to the surrounding industrial environment. The process of land loss has been reversed, credit facilities have been extended, and great strides have been made in soil conservation, the utilization of natural resources, and the development of cooperative enterprises. The once vanishing Indian is now increasing more rapidly than the general population; the Indian death-rate has dropped 53 per cent in the past twelve years.

The success of Collier's policies can be gauged by the fact that American Indians are now not a problem but an asset to the nation. While maintaining their ancient heritage they are making a remarkable adjustment to the demands of an industrial environment and are contributing notably to the war effort. This is so because the type of administration which Collier set up is based on a consideration of the needs, hopes,

### IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES

Two timely articles by I. F. Stone, *The Nation's* Washington correspondent:

☞ Must We Feed Europe? *UNNRA and the problem of food for Europe's destitute millions.*

☞ Who Will Represent Us at San Francisco? *A profile study of the United States delegation.*

and traditions not only of the dominant group but also of the minority or dependent group. Its goal has been to balance the two in order to liberate the fullest energies and further the welfare of the maximum number of individuals of both groups. Many of the Indian Service's findings and techniques are applicable, Collier believes, in administering the affairs and protecting the rights of other minorities.

William A. Brophy, the new commissioner, has worked with Collier and is in full sympathy with his policies. He has an excellent record as chief of the Puerto Rican section of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions and may be counted on to extend the gains already made as Collier carries on the fight for democratic self-government in a wider sphere.

## Alcoa in Wonderland

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, March 19*

THE Aluminum Company of America was formed in 1888. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed in 1890. From 1893 until 1940 the company had a 100 per cent monopoly of all aluminum produced in the United States. A court of last resort has at last held the Aluminum Company of America a monopoly and a violator of the Sherman Act. Thus does anti-trust adjudication move at snail's pace its wonders to perform.

The case of the Aluminum Company evokes satire and despair. The aluminum monopoly has been the subject of two court proceedings and three investigations by the Federal Trade Commission. It has been investigated five times by the Department of Justice. It has accepted two consent decrees, one in 1912, another in 1942, rather than stand trial. It has been sued by private litigants under the anti-trust laws on at least four occasions—and grown steadily larger and more powerful.

The present proceedings began in 1933 and are still far from ended. The record, 58,000 pages long, is already of Penguin Island proportions—so huge that only two employees of the Department of Justice have, between them, read the entire record, each concentrating on one half and meeting midway in the legalistic morass. The current suit was filed in 1933 and was met at once with a piquant argument that required four years for its disposal. The Aluminum Company dug up the long-ignored and violated consent decree of 1912 and sought to use it as a shield. The company argued in substance that since the decree forbade it to engage in the practices with which it was now charged by the government, the new anti-trust suit was harassing, improper, and a mere duplication of the earlier proceedings. The idea that a company could not only violate a consent decree with impunity but utilize the decree to exempt itself from further prosecution might have been the product of a law firm in which Lewis Carroll and James M. Barrie were the senior partners. The ingenious doctrine was learnedly rejected by the United States Supreme Court in 1937.

From the standpoint of the public interest, this litigation was not all waste motion. In the First World War Arthur V. Davis of the Aluminum Company was a member of the War Industries Board. During that war Alcoa raised the price of aluminum from 19 to 38 cents per pound. Over the objections of other members of the board, Davis maintained a differential between ingot, in which Alcoa had a complete

monopoly, and fabricated aluminum, in which it had some competition, at a figure which put the squeeze on his competitors.

The current anti-trust action has at least served to keep Alcoa on the defensive. During the great depression, while the price of other non-ferrous metals fell from 39 to 71 per cent, the price of aluminum was augustly maintained at a point but 4 per cent below that of 1927. This was in accord with Davis's philosophy, as he once explained it to the French aluminum company, "that it was better to restrict production and sell at a higher price than it was to go ahead at full capacity and sell at a low price." But Alcoa dropped its price 2½ cents in 1933 "because it feared some action" by the Department of Justice. The words are those of Judge Learned Hand in the new Alcoa decision. Successive reductions since the current Department of Justice investigation began have brought the price of aluminum down from its depression rate of 23.3 cents a pound to 15 cents a pound. This is in sharp contrast to the World War I price record and represents a sizable gain to the government. With aluminum production running upward of two billion pounds a year, a decline of 8.3 cents a pound in price is a saving of \$166,000,000 a year. In this sphere at least, the heroically patient and tireless Don Quixotes of the Anti-Trust Division have not been engaged entirely in a futile task.

To their credit also must be marked up the education of a whole generation of progressive Senators and newspapermen. The Truman committee investigation was largely primed from the files of the Department of Justice and in its turn helped to make possible the vast war-time expansion of the aluminum industry against the wishes of Alcoa. Today we also have two independent producers of aluminum, Reynolds and Olin, with 202 million pounds of capacity between them and about 1,293 million pounds of capacity in government-owned plants. Thanks also to the effects of this litigation and to the brave fight waged last year by former Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell against Will Clayton, we have a Surplus Property Act which directs the disposal of these and other surplus war plants in a way which will break the hold of monopoly on the industry. Attorney General Biddle and his Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust enforcement, Wendell Berge, have considerable power under that act and are using it against the aluminum monopoly. We have gained some toe-holds in the ancient battle, and it would

be unfair and defeatist not to recognize them, however precarious we may suspect them to be.

The most encouraging aspect of the new Alcoa decision by Judge Hand and his two colleagues of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals is not its belated finding that Alcoa is a monopoly; nor its reversal, by way of a dictum of Cardozo's, of the old United States Steel case decision that "mere size" is not monopoly. "Mere size," the court now holds, if sufficient to dominate an industry, is itself a violation of the Sherman Act, a monopolistic situation subject to legal remedy. The present Supreme Court, had it not lacked a quorum to pass on the Aluminum case, would almost certainly have held likewise. But these are mere paper triumphs. Past experience has shown that the ingenuity of the corporate bar is sufficient to produce new devices for evasion far more rapidly than they can be disposed of in the staid tempo of judicial processes. The encouraging aspect of the decision is that it points to the anti-monopolistic provisions of the Surplus Property Act and puts Alcoa on notice that if government-owned aluminum plants are sold in such a way as to leave Alcoa in command of the industry, the company's dissolution may be ordered. Final action on the government's motion to dissolve the Aluminum Company was postponed until after the war and the disposal of government-owned plants. Thus the court calls attention to the only effective remedy for monopoly, the use of government-owned plants to restore competitive conditions. The remedy lies not in further anti-trust litigation but in the policy to be applied by Congress, the Surplus Property Board, and the Attorney General in the disposal of war plants.

For Judge Hand's decision underscores the futility of depending on the courts for effective action against monopoly. In the first place, the decision leaves the impression that public interest has been sacrificed to judicial good-fellowship. The lower-court decision by Federal District Judge Francis G. Caffey was extraordinarily obsequious to the Aluminum Company of America, and the Judge's conduct called either for rebuke or for a better defense than his brethren of the Circuit Court were able to furnish. I give a sample of his manner. At one point Judge Caffey declined to admit evidence unfavorable to Alcoa with the statement, "It is excluded. Proceed. I exclude it without looking at it. I don't care what is in it." The government was attempting to present evidence showing that Alcoa had bought up a Norwegian aluminum company to prevent General Motors and Ford from obtaining an independent source of supply for the light metal.

I give a sample of Judge Caffey's reasoning methods. One of the important questions in the case arose from the admitted fact that the same stockholders, the Mellon and Davis families, control both the Aluminum Company of America and Aluminum, Ltd., of Canada. This Canadian corporate alter ego engages in practices which would be illegal for an American company, notably in the field of cartels, while the American parent concern enjoys the fruits of these practices. Should an American corporation be allowed to evade the anti-trust laws through a Canadian affiliate? Judge Caffey said it should and buttressed his finding with an analogy of exceptional irrelevance and puerility. Suppose, Judge Caffey asked, ten men formed a steel company and then the

"same stockholders at the same time also organized a corporation to engage in the production and sale of cornflakes. Could it be maintained that the fact that the stockholders in these two corporations were identical . . . would render them guilty of conspiracy?"

It is not surprising that the Department of Justice complained to the Circuit Court that Judge Caffey had "sweepingly granted the findings and conclusions of law requested by the appellees [Alcoa] upon virtually every issue." The department pointed out that in one case Judge Caffey denied the existence of unfair price differentials, although his own opinion elsewhere conceded that there were "twenty proved instances" of that very practice. A few of these rulings were too much even for the camaraderie of the Circuit Court, as in the case of Judge Caffey's conclusion that Alcoa only controlled an average of 32.87 per cent of the American aluminum-ingot market. The Circuit Court held that the percentage was above 90. Yet in most cases the Circuit Court declined to look into Judge Caffey's findings and treated them with a respect they rarely deserved. The Circuit Court said weakly of one whopper that it was "not so patently implausible an explanation that the Judge was bound to reject it."

This judicial equivalent of the old school tie entangles the Circuit Court in some odd situations. Judge Caffey found that Alcoa had followed a "long-established policy . . . to live in harmony with the Sherman Act." The Circuit Court holds that Alcoa violated the act. The Circuit Court refers to "unlawful practices" and denies that Alcoa "was the passive beneficiary of a monopoly, following upon an involuntary elimination of competitors by automatically operative economic forces." But since the Circuit Court seemed to feel a gentlemanly compunction about upsetting Judge Caffey's findings, it ended, in all but one case, by accepting the district judge's inability to see these same "unlawful practices." The one case was a price-squeeze method Alcoa stopped using about twelve years ago. The net result is that while the Circuit Court recognizes that Alcoa was guilty of monopolistic practices, it doesn't seem disposed to do anything about it.

There is good ground for the Circuit Court's decision to postpone action on the government's motion for dissolution of Alcoa until after the war and the disposal of war plants. But there is no such excuse for the refusal to grant injunctive relief against specific monopolistic practices or to free Alcoa's patents for use on reasonable royalty by other business men. The greatest weakness of the decision in its unwillingness to divorce ownership of Alcoa from its Canadian Siamese twin; reluctance to take drastic action of this kind is typical of the history of the anti-trust laws. The Circuit Court did, indeed, hold the Canadian company guilty of violating the American anti-trust laws by joining in a world cartel which curtailed competition in the American market. The precedent is important on paper, but the ruling is enforceable only against foreign corporations with property in our jurisdiction. American corporations can evade it by arranging that their Canadian "Siamese twins" keep their funds and offices in Montreal. The real loophole is the use of Canadian subsidiaries as the vehicles for world cartel agreements, and this loophole is left open by Judge Hand and his colleagues.

# China and Its Critics

BY LIN YUTANG

IN EDGAR SNOW'S article *China to Lin Yutang*, in *The Nation* of February 17, I saw for the first time a real attempt to discuss or dispute the facts contained in my new book. This is important, for only by a fair and open examination of facts in the spirit of sober intellectual inquiry can some clarity be brought into the present confusion. Mr. Snow's opinion of my book is of course not for me to reply to; his statements of fact about China are. I am particularly happy to find the attempt made by a man whose sincerity cannot be questioned and whose friendship I value highly.

As Mr. Snow concedes my honesty and intelligence, he must concede that I knew I had nothing to gain personally by writing against the tide of opinion, even though it was to restore a sane balance. All critics admit that I have allowed merits to, and made severe indictments of, both the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. By the very nature of my indictments, I can please neither party. No one can say that I have concealed, or failed to score, the failures of the Chinese government in censorship, in conscription, in drawing up a bill of rights, and above all in taking a clear stand for the rights of peasant and workingman, the common people. At least, I have not fallen, like some apologists, into the error of painting one side all white and the other all black. I was fully aware of the sanctity of America's sacred cow, the Chinese Communists, and knew that to suggest that the sacred cow was in fact a red bull in a china shop would be to arouse the ire of the cow-worshippers. Under the circumstances I could do one of three things—jump on the band-wagon and win cheap plaudits, evade the Communist issue and the civil war, or speak the truth as I saw it. I chose to speak out. I have never cared which way the wind blows, and I still don't.

My attitude toward the Chinese Communists is based on two major premises, arrived at after an investigation of sources and documents on both sides: first, that they are not true democrats but totalitarians of the Russian type in theory and practice, and that theirs is not the democracy China wants; second, that they have taken advantage of the war to set up a separate state and separate army for expanding party power at the cost of national unity, and that they have done so and will continue to do so in accordance with a set program. These conclusions of mine are at variance with those of others who have not examined the same sources.

Neither Mr. Snow nor I saw Yen-an after 1940—I never saw it—and the "democratic" reforms were started after the winter of 1941. The main question is the reliability of available sources and documentation. I maintain that sources and documents are adequate and are available to all who take the trouble to read them or have them specially translated. My sources are (1) Kuomintang documents and publications, (2) Communist publications, especially the books and essays of Mao Tse-tung (Yen-an edition), (3) successive Communist resolutions and declarations and published

official telegrams on both sides, (4) editorials of the Communist paper *Hsin Hua Jih Pao*, published in Chungking, and (5) talks with Chinese people, not officials, who have lived in the occupied areas. Tens of thousands of Chinese have come over from the occupied areas, including thousands of students. Their impression of these areas is very different from the romanticized picture given to the American public. I have talked with hundreds of people who have lived and served under Communist rule, or whose relatives have. When the "Grandmother of the Guerrillas" told me that her son was shot in a boat by the Communists from the bank, together with 120 young men and girls fighting as guerrillas in Hopei, I could ignore her evidence simply because she herself had not been to Yen-an.

Some of the Communist writings are extremely important as sources. I note especially Mao Tse-tung's book "The New Democracy," published in March, 1940, now in its fifth edition; the all-important "Chengfeng Wenhsien," first published in eighteen chapters, then, in 1943, revised, in twenty-five chapters (this is the sole educational material and is compulsory reading for all schools, army units, and party members); the Communist resolution of May 26, 1943, on the dissolution of the Comintern and the resolution of September 1, 1942, setting up absolute party control of all civil, military, and mass agencies after the "democratic" innovations; the important exchange of long telegrams in the winter of 1940 between the Communist commanders Chu Teh and Pen Teh-huai and the Chinese War Minister on the civil war; and, lastly, the extremely revealing "Chinese Communist Tactics and Party Lines" by Chang Hao (Lin Yuying), published in 1937, a complete "Tanaka Memorial" of the Chinese civil war, which, like the Japanese Tanaka Memorial, is denied by the originating party but whose authenticity has been vindicated by the ensuing pattern of events, step by step, stage by stage, up to the present month. Unfortunately Lawrence K. Rosinger's "China's War-Time Politics" does not draw on all these, and a continuing volume should be issued. Communist writings are more revealing and more valid sources than what the Communists say through their interpreters to foreigners on a conducted tour. I am sure that after a study of this material any objective student would come to conclusions similar to mine.

Furthermore, there are strange and inexplicable lacunae in the reports on China; about many things an obstinate silence is preserved. Nothing is said about the freedom of the press in Yen-an. Bald statements about the "blockade" and "stopping of pay" and internal "clashes" are made without relation to time and space. When I tried to fill in the lacunae and write a coherent story that made sense, I came out with facts highly unpleasant to the Communist side. I should like to have someone explain to me why it is that intelligent observers are content to repeat bald statements without a search for causes. They uncritically accept Commu-

nist figures even where it is possible to check them. They repeat, for example, the figure of a "half-million" troops blockading the border—put out for foreign consumption—whereas the Yen-an editorials and speeches addressed to Chinese people at the height of the controversy in July, 1943, never spoke of more than 150,000. The government version mentions six divisions and two brigades, under 100,000, with specific designations and distribution points.

Mr. Snow's article fairly bristles with inaccuracies, distortions of fact, and reticences about other facts which I cannot let pass. I shall deal with them under three heads.

1. *Mr. Snow's distortions and inaccuracies.* As these are in the main unfair representations about my book or my journey, I shall make only brief corrections.

Mr. Snow states that "nowhere" did I "give evidence that" I had "lived with workers and peasants for even a few days." I toured the entire Northwest Highway for twenty days with no companions except the drivers and the strangers whom I met; I was squeezed in a bus from Neikiang to Chungking that no foreigner would care to ride in and few could survive. I made the entire railroad journey from Kweilin to Kukong and back without any companion except my nephew, and during my stay of three weeks at Kunming and Kweilin I saw only one commander, Lo Kuan-ying of the Burma campaign, and not one local official. I went back to Chungking by truck with doctors of the Emergency Medical Service Training School and repeatedly stopped at inns definitely not for foreigners. Does Mr. Snow imagine that one could escape eating, sleeping, living, talking with the ubiquitous, garrulous, frank, and classless Chinese people on such a journey? And I came out with fewer reticences and a less one-sided presentation than Mr. Snow in his report on China or Russia (*vide* William L. White).

Mr. Snow's quotations from my book are intentionally inexact since he used them to point up his contentions. He quotes me as saying baldly, "I am all for the government," whereas I said, "I reserve my criticism of government failures and mistakes [for elsewhere]. . . . Here I am dealing strictly . . . with the question of China's unity in time of war, in which I am all for the government." He quotes what I call an "amusing but sad story" of conflict between guerilla forces as merely "an amusing story," and proceeds to make fun of my "amusement." Mr. Snow says I heard a machine-gun "for the first time in [my] life" and that I "heard it then, ironically enough, not at the front, but . . . at the 'model concentration camp' for Communists, at Sian." Mr. Snow wilfully distorts the truth. I said I heard it at the military academy, not at the concentration camp, and I said it was "the first time I heard the terrific rattle of machine-guns going off ten feet above my head" (p. 137). He represents me as "fearing that they may soon control half of China, especially if America should give them arms, food, medicines, and financial help." Nowhere did I say, directly or indirectly, that the Communists should not receive American arms; do I need to answer that one about food and medicines? I said that the Communists fear American supplies for Chungking and have sabotaged them by groundless rumors, and that America should give supplies to Chungking despite these rumors.

Where Mr. Snow does not misquote me, he questions my sources and authorities. He says, "He thinks [that is, I think] things must be better at the front, where he has heard the soldiers 'have the best of everything.'" I do not think, I know—from my personal visit to the Changsha front, and from Dr. Robert Lim, who has spent the past years at the extended front, where Mr. Snow did not go. The words "have the best of everything" are the exact words of Dr. Lim, as those who heard him in New York will confirm. My authority for the statement that the Communists staged loud cheers of welcome for national troops passing close to Japanese garrisons—when their presence should have been kept secret—is none other than Governor Chungling, who was hounded out of Hopei by the Communists. Mr. Snow refers to an "anonymous informant," implying that my source was unreliable. The informant in question personally witnessed the atrocities I referred to, and I will give Mr. Snow his name and address any time he asks for them.

Mr. Snow sticks to his story that Ho Ying-chin is "pro-Japanese" and says if I "had been in China," "I could have heard 10,000 students denouncing him as such, as early as 1936, on the streets of Peiping." I was on the streets of Peiping in 1936 and witnessed the student demonstration against the Tangku truce and saw wounded students put in rickshaws. That does not alter my statement that "General Ho signed the Ho-Umetzu Tangku agreement before the war under the direction of Chiang Kai-shek, which is the only basis for this persistent charge. If the Chinese Communists attacked Chiang as 'pro-Japan' the charge would sound too ridiculous." Mr. Snow has failed to give any additional basis for this charge. This parroting of fifth-columnist talk is indiscriminating and mischievous, for General Ho is now commander-in-chief of all ground forces for the counter-offensive. It hurts the morale of every American soldier.

2. *Mr. Snow's reticences.* To further understanding of the China situation there are needed a factual study of the civil war, the blockade, and the stopping of pay, and an examination of the ideology and program of the Communists as expressed in their own writings.

Mr. Snow complains that he "had no way of determining the truth about most of the conflicts. . . . I refrained from writing about them, as did other correspondents, not . . . because both sides did not furnish abundant material, but because of utter lack of means of verification or documentation." It is true that there is an abundance of material, and documentation is perfectly possible. I have read at least a dozen Communist documents on the civil war, including editorials in the *Emancipation Daily*, published in Yen-an, especially during July, 1943; the speeches of Chu Teh, Ho



Lung, Lin Tsu-han, and Chou En-lai dealing with the civil war; and the important long telegram of Chu Teh and Peng Teh-huai to War Minister Ho, November 9, 1940, in reply to the latter's account of the conflicts. Whereas the government story, based on telegrams from field commanders, gives places and dates, the Communist charges give no details.



Take the case of General Pang Ping-shun, whose name is misspelled by Mr. Snow as Pan Pin-hsien (Russian spellings regularly drop the *g* in *ng*, as "Kuomintan"), and who is cited by him as a Kuomintang general who joined the puppets. Mr. Snow conceals the fact that General

Pang was forced to surrender by the Communists. According to the telegram of Field Commander Chiang Ting-wen, dated July 31, 1943, Pang, while he was fighting against 20,000 Japanese, was attacked from south of Pingshun by 5,000 Communist troops of the Eighteenth Army Corps; after he broke through, his troops were ambushed by 2,000 Communist troops near Kaoping, and all the sick and wounded soldiers were murdered. At Kubsien he was again attacked simultaneously by 6,000 Communists of the same Eighteenth Army Corps and by 2,000 Japanese. One cannot ignore official telegrams from field commanders with names and dates or brush them aside as "Kuomintang propaganda" or just "charges and counter-charges." In other cases Communist telegrams fit in with Chungking sources, as when the Communist commander Chu Teh, in his telegram of April 14, 1943, apologized for the capture of Governor Han Teh-chin "by mistake." And what about the resolution of the Yen-an Central Politburo, October, 1937? This said, "In Chinese politics the decisive factor is military power. We must in the course of the war of resistance expand as far as possible the military power of the party as the basis for capturing revolutionary leadership in the future." No, Mr. Snow, documentation is perfectly possible. We must sift and scrutinize evidence, but we must not pretend that the documents don't exist.

After two years of ruthless expansion came the blockade and the stopping of pay. I will refer only to (a) a radio communiqué from Yen-an on December 13, 1944, recorded by the FCC, in which Nan Han-chen reported that the "blockade" and the "stopping of money and supplies" began in 1941; (b) the government report to the People's Political Council, March 8, 1941, saying they were "going to" build blockhouses and define the defense lines against the Communist border, *after the experience of the "two-year-old conflicts"*—this agrees in date with the Communist version; and (c) the regulations issued at Yen-an, January 30, 1941, eighteen days after the New Fourth Army's defeat, declaring that such money as was paid to them was contraband, subject to confiscation under the laws of Yen-an. It is still contraband, and they are still complaining.

3. *Are the Chinese Communists true democrats?* This question is basic to my attitude. If they were genuine democrats, and permitted liberty of thought and of the press in their own area, I would be for them.

Mr. Snow knows as well as I do that they are genuine Communists ("Battle for Asia," pp. 290-91); that the first phase of their "democratic front" is a "transitional period" during which democratic freedoms can be used to overthrow democracy and establish a "proletarian dictatorship" and a Marxist Union of Soviet Republics in the second phase ("The New Democracy," by Mao Tse-tung, Yen-an edition, p. 22); that "this [present-phase] revolution is again divided into several stages according to changes in enemy and allied camps, but that its fundamental nature is not changed until the time of socialist revolution" (p. 10); that the democratic freedoms are "suitable . . . for directing revolutionary struggles" (p. 24); that, according to Mao, the Kuomintang has only one object, "democratic revolution," but the Communist revolution has two stages, a "democratic revolution" leading to a "socialist revolution" of the proletariat (p. 41). Wang Chia-hsiang, former vice-chairman of the Chinese Soviets, said in 1939—note the date—"They shall never abandon their ideals and the theories of Marxism and Leninism" (quoted by Snow). Now Mr. Snow says guardedly that they "happen to have renounced [in 1937] any intention of establishing communism in China in the near future." That harmless "near future" happens to be defined by Mao Tse-tung as "several years" (p. 89), no longer than the Nazi incubation period after the Munich putsch.

The Communist Tanaka Memorial (referred to above) is as prophetic as the Japanese Tanaka Memorial. After explaining every step of past developments it predicted the present demand for a coalition government, and I can predict future developments, after November 12, 1945, with its help. Explaining the change to the United Front, in the spring of 1937, to Chinese Communists, it says, "We are abandoning the former unworkable line of advance [open communism], and seeking a workable line, a line that is convenient for achieving proletarian dictatorship" (p. 50). Going into greater detail, it says: "(a) Only by cooperating with the Kuomintang can we carry on the proletarian revolution, via the democratic republic, via a capitalist democracy, and pass over to a proletarian democracy to realize the proletarian dictatorship and establish a socialist society. (b) We are now making a compromise with the Kuomintang for the purpose of operating in the open and organizing a struggle for wide popular support. . . . (c) We are now making a compromise with the Kuomintang for the purpose of immediately lifting the ban on the party, releasing political prisoners, obtaining freedoms of the press and assembly. . . . All these are in the direction of the road to proletarian dictatorship, and are at the same time preparations for the realization of proletarian dictatorship. (d) We are now making the compromise, for it is a good method . . . to utilize the democratic republic to overthrow the party dictatorship of the National Government. . . . The success of the democratic republic is the beginning of the second proletarian revolution and at the same time the realization of proletarian dictatorship" (pp. 65-6). To study Chinese events of the past years without studying Chinese Communist writings is to go blindfolded.

The most rigorous "one-headed supremacy" (*i-yuan-hua*, or "unitary" leadership) of the party over all civil and military administrations was established soon after the "democratic" reforms were introduced by the party resolution of September 1, 1942. The "joint commission of civil, military, and mass organizations" was abolished and replaced by the "unitary" or "one-headed" supremacy of the party committee in any area of a given grade. The all-powerful person was not the elected officer of the local party committee but the party secretary appointed by the Central Politburo. The "unconditional obedience" of other administrations in the same area was decreed. "The responsible officers of the civil and military administrations and mass organizations must execute the decisions of the party committee of the same grade, even if they disapprove of the majority decisions." Even for the Red Army, "concrete military movements shall be decided upon by the political commissioner of the military headquarters—that is, the party secretary."

As early as February, 1942, Mao Tse-tung started the "purification," or *chengfeng*, movement, "to purify thought, purify education, and purify the party." (*Cheng* means to "rectify," and *feng* means "atmosphere.") How thought is purified is evident from the book "Chengfeng Wenhsien," or "Literature of the Purification." The concrete method of purifying thought is the "utter-frankness," or *tanpai*, movement, a political Oxford Group movement in which everyone's private life is made an open book. If a member is not utterly frank about his thoughts and private conversation, other members will be utterly frank about him. The result is of course unfortunate for those whose private conversations need "purification" or "rectification."

If there is still any mystery about the similarity of these Communists to the members in other countries all over the world, their record of primary loyalty to Moscow will banish it. I cannot exonerate people who fail to report on the extreme isolationist attitude of the Chinese Communists during Stalin's pact with Hitler, or on the sharply anti-British and anti-American attitude of Mao Tse-tung, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, 1935-43. Hitler was a "mad dog" before the pact; during the pact he was graciously referred to as "chief of state" (*yuan shou*); after June 22, 1941, he became a contemptible cur again. I can give the dates of a dozen editorials of the Communist daily published in Chungking. How about the "Hands Off European War" editorial of May 12, 1941, coming awkwardly forty days before June 22? How about the editorial of April 25, 1940, calling joining the European war a "certain road to death"? How about Mao Tse-tung's strident demand for "absolute neutrality" and his assertion that Roosevelt's lend-lease to England was "false neutrality," designed to "embroil" the United States in "the second imperialist war"? How about the sudden flare-up of intensive fratricidal warfare beginning with the signing of the pact in the summer of 1939? How about the Communist indorsement of Stalin's recognition of Japan's "Manchukuo" frontiers? And finally, how about Mao Tse-tung's calling the Anglo-American imperialists "sons-of-bitches" (*tama*, with a four-letter English word understood), while sparing the Japanese imperialists in the same sentence ("The New Democracy," p. 45)? How about his ridiculing those who think there is a dif-

ference between Anglo-American and Japanese imperialists? No, Mr. Snow, documentation is perfectly possible.

Americans owe it to themselves to study Communist programs through Communist writings. At least State Department officials should read and scrutinize the Communist Tanaka Memorial. Americans should ask themselves, Will the Chinese nation follow the Anglo-Saxon or the Russian model, and how will that affect China's alignment in the coming era of power politics in Asia? Will the Chinese gravitate toward the Anglo-American or toward the Russian orbit, and with them the other millions of Asia? And what are the forces in China today that will affect or determine that direction? What course will the 450,000,000 people of China take? Will Mr. Snow help me think and help the American people think?

[Mr. Snow will be given the opportunity for a brief rebuttal in a subsequent issue.]

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE INVESTIGATION of the Congressional committee into the gold conspiracy of last summer has closed, and the upshot seems to be that Messrs. Gould and Fisk were the head and front of the whole affair. . . . Nothing could have been more sensible or upright than the President's [Grant's] course throughout the whole affair. He committed in it only one error, and that was accepting the hospitality of, and entering into conversation with, such people as Gould, Fisk & Co. were then known to be. Their Erie operations had rendered them unfit company for any respectable man. . . . As long as men like Fisk find that they suffer no social damage whatever by any of their iniquities as long as they have any money, there is absolutely no check on them, neither God, man, nor devil having any terrors for them.—March 3, 1870.

THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE has provided for the submission to the people, women included, of an amendment to the Constitution adopting female suffrage at all elections. . . . In Utah the system is on trial, but out of 20,000 women in the territory only six or seven voted at the last election. The cause of this abstinence was explained at a recent women's-rights meeting in this city by ascribing it to the tyranny of the husbands, who would not let the women go to the polls.—March 3, 1870.

MR. CULLOM'S BILL for the suppression of polygamy in Utah has been shorn of its most objectionable features in its passage through the House. . . . As it stands, the bill is simply foolish. . . . The true remedy for Mormon polygamy would seem to be the opening of the Mormon territory to the ordinary influences of American civilization, and the influx into it of a large Gentile population. The reason why polygamy does not exist as an institution in civilized countries is not that people are prevented by law from marrying several wives, but that public sentiment is opposed to it. If the great mass of the American people approved of it, large harems would be found all over the country, the statute against bigamy notwithstanding.—March 31, 1870.

# The Walls of Stuyvesant Town

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

**S**TUYVESANT TOWN, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's \$50,000,000 plan to rebuild one of New York City's slum areas, has hit another snag. It is finding it difficult to move the thousands of families now living on the site. This strange undertaking involves more than housing, more than urban redevelopment, and Metropolitan's frustrations will serve a useful purpose if they awaken the public to the real implications of Stuyvesant Towns.

The project has aroused nation-wide enthusiasm. It has the backing of an influential group which believes that all social undertakings should be accomplished by private enterprise, at a profit—with government subsidy. It is becoming a spearhead for the effort to shift government powers from the public to the private domain. Ten states have rushed through laws authorizing Stuyvesant Towns.

Robert Moses, New York City's planning commissioner, tailored the New York law specially to suit Metropolitan's demands. It authorizes tax exemption for private enterprise, release of public streets to private enterprise, condemnation of private property for private enterprise. Even public property can be condemned. Public housing is just a public use, but private urban redevelopment is declared a "superior public use."

The city gave lavishly to Metropolitan. It exempted the improvement from taxation, surrendered streets amounting to 19 per cent of the total site area, agreed to use its public powers to force unwilling owners to sell—and slum dwellers to move elsewhere.

The tax-exemption subsidy conferred on Metropolitan amounts to about \$25,000,000, almost 50 per cent of the total investment. With the cost of the assembled land not more than \$14,000,000, the city could have saved millions by buying up the area and presenting it as a gift to Metropolitan. With all this expenditure not a single slum dweller is actually to be rehoused. The present residents of the area are to be crowded into other slums, making them more profitable for the owners and stabilizing the mortgages of the very institutions which are most vociferous in acclaiming the Stuyvesant Town formula. All the city gets in return is a walled-in town in which even higher-income, average-size families with children will be ineligible as tenants, in which overcrowding, the most objectionable feature of the slum pattern, is to be repeated. But more is involved than planning principles or the mathematics of a city's budget.

No sooner was Stuyvesant Town announced than Frederick H. Ecker, Metropolitan's chairman of the board, made this statement: "Negroes and whites don't mix . . . perhaps they will in a hundred years. . . . If we brought them into this development, it would be to the detriment of the city, too, because it would depress all the surrounding property." He barred Negroes from the project. Nor was Stuyvesant Town to have a school, though its population would be

one-fourth that of Nevada, for Ecker feared Negro children might attend. The city meekly complied. It even agreed to raze the existing school in the area and erect a new one outside. It divested itself of all public streets and property within the inclosure. The entrances were to be posted with signs marked "private property." The City Comptroller is permitted to enter, but only during the period of tax exemption!

Organizations like the City-wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem joined with Negro leaders in opposing subsidized discrimination. They declared that Negroes should not be barred from the benefits of subsidies to which they, as well as whites, contributed. With hotels, theaters, and restaurants enjoined from discriminating, it seemed indefensible in a publicly endowed undertaking.

A local ordinance was enacted barring tax exemption for future projects in which discrimination was practiced. But the contract for Stuyvesant Town had been signed, sealed, and delivered before the ordinance could be passed. The ordinance applies to future New York City projects only. Elsewhere in the state, and in other states which have copied Moses's law, the Stuyvesant Town formula remains valid.

Metropolitan then achieved a master-stroke. In a taxpayer's action brought against the company a decision had been rendered holding that Metropolitan's discrimination policy might be challenged when the project was completed and tenants were to be selected. To meet the issue, and to appease its Negro policy-holders, Metropolitan announced a new project, "Riverton," to accommodate 1,200 families in Harlem itself. There would now be one project for whites and one for Negroes—on the Southern pattern. Metropolitan argued that this would give Negroes the "equal protection of the laws." Northern public-housing authorities have demonstrated in their projects that in a self-contained community which creates its own environment segregation is illogical and unnecessary, but the Jim Crow pattern was established for these subsidized private developments. Here was Metropolitan's formula for meeting the discrimination issue in other states where Negro opposition might make itself felt. New York City's Board of Estimate helped by pouring the balm of several million dollars in tax exemption upon the Riverton undertaking. Interest in promoting Stuyvesant Towns has burst forth with renewed vigor. Subsidized segregation is to be the new pattern for urban development. An organized effort is even being made to repeal the anti-discrimination ordinance.

The Stuyvesant Town formula, carried to its logical conclusion in our future living pattern, will mean selected "respectable" families living in fenced-off neighborhoods, while the "undesirables," poor or rich, are relegated to ghettos. More important still, government, in divesting itself of its police powers over the streets in the project and exercising its eminent domain and spending powers for

Metropolitan, has used its prerogatives to aid private corporations that openly refuse to abide by the restrictions to which government itself is subject in exercising those powers. Here, in the name of slum clearance, was a device for the evasion of the troublesome Bill of Rights, with its cumbersome insistence on equality and due process. If the bartering of public powers could be carried over from urban redevelopment into other enterprises, a remarkable innovation in government was indicated.

But if the city must pay so dearly for slum clearance, it might at least expect that slums would be cleared. Not even that seems likely as Metropolitan moves to overcome the most recent obstacle in its path. It now appears that the families living in the area to be cleared have no place to go. Neither Mr. Moses nor Metropolitan has made any provision for their rehousing. They can neither afford to pay Metropolitan's rents in the new project nor find quarters in a public project elsewhere.

Moses is not daunted. He has proposed that 12,000 old-law tenements of the 55,000 the city has been trying to get rid of for half a century be given a new lease of life. If their owners would agree to put in heat, hot water, and baths, it was hoped that families would be willing to pay a little more than at present and would move out of the Stuyvesant Town site, allowing Metropolitan to proceed with its venture. The city will even agree to endow the slum owners with a full ten-year tax exemption on these new improvements. Mayor LaGuardia says Metropolitan will lend them the money at 2½ per cent if they will help.

Thus on the one hand the city would be subsidizing Stuyvesant Town to clear a single slum and on the other perpetuating slums all over the city which it had hoped eventually to clear away. The increased site-acquisition cost brought about by the proposed "improvements" would make assemblage for large-scale redevelopment impossible for decades to come. Three official bodies—one in 1920, another in 1926, and a third in 1936—had grappled with the idea of rehabilitating these tenements and concluded that their narrow lots, windowless rooms, lack of yard space, and incurably objectionable design made the task impossible. They found it wiser and cheaper to tear them down and reconstruct the areas. All this was disregarded. When civic organizations objected to Moses's new proposal, he quickly amended his plan to permit remodeling only in areas approved by the Planning Commission. Enactment of legislation to carry out this plan seems assured. Since Moses, the author of Stuyvesant Town, is also the planning commissioner in charge, the disposition of the residents of the area may be awaited with interest.

But even before the bill has become law and with no remodeling begun, Metropolitan has suddenly notified tenants to move from the area. They are being shunted off in station wagons to hovels which Metropolitan says are "not worse" than those they now occupy. Many are being forced to pay higher rents. Hundreds of dwellings which could not be rented even with the present shortage are being pressed into service and again producing revenue. Slums ripe for the wrecking crew are booming. With city officials denouncing landlords of loft buildings and offices for raising the rents of big industries, official encouragement for the crowding of slum dwellers into ramshackle hazards seems incomprehen-

sible. The OPA sits by, "watching with interest." One wonders why, with a war on, all this must be done now, particularly since Metropolitan cannot build now anyway. But there is much to wonder about in this strange undertaking.

The lessons so early derived from Stuyvesant Town are of more than local significance, for urban redevelopment



"... We Shall Never Surrender!"

occupies a prime position on our post-war programs. There is a place for private enterprise in urban redevelopment, but our programs can be carried out only if it cooperates with the public-housing authorities. A slum is not cleared simply by tearing it down. Alternative accommodations for the slum families to be displaced, at rents they can afford, must be made available by public-housing agencies. The acquisition by cities of substandard areas and their public resale at use value to anyone willing to build in conformity with adequate planning standards are preferable to the severance of large areas of land from public control and their transfer to specially privileged institutions. Above all, the conferring of

public powers on private corporations must be resisted unless it is coupled with public controls adequate to guard against the abuse of fundamental rights.

Much is still to be learned about urban redevelopment. It seems plain that New York City officials were so awed by Metropolitan's offer that they forgot to calculate the costs, examine the problems involved, or consider the long-run political implications. Construction of Stuyvesant Town and Riverton will go on, for these officials seem set upon seeing it through. The two projects may be worth their cost in the end if they demonstrate to the public how not to undertake urban redevelopment.

## Conscription Between Wars

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE big debate on permanent peace-time conscription—or "universal military training," as the army leaders prefer to call it—continues to rage, making many loud and strange sounds but very little sense. The issue has been further confused by the astonishing variety of proposals for a labor draft, or "work-or-fight" act, a measure which in some quarters of the public mind has got mixed up with the military-training proposal. Recognizing this confusion, and understanding the importance of pushing only one thing at a time—the old strategic principle of concentration of forces—the army leaders have momentarily called off their high-pressure campaign to get a military-training bill through Congress now and have told the various citizens' committees organized to back the proposal to hold their fire until the smoke of the work-or-fight mêlée has lifted somewhat. But the ammunition is being stockpiled for a new barrage, due to start about the middle of April. The opposition, sensing this, is getting in its own counter-battery work before H hour.

Surveying the scrambled and furious scene with the typically jaundiced eye the ex-service man reserves for civilian foolishness, this veteran is not sure which of the opponents he regards with more disfavor. Such roarings about "teaching men to brush their teeth"! Such counter-roarings about "showing the rest of the world we have no faith in Dumbarton Oaks"! All nonsense, friends. I submit that the only relevant issue is: will the proposal contribute to the future security of the United States?

### FEW BENEFITS ON THE SIDE

Friends of universal military training make much of the subsidiary benefits to be derived, and thereby, it seems to me, weaken their chief argument. The training is supposed to contribute to the nation's health, provide discipline for the wayward young, absorb a large number of "the unemployed" every year, mold character, develop better citizens, and heighten democracy and tolerance among racial, religious, economic, social, and sectional groups of the nation. In short, a year in the army will do all the wise and good things which the home, the school, the church, and the community

have been trying to do for some centuries without astounding success.

The health argument can be fairly readily dismissed. A year of hard physical work in the open air naturally makes almost anyone pretty rugged, but by age eighteen fundamental defects in health are generally there to stay. Military training can't cure basic defects springing from poor diet, bad housing, or lack of medical attention. To be sure, a yearly reminder from army doctors that 40 per cent of the nation's man-power is physically unqualified for military training might jar us eventually into a program for raising our health standards, but there must be a cheaper way of doing it.

As for discipline, the army variety is most transitory in its effects and is more likely than not to produce a reaction against any form of discipline—I know a veteran of the last war who won't stand in line for a movie to this day, and I find myself baring my fangs when anyone speaks to me peremptorily. The army system is the reverse of self-discipline, encourages gold-bricking and cheating on the boss, and is essentially anti-democratic.

The half-veiled promise of mopping up the unemployed by throwing them into uniform is the best example extant of the poverty-stricken imagination; as Hanson Baldwin says in the current *Harper's*, "it is the very argument that Hitler used; it is the apologia and last resource of a government which has failed to solve its domestic problems."

The argument that military training molds character and develops better citizens is subject in general to the same objections as the argument based on discipline. In the past few months I've read a great many letters on the subject of conscription from service men overseas, responding to a request from the American Veterans' Committee; and the men are pretty definite in minimizing these particular advantages. One writes: "I object to the continued demoralization of youth. I have seen enough of it already: boys too young to shave gambling and drinking, developing a vocabulary generously embellished with cheap, vulgar, and lewd terms, boys learning first hand about venereal diseases from girls neglected and degraded by their own people. Is there any reason

to expect the program to be other than this?" The man is obviously a puritan, but his sermon has its validity. Others object that the army doesn't develop real self-reliance, but so limits the areas of the men's authority as to discourage them from thinking for themselves; this, to be sure, varies enormously, depending on the branch of service, the individual's job, and the character of his commanding officer. The peacetime tradition of West Point and Annapolis emphasizes saying yes to one's superiors; it tends to deaden originality, research, criticism, and the inquiring mind. Transmitted to trainees, this might in a year develop a certain firmness of mind and character, but it could never contribute toward forming the bold, free, and questing citizen we like to think typically American.

As for the heightening of democracy and tolerance, it is true that greater understanding of other men is hard to escape in the army, although I've known men who could do it. I judge the experience as a whole to be a valuable training in democracy, but its influence is strongest on men under fire, where one quickly learns that shells are not choosy about skin color or the church a buddy attends. It is not so effective in quiet rear areas. Again, the fact that an army year may teach men some rudiments of democratic life is not a truly relevant argument in favor of conscription; but to tell the story fairly I'll quote another soldier's list of "factors which have broadened my mental horizon (I hope)":

Living in a different section of the United States. Learning, through trial and error, how to fit into a community, how to gain the respect and friendship of people outside your own walk of life. . . . Living and working with a fair cross-section of the people of the United States. Realizing the complexity of large undertakings of management, and the influence of the "human element" on the efficiency of operations involving large numbers of people.

#### TRAINED RESERVES MEAN NATIONAL SECURITY

Having decided that a year in the army is primarily useful as training for another year in the army, let us now attempt a small demolition of the side-car arguments of those who oppose universal military training. They say conscription never prevented a war; that a professional force can handle any trouble, at least until we get into a major war, when our great man-power and industrial resources will spring into action; that present weapons will be obsolete, and the first trainees too old; that we must wait to see what our international commitments will be; that enactment of legislation now would serve notice on the world that we had no faith in international cooperation; that we would develop a ruling military caste; and that we should wait till the boys come home before deciding.

True, conscription alone has prevented no wars. No one contemplates conscription alone: it is to be linked to a general system of collective security, in which aggressive steps must be taken to prevent wars from happening. The argument to me represents the worst kind of hangover in liberal thinking from the bad days between the wars when we thought that the way to avoid fighting was to be unprepared to fight. Indeed, the most damaging criticism to be made of the opposition is that most of the statements now issued against military training could equally well have been issued in 1920 or 1936. The reverse argument, I believe, can be

shown to be true; Commander Stassen put it well at Minneapolis when he said:

We ourselves should remain strong. . . . We should do this to fulfil the police-force responsibility which will be ours in enforcing and supporting the world code of justice and the United Nations organization. . . . We should make it plain that much as we want peace we will fight again and will fight anyone who basically violates world justice. . . . This position, I am convinced, is more likely to maintain peace than an announced policy of making ourselves weak and of not fighting, even though provoked.

Now it is also true that the professional force—a navy requiring perhaps half a million men, an army striking force of perhaps a quarter-million (with another 150,000 or so to train the draftees), and army air forces of perhaps half a million—will be the first line of defense, sufficient also to squelch aggression under United Nations direction. If this is all that is ever required, we can praise the Lord. But it is the function of the nation's military leaders to plan for the worst possible contingency—namely, a big war, waged at some indeterminate date and for causes not now at all clear, against another major power or combination of major powers. It would be folly, for instance, for the Combined Chiefs of Staff to overlook the possibility that American commercial aggression in foreign trade and airlines might involve us in explosive economic warfare with one or more of our present allies; or that we might export unemployment, causing worldwide economic chaos, always an incentive to war; or that either England or Russia might some day seek to strengthen Germany against the other, which would inevitably draw us in when the conflict came. These are not pretty thoughts, but they must be the thoughts of the strategists: and in a world where the single most important element in foreign policy is the enormous potential of the rocket bomb and the stratospheric bomb- or troop-carrying aircraft, one can afford to think in nothing less than strategic terms.

In these terms, the case for conscription is, I think, made clear. Trained reserves are the nation's eventual security in modern war, and our relatively small professional army might be decimated in the first week of any future war. One soldier writes:

We need the reserves to back up our initial action against any threat to the peace, should our first blow fail. As we learned to our sorrow in this war, the sooner an aggressor is smashed, the less is the cost in men, materials, and unhappiness. And the existence of these reserves—and of the draft as an official policy—will serve notice to the world that we intend to back up our peace policy if necessary.

Another says:

It would seem to be a contradiction emerging from this war, truly a war of liberation, that an intricate and powerful armed coalition be available at all times to remove any threat of aggression. . . . I cannot consider it as such, for the matter of rocket bombs, jet-propulsion planes, and super-super air fortresses—plus the projected economic expansion on a worldwide scale, calling for industrialization of the backward nations in South America, Africa, and Asia—will completely alter the structure of world politics. Just the matter of rocket bombs alone must qualitatively change political thinking on a world scale.

Present weapons will indeed become obsolete, but this is not vital. Thorough basic training not only teaches soldiering but familiarizes a man with the family of weapons he

may be called upon to use, and a year's training will produce many specialists whose skills can be brought back to a fine pitch in comparatively short order. The men who train immediately after this war will be too old to go into the front lines of any foreseeable war, but it takes eight men in the rear to keep one man fighting, and again the establishment of the basic draft policy is the major consideration.

As for waiting to see what our international commitments will be, it would appear that this is the very reason for establishing a system of training soon. We at least know that we are in for deeply troubled times, during which it will be prudent to be strong. The same logic knocks out the argument that such legislation would show the world our lack of faith in international cooperation—an argument which may be classified with the charge that a man who takes out fire insurance on his house must be an arsonist. A demonstration of our preparedness to use force on the world scene would convince our anxious friends—and enemies—that we have joined the world and abjured isolationism. I can't see every other nation asking whom we are preparing this army against, for no other nation is going to disarm itself in these times. We should, in the first instance and until the world organization is a tested concern more firmly embodying the machinery for administering justice, work toward a *minimum* basis of armaments, and only later a *maximum*.

The objection that we shall thus develop a ruling military caste is best overruled, as Irving Lipkowitz pointed out in a recent issue of this magazine, by the very guarantees implicit in a *universal*, and therefore a *citizens'*, army. If we choose a professional army, if we leave our military affairs in the hands of West Pointers, then we may indeed breed a ruling military caste. By choosing a *citizens'* army we attain a certain element of democratizing flux and flow through its otherwise slowly hardening arteries. Further, we teach our citizens to know the army life, therefore to love peace and even to work for it. "Any G. I. will tell you that to really hate the army you have to be in it a while," a soldier writes. "This war has created the strongest anti-militarists we shall ever see—and the peace-time draft would keep up the good work." In a democracy the army is the instrument of policy, not the maker of policy.

Finally, it is objected that we should wait until the fighting men come home. The response to the American Veterans' Committee's question overrules the objection; a large majority of the answers favored universal military training. Having suffered bloodshed and boredom at least partly because their country was not prepared to fight, the soldiers feel that one of the important factors that will help us to avoid another war is to be ready to fight it.

It seems to me that the proponents of the measure have not yet made these matters clear. Their insistence on dubious secondary benefits is misleading and weakens their case; the apparent anxiety of the military leaders to avoid debate and opposition is bad thinking, and gives weight to the argument that they are authoritarian and anti-democratic. I believe that the opponents of universal military training are largely living in a dream world, but I hope they will be brought to see the realities by a frank presentation of the issues, not brushed aside with foolish urgings that "the army wants it so you'd better accept it." If reasonable argu-

ments are used, a large majority of our citizens should come to take an alert interest in matters of national defense and to insist upon a program which would embrace a highly skilled, mobile striking force engaged in extensive maneuvers and the development of new tactics, intensive research into new weapons, and a universally drafted body of reserves to provide a firm foundation for enforcing peace.

## In the Wind

THE LEGISLATURE of South Carolina, in revising the salary schedules of public schools, has required recertification of all teachers "in order to avoid any possible discrimination between races." . . . On the other hand, the city council of Columbia, South Carolina, on March 13 unanimously rejected a proposal to put Negro policemen in Negro districts.

NEW YORK NOTES: You can safely take your wife or sister to the Roxy Theater. The song "Rum and Coca-Cola," as currently sung on the stage there, has been de-alcoholized to "Lime and Coca-Cola." . . . Bickford's, a chain of cafeterias, has placed the following sign on every table: "Gentlemen, please remove your hats. You can help us create an atmosphere which will attract some very desirable lady customers."

"POPS PIUS today received General Brunetto Brunetti . . ." (New York Times of March 11). We know there's a movement to make the Holy Father an American institution, but is this a sufficiently dignified way of promoting it?

SPOKESMEN of the undertaking business in West Virginia conferred with Representative Cleveland M. Bailey at Clarksburg on March 5 and asked him to try to have the War Production Board release larger quantities of cloth for lining caskets. The Clarksburg News reports that they put it to their Congressman this way: "Shall we have caskets properly lined to give our dead here decent burials or shall we send the material to other countries to clothe the living?"

RALPH SMITH, an advertising man, defended radio commercials in a letter to the New York Times of March 11 thus: "We have found that nobody relieved of a stomach ache by a remedy purchased through a radio commercial ever complains about them. . . . Persons who complain about commercials are, as a rule, disgustingly healthy."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Nazi sentries in front of certain German-occupied buildings in Copenhagen have recently been supplied with steel screens, behind which they stand. One of these sentries was recently surprised by the smiles he got from Copenhageners who passed him. Finally he stepped out in front of the screen and discovered that a sign had been attached to it. The sign read: "He has no pants."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## *Fascist Bridgehead in Bolivia*

BY JOHN W. WHITE

THE reorganization of the Bolivian Cabinet to make room for three more ministers from the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (M. N. R.), the closest counterpart of the Third Reich's National Socialist Party that any South American country has produced, completes the worst double-cross the United States Department of State has suffered in recent years. The double-cross has the virtue, however, of making impossible any further wishful thinking about the nature of the Villarroel regime at La Paz. Bolivia is now the second out-and-out pro-Nazi, anti-Yanqui, anti-Semitic, anti-capitalist nation in South America; it has even outstripped the Argentine under the Farrell-Perón team, from which it received its original inspiration and tutoring.

The bridgehead established at Buenos Aires in June, 1943, to make South America safe for Nazi-fascist ideology when it is overthrown in Europe has thus been consolidated into a fourteen-hundred-mile salient driven deep into the heart of the continent, where it presents a serious threat to Chile and Peru. With Paraguay already sucked into the Nazi orbit through a puppet government that takes its orders from Buenos Aires, Hitler's agents in Argentina can boast honestly, as they probably do, that they have acquired control over 24 per cent of the territory and 20 per cent of the population of South America.

When Ambassador Avra Warren went to La Paz last May to survey the situation for the State Department, he made it clear to Major Gualberto Villarroel that his de facto regime would not be recognized by the United States or many of the other American republics until it had purged itself of its pro-Nazi elements, beginning with the clever young Minister of Finance, Victor Paz Estenssoro, recognized Führer of the M. N. R. Paz Estenssoro and the others who were objectionable to Washington were "purged" by being permitted to resign from the Cabinet and set themselves up as candidates for election to Congress. Political leaders in Bolivia who should know what they are talking about say that Villarroel assured Ambassador Warren that not more than 40 members of the M. N. R. would be among the 109 men elected to the new Chamber of Deputies.

Other promises which Villarroel offered in exchange for recognition were the delivery to the United States of the more notorious of the German and Japanese agents operating in Bolivia, general amnesty for political prisoners, early and honest elections, the nationalization of Axis firms, and cessation of the shipment of rubber and tin to Argentina in violation of Bolivia's contracts to sell its entire output of those commodities to the United States. In reliable diplomatic circles in South America it is reported that Villarroel also was required to give a promise not to molest Bolivia's 60,000 Jewish refugees, whose persecution was one of the announced objectives of the M. N. R. and the military clique of young officers who are supporting the regime.

The German and Japanese agents were surrendered and taken to United States prison camps. Most of the other promises were either not kept at all or kept in ways that were farcical. A great to-do was made, for example, over the release of José Antonio Arze, leader of the largest opposition party, the Partido de Izquierda Revolucionario, who had been jailed soon after he returned from exile. But when it was found that he had been elected to Congress, an attempt was made to assassinate him and he had to return to the United States.

Villarroel insisted that in return for his unsecured promises his provisional government be recognized before the elections instead of after, as had been suggested by several of the South American governments, including Chile. He won his point, and the State Department formally extended diplomatic recognition just a month before the elections of July 2 last.

When the ballots were counted, it was found that seventy instead of forty of the new Congressmen were members of the M. N. R., which gave Villarroel's party a clear majority. This majority was necessary if Villarroel was to be elected constitutional President, since in Bolivian electoral practice the President and Vice-President are chosen by Congress. All the "purged" pro-Nazi leaders were elected, and as members of Congress continued to exert control over Villarroel. Paz Estenssoro went to the Senate.

Within six months after the July elections the M. N. R. had become so powerful that Villarroel was obliged to choose between taking the "objectionables" back into the Cabinet or stepping down himself. So Washington's *bête noire*, Victor Paz Estenssoro, is again in the government, and the entire setup is exactly as it was when the State Department refused to recognize it. There never has been any question that the M. N. R. leaders are pro-Nazi, anti-Yanqui, and closely in touch with Argentine nationalist leaders and Hitler agents at Buenos Aires. The only question has been whether they should have a place in the La Paz government. Washington said no; the M. N. R. said yes. At the present writing the M. N. R. is two up on Washington.

Bolivia's Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario deserves the careful attention of anyone who is interested in the machinery by which Nazi ideology is being transplanted to the Western Hemisphere while we are risking millions of lives and spending billions of dollars to uproot it in Europe. During the Chaco War (1932-35) the youth of Bolivia awoke to the necessity of seeking solutions for the country's many pressing problems. For years the government posts had rotated among the same group of men, leaders of the self-constituted governing class. Successive governments had promoted railroad construction and other expensive public works which yielded an enormous amount of graft to the authorities. They had paid no attention to the more urgent but less profitable needs of the people, such as the incorporation of the enormous Indian population into the national life, the im-

## CONFIRMATION

*In an article published in the last issue of The Nation, "V-Day and Revolution," we said that the presence of Allied troops in the liberated countries has often prevented existing leftist tendencies from being fully demonstrated. The situation, we said, will change, to the benefit of the progressive forces, once Allied armies withdraw and leave to the European peoples the solution of European problems. Our theory is confirmed by Marquis W. Childs, who, writing from Rome in the New York Post of March 14, reports: "The recent escape of General Roatta, former Chief of Staff under the Fascist regime, and the violence that followed are evidence, on the one hand, of the weakness of the government and, on the other, of the unrest that is close beneath the surface of the country. The government could not cope with the situation but for the presence of Allied troops." [Emphasis ours.]*

migration of skilled laborers and farmers, industrialization, reduction of the appalling infant death rate, the cleaning up of malaria, and a general public-health program.

After the war the returning soldiers united with organizations of university students and other youth movements to form several socialist groups dedicated to the improvement of social conditions. These socialist youth movements became strong enough to overthrow President Tejada Sorzano in May, 1936, and the military government of Colonel Toro in July, 1937, and of Colonel Germán Busch in August, 1939. But they had no political tradition behind them, were not properly organized as a national party, and had no coherent program of government after they came to power. They had no trouble in electing Germán Busch President in May, 1938, but were unable to control him for the achievement of their social objectives. A year after his election Busch defied the young socialists and the other political parties and set himself up as a dictator.

It was after the overthrow of Busch and during the provisional presidency of General Quintanilla (August, 1939, to April, 1940) that Bolivia's young socialists became ardent admirers of the Nazis and developed ideas which led to the creation of the M. N. R. and the present pro-Nazi setup at La Paz. General Quintanilla devoted his brief provisional term to preparing the country for the presidential elections of March, 1940, in which there were two candidates—General Peñaranda, representing the old traditional parties, which had banded together as rightists, and José Antonio Arze, representing the leftists. The young veterans of the Chaco War joined the rightists and elected Peñaranda. They had been tremendously impressed by the sweeping military victories of the Nazis in Europe. And they believed that the strongly nationalist doctrines of the Nazis in Germany and the Fascists in Italy were just what was needed in Bolivia. In this belief they began to combine the various existing nationalistic groups in what since June, 1942, has been known as the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario.

The organization, the program, and the political methods of the movement are almost identical with those of the Nazi Party. The close relations between the leaders of the move-

ment and the German legation at La Paz were revealed in the State Department's memorandum to the South and Central American governments urging the non-recognition of the Villarreal government.

Nazi influence is also strong in the young officers' movement which grew up after the close of the Chaco War. Feeling the same urge to face and solve the nation's problems, the returning officers organized themselves into several secret lodges. Many of the younger members were sent to Germany and Italy to complete their military studies and returned imbued with Nazi and Fascist ideology. When the Bolivian War College was founded in January, 1939, these converts were enrolled in the first classes. By the middle of 1943, when President Peñaranda began to totter, most of them had become majors. At the War College they had studied political and international law, finance, and government, and they felt themselves capable of governing the country better than the politicians. They merged their lodges into a single unit, known as the Mariscal Santa Cruz Lodge, and plotted the overthrow of Peñaranda on December 20, 1943.

When the military plot was complete, the majors of the Santa Cruz lodge found that in order to keep the revolution in power they would have to have the support of a political party. So they invited the M. N. R. to take part in the revolt. After Peñaranda had been overthrown, the important positions in the government and the army were distributed among the majors of the Santa Cruz Lodge and the leaders of the M. N. R. The officers became so occupied with their new duties that they had no time for the lodge, and Santa Cruz ceased to exist about March, 1944.

Resenting the way the government plums were monopolized by the majors, a younger generation of captains and lieutenants who had been admitted to membership in the Santa Cruz Lodge now organized a new lodge, called the Ingavi, which has become one of the most powerful forces in the present situation in Bolivia. Ingavi officers run the police department, the detective bureau, and the traffic bureau, and also are in control of most of the army regiments. Neither the M. N. R. nor the majors are strong enough to defy Ingavi, nor could they long remain in power without its support.

Ingavi is accused of responsibility for the present reign of terror in Bolivia. It was Ingavi which kidnaped and tortured the Jewish tin-mine owner, Maurice Hochschild. Both the M. N. R. and Ingavi have threatened to clear the Jews out of Bolivia. Paz Estenssoro, the recognized brains of the M. N. R., is a notorious Jew-baiter.

It is generally agreed that Victor Paz Estenssoro is the man to be watched in the Bolivian situation. Members of the M. N. R. refer to him as *El Jefe*, the Spanish equivalent of Führer. He is a smart economist and shrewd politician, with strong presidential ambitions. He has long been in close contact with Hitler agents at Buenos Aires and was a bitter opponent of Peñaranda's cooperation with the war effort of the United States. His position in the Bolivian government is very similar to that of his close friend, Colonel Juan D. Perón, in Argentina.

Diplomatic observers at La Paz have reported that President Villarreal is virtually a prisoner of Ingavi and the M. N. R., the leaders of which permit him to carry on the

routine administrative duties of the presidency but dictate to him on all matters of policy, internal as well as international. It would not surprise some of these observers if Villarroel should be forced out of the presidency eventually and his place taken by Paz Estenssoro.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

**A**N ADMINISTRATIVE official was to be appointed in a rural district near Aachen, a sort of liaison man between the inhabitants and the American authorities. The district has always been Catholic—it came under Prussian control after the Napoleonic wars—and the four hundred peasants who stayed after the retreat of the German armies had defied the express command of the party. They could certainly not be considered fanatical Hitlerites. On the contrary, almost all showed disgust and resentment in speaking of the party which had brought so much unhappiness to the country. The American authorities decided, therefore, to let the people choose the man whom they considered best fitted for the post. For the first time in many years the principle of democracy was to be applied in one tiny little part of Germany.

The four hundred peasants were gathered together in Aachen in the ruins of a former hall to cast their ballots. The result was an almost unanimous vote for Farmer X. That was fine—until it came out that Farmer X had held office under the Nazis and was therefore unacceptable to the American authorities. Another election was then held, and the voters obediently chose someone else. They remained of the opinion, however, that Herr X was the best man for the position. And they could not see that it made any real difference whether or not he had held a Nazi office. Of course, they said, they would not have voted for one of the higher Nazis or for any bully from the Gestapo. But X was not a "*richtiger* Nazi." What did it matter if he had been used by the Nazis?

I have related the incident because it throws light on the chief difficulty that will be encountered in setting up an administration in Germany purged of Nazis. New German areas are constantly being occupied. Conditions are desperate everywhere, and it is urgently necessary to organize a new administration as quickly as possible. Allied personnel can furnish no more than the skeleton. Unquestionably most of the officials will have to be Germans, and it is generally agreed that no Nazis shall be used. But what is a Nazi? How can the Allies determine who is a Nazi and who is not?

The difficulty is very real. For the actual situation is not at all what many people naively imagine. Germans do not fall neatly into two categories—Nazis and non-Nazis. The great mass of Germans, let us say 95 per cent, were in fact both Nazi and non-Nazi at the same time—in every possible degree and gradation and mixture. And furthermore there are practically no outward criteria by which they can be reliably sorted out. Yet it is from this 95 per cent that the Allies must select their administrative personnel.

In the tiny minority outside this 95 per cent there are undoubtedly some uncompromising anti-Nazis, people who have

always, as believers in democracy and in peace, been against the regime. Since an organized German underground has never existed—all accounts of it were pure fiction—it will be pretty hard to find out who belonged to this honorable order. And unfortunately not many persons of this group can be supposed to be still alive—however many there were once. Occasionally individuals will turn up who can prove their claims, and of course the Allied authorities should make every possible use of them. There are also persons who can be classified as total Nazis, who in every respect are the embodiment of the Nazi doctrine. Among these are the several thousand officials at the top of the Nazi hierarchy, all members of the Gestapo, and all members of the Nazi Party who joined it voluntarily, that is, before 1933. The criteria by which they can be known are relatively simple, and certainly they should be absolutely barred from the new administration.

Membership in the party does not really prove anything, for from 1933 on hundreds of thousands were forced to join. Nor does the fact that a man held office in some Nazi organization mean much, for that too was often a matter of compulsion. Without any question every single German belonged to one or more of the countless Nazi organizations and discharged the duties required of him. Every German had one or more Nazi membership cards in his pocket. That fact does not prove that he was a Nazi at heart. But neither does the fact that he was compelled to become a member prove that in his heart he was not a Nazi.

As a result of all this, the distinction between a "Nazi" and a "non-Nazi" became less and less important in the mind of the people. The dividing line was still further obliterated by the war, which all Germans experienced together as Germans, more closely united than ever, in the exaltation of victory as in the misery of defeat. The word "Nazi" is not heard less often in Germany than formerly, but when it is used it refers to Hitler, or Himmler, the bigwigs, the Gauleiters, or the Gestapo. It is not applied to neighbors, to employees in the rationing office, to the postman or the traffic policeman at the corner. Such people are not criticized for being Nazis—if they are just ordinary Nazis, they are normal types. They are criticized only if they are "*Nazi-Schweine*"—defiant, evil exaggerations of the norm. That seems to be the criterion used today.

I don't believe the Allied administration will be able to judge people by any other standard. With 95 per cent of the population former Nazis—though of all possible degrees and shades—the Allied authorities will be able to avoid the use of exaggerated, defiant, evil Nazis but not of ordinary Nazis. And that such a limit must be set to the purging of the administration is less of a misfortune than it may seem. No one should have the illusion that the Germans who accept posts in the government set up by the Allies are, in their innermost hidden feelings, anything but anti-Ally. If the foreigners at the top of the new bureaucratic hierarchy show any weakness, if they are unequal to their task, the Germans in the lower ranks will snipe at them on every possible occasion. No method of selection will alter that fact. On the other hand, if the Allied administrators prove strong and efficient, they will be obeyed to the dot—even by former Nazis, or rather especially by them.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I ONCE WROTE a series of articles showing up columnists. Now I've become a columnist; and I'm looking forward to the day when I shall be included in a series showing up columnists.

This week I am confronted with the occupational problem of columnists—what to write about. I had fondly hoped that, like other practitioners, I should have become so well conditioned to being a columnist by the time I met the problem that I wouldn't recognize it.

As a matter of fact, I do have things to write about—a list neatly inscribed in a notebook. There are even some things I feel I "ought" to write about. Which reminds me of a remark of Joseph Wood Krutch's when he heard me say that we ought to review a certain dull book because it was "up our street." He said it might be a good idea to move to another street.

My real trouble this week is that I have spring fever, which I caught from spending an afternoon in the sun. I was merely sitting on a bench in a park beside the Hudson near the George Washington Bridge. But the jut of land seemed like the prow of a great vessel. I had to leave, unfortunately, before it sailed.

I think I shall surrender to the season and content myself with a few minor notes, or notes for notes.

ITEM: The behavior of most dispensers of cigarettes is becoming unbearable. It just shows what even a little power can do to the human ego. I hate the look in the eyes of the man who tells you he has no cigarettes when you know very well that he has but that you are not to be favored. And the worst thing about the encounter is your own willingness to appease the liar for the sake of a few cheroots.

ITEM: In the January issue of *Horizon* John Lehmann protested against the statement in an earlier issue implying that books published in England during the war compared unfavorably with the French production. To prove his point he gave a partial list of English books. I must say it's impressive and far richer than anyone might have expected it to be.

Cyril Connolly, by the way, has been in Paris, and some of his reports will appear in *The Nation*. . . . Another English journalist who has been in France mailed an article from Paris which arrived here uncensored. He had written on the envelope waggishly, "Censored by [his own name]." Apparently the real censors took him at his word.

ITEM: Somebody ought to do a piece comparing the excitement and division among intellectuals in England during the generation after the French Revolution with the effect in our own time of the course of events since the Russian Revolution of 1917. Not long ago I picked up Edward Dowden's

life of Robert Southey in the English Men of Letters series and was much struck by the parallels. I quote:

The rough draft of "Joan" was hardly laid aside [this was in 1803] when Southey's sympathies with the revolutionary movement in France, strained already to the utmost point of tension, were fatally rent. All his faith, all his hope, were given to the Girondin Party, and from the Girondins he had singled out Brissot as his ideal of political courage, purity, and wisdom. . . . But now the Girondins . . . were in the death carts . . . and Brissot was among the martyrs. Probably no other public event so deeply affected Southey.

Southey was an anti-Napoleonist. "I did not fall into the error," he wrote in 1809, "of those who, having been the friends of France when they imagined that the cause of liberty was implicated in her success, transferred their attachment from the Republic to the Military Tyranny in which it ended, and regarded with complacency the progress of oppression because France was the oppressor."

There was a Spanish question. "Since the stirring day of the French Revolution," said Southey, "I have never felt half so much excitement in political events as the present state of Spain has given me." What Southey ardently desired, according to Dowden, was "a federal republic which should unite the Peninsula, and allow the internal governments to remain distinct."

And there was Greece.

Of course all parallels break down. But they are interesting none the less, if only because they prove that everything has happened before—but never in the same way.

ITEM: *Harper's* reprinted in its February issue excerpts—text and pictures—from a book called "Old Homes Made New" by William M. Woollett, which was published in New York in 1878. The views before and after alteration show with what success a fine colonial house could be turned into gingerbread.

"This house," says Mr. Woollett in gingerbread prose, "was found to be a substantial brick edifice. . . . On the exterior, the plan being rectangular, the effort to overcome this has been made by the breaking up of the features of the roof, and in conjunction with the brickwork, wood and shingle work have been freely introduced. . . . The introduction of new piazzas on the front and rear gives breadth to the exterior. A bay at the end of the hallway over the piazza and balcony formed in front of same; and balcony canopied, again corbeled out over the bay, help to remove this center gable from the ordinary. The chimney at the end of the bay is carried up full height with a portion of the gable on the side brought out to meet and support it, supplying at the same time a cover to the balcony over the bay."

You get the idea. But you should see the pictures.

ITEM: Here is something new in complaints. A landlord called up during a party to complain that one of the guests, on the way downstairs, had barked at his dog.

## THE INTERIOR VOYAGE

BY PAUL ROSENFELD

THE old feeling that "one person has written all the books" may be renewed in wondering readers of Kenneth Patchen's "The Journal of Albion Moonlight," which recently has been reprinted (United Book Guild, \$3). Though in mood the volume is singularly inhuman, in method and symbol mysteriously it resembles a small group of lovely and infrequently noticed pieces of literature, some of which are centuries old. All were by Frenchmen excepting one which was by an American of French descent who lived in France, and there is nothing in "Albion Moonlight" to suggest that Patchen was familiar with any of them when he wrote his book.

They were given the generic name of *The Interior Voyage* by the critic Albert Thibaudet in 1920. The occasion was an arrival in their thin rank, that of "Suzanne and the Pacific" by the late and lamented Jean Giraudoux. The method in all of them is that of a Log or Voyage; the symbols are incidents of travel through an unfolding landscape—which in one case is that of a walled garden, in another that of a tropical island, in a third that of a many-colored archipelago and an ocean stretching toward the Pole. The incidents are arranged along the lines of unverifiable experience, and somewhere in each book its author's voice is heard declaring that the journey is his dream or imagining. He marks his fiction thus as a piece of self-reflection. Indeed, the scenes and details, the personages and their adventures are allegories or symbols of the interior life and its impulses, objects, and conflicts. The *Voyages* are the upshots of combinations of the motives of romantic fantasy and exclusive self-reflection.

According to Thibaudet, the classic specimen of the *Interior Voyage* is the sweet thirteenth-century poem which Chaucer paraphrased in part and Spenser studied, "The Romance of the Rose"; at least the portion of it which was composed by Guillaume de Lorris, a clerk of Orléans. In the "Romance" it is May, and the dreamer's self approaches a garden whose wall is painted with effigies of the shabby attitudes. A damsel called Idleness opens a secret door to him. Inside the garden there are trees, bird song, water in springs and brooks, and the dance of the company of a beautiful lord and lady called Mirth and Gladness. The dreamer's "I" passes the pool fatal to Narcissus and finds a bush of roses "dyed with rich deep crimson hue" and on it a queen rose. Masculine personages urge him to pluck the flower, while feminine ones seek variously to stay him. One of the feminine locks one of the masculine personages in a tower. The "I" exhales his grief in a monologue—in the midst of which the De Lorris section of the "Romance" ends. Jean Clopinel, a student of Paris, later continued it in a social-satirical, anti-ecclesiastic spirit.

Imitations of "The Romance of the Rose" abounded for two centuries; then before 1900 certain French symbolists unconsciously resumed its method and symbols in their effort to mirror the psyche and her complex contents. Across the Channel "The Romance of the Rose" was retranslated into English verse. Among the new *Interior Voyages* was "The Ride of Yeldis" by Viélé-Griffin, a narrative poem whose rapidity of motion has caused it to be considered the best

# BLACK BOY

"If enough such books are written, if enough millions of people read them, maybe, someday, there will be a greater understanding and a more true democracy."

—ORVILLE PRESCOTT, *New York Times*

"... one of the most revealing documents I have read in a long time. Mr. Wright, so far as I know, has done what nobody has done before. He has told the truth about the Negro, and, along with this, what the Negro thinks about the white man's world. This quality of truth, absolute and uncompromising, runs through his book like a charge of electricity; reading it is not unlike taking hold of a high-tension wire... It comes out of life, it is a part of life, and it lets a light into places that have not seen this kind of light before."

—HAMILTON BASSO, *The New Yorker*

"It should be read word for passionate word." —STERLING NORTH, *New York Post*

"In turning the leaves of his life, Richard Wright has turned many a bitter page of America's chronicle... He shows us again here the power of prose, the warm, urgent use of word and phrase that made us recognize his great talent as a writer in *Native Son*." —LILLIAN SMITH, PM

"A triumphant gain... *Black Boy* is the fulfilment of the knowledge and power that was intermittent in *Native Son* and the stories in *Uncle Tom's Children*."

—*The New Republic*

By the author of *NATIVE SON*

# RICHARD WRIGHT

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piece by this American constituent of the French movement. The radiant Yeldis rides to a new country on the death of her father, "gloved in violet," followed by her five various lovers. The poet's "I" is in the cavalcade. One rider drops aside, another dies, a third inquires, "Whither leads the way?" a fourth bears Yeldis off. The solitary poet confesses there exists no lovely thing "that is not loved by him in Her." The Poet's attitude toward "his Muse, his Love, his Life," it has been called. The very symbolistic attitude and an adieu to this attitude became the substance of another of the little species, Gide's purple "Voyage of Urien." A band of shadowy young mystics sail in the previous book from magic island to island, retained by nothing, by the song of the Sirens no more than by the gardens of the Queens. Their ship is paralyzed in a Sargasso Sea, and they wander toward the icy Pole, only to realize that they have not traveled. The extended prose poem gives the state of those who are prevented from acting by habitual self-contemplation.

That post-World War Voyage which moved Thibaudet to his definition, "Suzanne and the Pacific," wittily, humorously, playfully reflects inner self-sufficiency and contentment. Its principal symbol, a tiny coral island, is a tranquil spot inhabited by fabulous birds and a castaway college girl clad in feathers. Man temporarily troubles it, Man who is revealed by the intrusive World War in the form of floating corpses. But Suzanne vanquishes "the demons of Oceania"—fears and egoism. In "Albion Moonlight" there are references to Apollo in the names of certain of the persons—Delian, Carol, Chrystle. The diary portrays a soul's unsuccessful search for its faith. The unrolling landscape is dismal and anarchic and identified as the United States. Because of its universal blasphemy and its facility one hesitates to associate this book with the finer Interior Voyages. Besides, plainly it exhibits the weaknesses of the genre stressed by the scholar Gaston Paris in writing about the offshoots of "The Romance of the Rose." "This new kind of mythology," he wrote, "personified the transitory and evanescent dispositions of the individual rather more than his universal deep-seated ones—and dispensed poets from observing, almost from thinking." Still we cannot ignore the wry humor and pathos in Patchen's lyric flux and chains of images, or his proof of his craftsmanship. Without doubt his Voyage conveys the mood of many persons who were green before Pearl Harbor.

## The Chinese Communists

REPORT FROM RED CHINA. By Harrison Forman.  
Henry Holt and Company. \$3.

IN THE early days of China's war against Japan several highly enthusiastic accounts of the exploits of the Chinese Red Army were published in this country. But in recent years considerably less has been heard of the military and political achievements of the Communists of China's Northwest. Chungking propagandists have hinted that this was because the Red Army was no longer fighting the Japanese. Rumors were circulated to the effect that writers like Edgar Snow, Colonel Evans Carlson, and Agnes Smedley were so partisan that their accounts had to be taken with a substan-

tial measure of salt. It was difficult to refute these allegations because the Chungking government refused to permit any accredited journalists or foreign government representatives to visit the Communist areas. This ironclad blockade was finally broken last summer when a small party of American, British, and Chinese correspondents visited the Border Region. Harrison Forman, who made the trip representing the New York *Herald Tribune*, has recorded his experiences in a notable book that should be read by everyone interested in the dramatic developments now taking place in China.

The Kuomintang authorities in Chungking had always assured the correspondents that the stories that the Border Region was being blockaded were Communist propaganda. But Mr. Forman found that as his party approached the Communist areas no effort was made to deny the existence of the blockade. The blockhouses which surrounded the region were too real to be ignored. Instead, the local Kuomintang officials sought to divert the group's attention by elaborate entertainment, and arranged meetings with "refugees" from the Red areas who told lurid tales of Communist outrages. These elaborate precautions backfired, however, when some of the alleged "refugees" managed to get word to the correspondents secretly that the stories had been manufactured out of whole cloth especially for their benefit.

When the correspondents' party finally arrived at Yen'an after having been carefully shepherded along a devious route, they were immediately impressed by the appearance of the population. Soldiers and civilians alike were quite obviously better fed and better clothed than in any of the sections of Kuomintang China that had been visited. This was surprising in view of the rigid blockade which Chungking had maintained since 1939 and the fact that the area had been, until within the past two or three years, one of the most desolate and impoverished of all China. The transformation had been accomplished by a carefully planned "Production Movement" which put everyone in the region to work—soldiers, officials, merchants, and even habitual loafers—reclaiming vast stretches of barren wasteland, much of which had not been cultivated for centuries. At the same time scores of primitive factories were set up, largely on a cooperative basis, for making essential civilian and military supplies. As a result the area had not only attained virtual self-sufficiency but had reached a level of living in war time that was far above what it had enjoyed in peace time.

The tales of Red terror which he heard in Chungking and on his journey to the Border Region made Mr. Forman particularly eager to assess the political characteristics of Chinese communism. His experiences in the villages, with the army, and at public meetings at Yen'an and elsewhere convinced him that the Kungchintang is not Communist in the Soviet sense at all, but is a peculiarly Chinese movement reminiscent of Jeffersonian democracy in nineteenth-century America. Instead of attempting to set up a dictatorship, the Chinese Communists have consciously sought to develop self-government in the villages and country districts, and have invariably limited the Communist representation on governing bodies to one-third the total membership. When asked why the party persists in calling itself Communist when it does not practice communism, Mao Tze-tung, the head of the party, declared that a change in name would only provide

the party's enemies with an opportunity to make political capital of the action. He declared that the label is unimportant; that ideas and deeds count.

Mr. Forman had plenty of opportunity to assure himself that along with their economic achievements the Communists were carrying on a constant and effective struggle against the Japanese. Almost half of his book is devoted to a graphic account of his visits to guerrilla groups and their fighting on widely scattered parts of the front. He saw enough to be convinced that the secret of the Communist strength is to be found in the unity of home front and war front. In contrast to Kuomintang China, where outbreaks between peasants and soldiers are not infrequent, he found that the peasants throughout the Northwest kept the Red Army closely informed regarding Japanese movements and joined in the battles wherever possible.

The popularity of the Communists among the local population obviously has an important bearing on the protracted conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communists. When Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighth Route Army, was asked if he was not apprehensive over the possibility that after the war the Kuomintang would inherit the vast quantities of American supplies that would be needed to drive the Japanese out of China, he replied that if civil war came, the Kuomintang would find that they had to fight not merely the Red Army but the people of China. The Communist leaders refused to concede the inevitability of a civil war, however, and insisted that China's political problem could be solved under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership if the government would intensify the struggle against Japan and if the government was "elected by the people with the co-operation and support of all classes and all parties." Since the Communist program, stated in these terms, appears to coincide with American policy for China, Americans will profit by a careful study of the resources and prospects of this little-known movement that has sprung up in China's Northwest.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Gertrude Stein's Wars

IT IS A LONG WAY from "Toasted Susie is my ice cream," a famous and representative example of Miss Stein's middle style, to the subject of her new book, "Wars I Have Seen," Miss Stein's direct experience of the Nazi occupation of France (Random House, \$2.50). Yet Miss Stein has made the long journey without losing any of her possessions or prepossessions, her prose rhythm, her affectation, her common sense, her complacency, her fascination with herself, or her love of unqualified generalization about the inner essence of anything and everything.

This book was begun during the early part of the occupation, when the German victory seemed overwhelming, and thus there is a mounting excitement as the book continues until finally the G. I.'s arrive to discuss geography with Miss Stein, to take her for a ride in a jeep, to tell her that she is read in public schools in America, and to show her how different they are from older generations in America.

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By **GLENWAY WESCOTT**

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In Between Miss Stein's studio *obiter dicta* a clear picture of the anxiety and the terror of the occupation comes through. There is even a moment when Miss Stein feels that "this kind of war is funny it is awful but it does make it all unreal, really unreal." Miss Stein does not understand this war or the other wars she has lived through. But who does? Her mind triumphs in her effort to understand war and peace in terms of the *mystique* of the *avant-garde* of Picasso's youth. Through her anecdotes and her observations her prose rhythm asserts itself like an unbroken sea, saying more than any statement can about the beautiful serenity, wakefulness, and egotism of her being. Hence even when she performs such feats of pure irrelevance as the thought that wars may have as their cause the presence of kings named George on the British throne, she remains delightful, full of intuition and self-indulgence, full of pleasure and truth, writing as if she might write and the reader might read forever, an assumption which shows the essential bond between genius and courage.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

## In the Bed of Eternity

THE LITTLE POLISH CANON who four hundred years ago discovered that the earth moves and turns around the sun defied everyone's belief and the most sacred authorities—including God Himself as He is quoted in the Bible. Even for the "rebels" of his time Copernicus's discovery was too rebellious. Luther called him "a fool." Calvinus asked: "Who will venture to place the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit?" Two hundred and fifty years later Goethe stated that "of all discoveries and opinions none have exerted a greater influence on the human spirit than the doctrine of Copernicus."

The miraculous story of this total victory against ignorance and prejudice won by a single man is told by Hermann Kesten in "Copernicus and His World" (Roy, \$3.50). Kesten, a German novelist of stature, does not novelize his hero but sticks conscientiously to the meager established facts about the life of Copernicus. By his art and power of penetration, however, Kesten succeeds in bringing the Polish canon alive, in showing the reader the man and his surroundings, his modest manners and his promethean ideas, the routine of his daily job and the greatness of his eternal work. Copernicus, in his own words, wrote "for mathematicians only." Kesten makes intelligible even that part of Copernicus's works which seems impenetrable for non-mathematicians. He reveals himself in this book as an excellent pupil of those great humanists who were poets as well as scientists, playwrights as well as historians. Splendid pictures of the fascinating men and women who populated Copernicus's world and exciting historical adventures are included in Kesten's report of the development of mankind's knowledge from Ptolemaeus to Einstein—from the belief that we live in the stable center of the universe to the opinion of modern astronomy that we are, as Kesten puts it, "insects on the surface of one of the smallest satellites of a dwarf star in a local system of one of the millions of milky ways."

"Copernicus and His World" does not deal with Hitler or Stalin or Germany's reeducation. Its author—a refugee from Germany and France—might be accused of escapism. Mr.

Kesten has a reply in the sentence he quotes from the astronomer Johannes Kepler, who during the Thirty Years' War wrote as follows: "When a storm is raging and shipwreck threatens the ship of state we can do nothing more dignified than to cast the anchor of our peaceful studies in the bed of eternity." There are, it seems, two kinds of escapism. One leads astray, the other to higher observation points and deeper understanding. Kesten's is of the second variety.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

## Tom Paine's Trigger Words

IT IS PART of the universal genius of Thomas Paine that interest in him and his writings can be revived among successive generations of rebels. Paine dealt with the immediate issues that stirred the men of his time—British tyranny in "Common Sense," French egalitarianism in "The Rights of Man," deism in "The Age of Reason." There were other propagandists as potent maybe as Paine—Sam Adams comes to mind—but the works of none of the others come down to us with the vitality that makes the reading of Paine today so exciting an experience.

Howard Fast, in editing "The Selected Work of Thomas Paine" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$3.50), gives us the glowing gist of the man whose crowded life he novelized in "Citizen Tom Paine." Mr. Fast devotes a few pages to setting his well-chosen selections in the framework of the career of their liberty-intoxicated author and then lets Paine have his way with us. For lovers of freedom everywhere there is no better spring tonic than the rereading of the trigger words that set off such magnificent explosions.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

## DRAMA

PHILLIP BARRY is a playwright with a considerable gift for sophisticated comedy and a great yearning for something else. Time and time again he has, in the same play, wavered uncertainly between mysticism or moralizing on the one hand and mere sophistication on the other, and in "Foolish Notion," which the Theater Guild is presenting at the Martin Beck, he was apparently resigned to wavering again. But this time he reckoned without his star, Miss Tallulah Bankhead, who has undertaken to do for him what he has seldom been able to do for himself in the course of more than twenty years of usually successful playwrighting—namely, make up his mind. Quite possibly the role was written with her in mind, but almost certainly the intention was not that she should take the whole thing quite so completely into her own hands and make it, as she does, her show. In one respect the result is fortunate. Without her the play would almost certainly have been a commercial failure. Thanks to her large and loyal public it is very likely to be a success. But we shall never know precisely what the author's original intention was.

Whether foolish or not, the notion on which the play is based is certainly elaborate. The plot concerns a celebrated actress, or rather a celebrated stage personality, whose whimsical husband disappeared into the British army before we

entered the war. As the action begins, she is about to marry again, choosing this time her leading man, when a mysterious message arrives by wire intimating that the supposedly dead husband is about to turn up again. The leading man is furious; her adopted child is delighted; and her father is annoyed. She herself sees the whole thing in terms of a very fat part for which fate has obligingly cast her. Each of the four imagines what will happen when the long-lost husband walks in, and we see acted out in four separate versions of the return what each is imagining. Then, at last, he does really come back, and, thanks to the presence of a young girl whose unsuspected love for him was the original cause of his disappearance, everything ends much more easily and much more satisfactorily than anyone had imagined it would.

Two of the four fanciful versions of the soldier's return are moderately dull; two are highly diverting. That imagined by the child, full of elementary dramatics and ending with a murder, is very amusing in a manner rather similar to that of a famous scene in "A Kiss for Cinderella" by Mr. Barry's namesake. Miss Bankhead's version is hilarious and more, for it is a biting, almost a cruel, exposé of the special sort of exhibitionist egotism it parodies, and Miss Bankhead plays it *con amore*. A few years ago in "The Skin of our Teeth" she discovered the delight of mocking herself and her profession, and she does it again superbly, reaching the climax in an almost farcical scene where she uses an urn supposed to contain her husband's ashes as the essential prop for an impromptu sketch in which she plays the role of the wife discovering too late what true love means.

If "Foolish Notion" were simpler, one could accept it as no more than a vehicle for Miss Bankhead and think, perhaps, that that was enough. As it stands, the whole structure is too elaborate not to seem intended to be something more; too cluttered with the loose ends of ill-defined emotions and imperfectly stated themes not to suggest that Mr. Barry intended originally something much more complicated, as well as, possibly, more profound. One is left with the feeling both that there is a vast amount of lost motion in the play as it stands and that the members of the supporting cast—including Henry Hull as the missing husband and Donald Cook as the prospective one—have been reduced to the status of mere feeders for Miss Bankhead. To a certain extent she saves the evening. But she cannot quite save the play, which lacks clarity because it lacks simplicity. Apparently the intention is that four people shall be revealed to us by means of the four imaginary dramas which they stage for themselves. That intention is never sharply enough defined to be really effective.

"It's a Gift" (The Playhouse) is a rather elementary but also fearfully elaborate farce about a puritanical college professor whose daughter stands to inherit a fortune by the will of a once erring aunt provided the said daughter produces an illegitimate child by a certain date. As an actor Curt Goetz, the author-star, has a gift for broad comedy which might serve to good advantage in musical comedy or vaudeville, but this play will hardly do.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

THE Paramount newsreel issue about Iwo Jima subjects the tremendous material recorded by Navy and Marine Corps and Coast Guard camera men to an unusually intelligent job of editing, writing, and soundtracking. I noticed with particular respect a couple of good uses of flat silence; the use of a bit of dialogue on "intercoms," recorded on the spot, in a tank; and the use, at the end, of a still photograph down whose wall the camera moved slowly. Still photographs of motionless objects have a very different quality from motion-picture photographs of motionless objects; as Jean Cocteau observed, time still moves in the latter. The still used here was of dead men, for whom time no longer moved. The device is not a new one; Griffith (or William Bitzer) used it for the same purpose at the end of a battle in "The Birth of a Nation," and René Clair used stop-shots for a somewhat related purpose in "The Crazy Ray." But it is a device too basic to poetic resource on the screen to discard as plagiarized, and I am glad to see it put back into use so unpretentiously and well.

The Fox version of the same battle—the only other version I could find—drew on the same stock, and is interesting to compare with the Paramount. In one way it is to its credit that it is much less noisy and much less calculated to excite; it is in other words less rhetorical, and the temptations to rhetoric must be strong in handling such material, and usually result in falseness. But in this Paramount issue it seems to me that rhetoric was used well, to construct as well as might be in ten hours' work and in ten minutes on the screen an image of one of the most terrible battles in history. And that is not to mention plain sense: the coherent shape of violence in the Paramount version, which moves from air to sea to land; its intact, climactic use of the footage exposed through a tank-slit, which in the Fox version is chopped along through the picture; and its use of the recorded dialogue, which Fox didn't even touch. The Fox version does on the other hand have two shots—a magically sinister slashing of quicksilver water along the sand, and a heartrending picture of a wounded Marine, crawling toward help with the scuttling motions of a damaged insect—which I am amazed to see omit-

ted from a piece of work so astute as Paramount's.

Very uneasily, I am beginning to believe that, for all that may be said in favor of our seeing these terrible records of war, we have no business seeing this sort of experience except through our presence and participation. I have neither space nor mind, yet, to try to explain why I believe this is so; but since I am reviewing and in ways recommending that others see one of the best and most terrible of war films, I cannot avoid mentioning my perplexity. Perhaps I can briefly suggest what I mean by this rough parallel: whatever other effects it may or may not have, pornography is invariably degrading to anyone who looks at or reads it. If at an incurable distance from participation, hopelessly incapable of reactions adequate to the event, we watch men killing each other, we may be quite as profoundly degrading ourselves and, in the process, betraying and separating ourselves the farther from those we are trying to identify ourselves with; none the less because we tell ourselves sincerely that we sit in comfort and watch carnage in order to nurture our patriotism, our conscience, our understanding, and our sympathies.

## Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

ALTHOUGH to my knowledge Arshile Gorky is having his first one-man show (at Julien Levy's through March 31), he is by no means a fledgling painter. Examples of his work have in recent years appeared in many group exhibitions. From the first there has been no question about the level of his art, regardless of the varying quality of individual pictures; his painting early won a central position in the main stream flowing out of cubism and until recently stayed close to the most important problems of contemporary painting in the high style.

The critical issue in Gorky's case was how much of the value of his work was intrinsic and how much symptomatic, evidential, educational. He has had trouble freeing himself from influences and asserting his own personality. Until a short while ago he struggled under the influences of Picasso and Miró. That he fell under such influences was ten years ago enough proof of his seriousness and alertness—but that he re-

mained under them so long was disheartening. He became one of those artists who awaken perpetual hope the fulfilment of which is indefinitely postponed. Because Gorky remained so long a promising painter, the suspicion arose that he lacked independence and masculinity of character.

Last year his painting took a radically new turn that seems to bear this suspicion out. He broke his explicit allegiance to Picasso and Miró and replaced them with the earlier Kandinsky and—that prince of comic-strippers, Matta. Formerly he had adhered to the cubist and post-cubist convention of flat, profiled forms and flat textures—the convention within which the main current more or less of high painting since Seurat and Cézanne has flowed. But now he changed suddenly to the prismatic, iridescent color and open forms of abstract, "biomorphic" surrealist painting. And these lately he has begun to cover with the liquid design and blurred, faintly three-dimensional shapes of Kandinsky's earlier abstract paintings.

This new turn does not of itself make Gorky's painting necessarily better or worse. But coming at this moment in the development of painting, it does make his work less serious and less powerful and emphasizes the dependent nature of his inspiration. For the problems involved in Kandinsky's earlier abstract paintings were solved by Kandinsky himself, while the problems of "biomorphism" were never really problems for modern painting, having been dealt with before impressionism and consigned since Odilon Redon to the academic basement. What this means is that Gorky has at last taken the easy way out—corrupted perhaps by the example of the worldly success of the imported surrealists and such neo-romantics as Tchelitchew. Certainly, his paintings register success within their own terms more consistently than before, but those terms are lower than they used to be. And certainly his art radiates more charm and has become much easier for the uninitiated to take. But it all goes hand in hand with the renunciation of ambition.

Yet perhaps Gorky was meant to be charming all along; perhaps this is his true self and true level; perhaps he should have pastured his imagination in the surrealist meadow long before this; perhaps his "corruption" was inevitable.

And yet again, it is not quite that simple. For one thing: whether or not he is a first-rate artist, Gorky is definitely a first-rate painter, a master of the me-

chanics and cuisine. He does far, far more with the "biomorphism" of Matta *et al.* than they themselves can do. For another thing: Gorky still continues to show promise! The most recently executed picture at his show, called "They Will Take My Island"—black looping lines and transparent washes on a white ground—indicates a partial return to serious painting and shows Gorky for the first time as almost completely original. It is not a strong picture and still makes concessions to charm, but it is a genuine contemporary work of art.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

THERE is important news in the fact that Victor has resumed production of a number of recordings which it placed on the inactive list for the duration of the war. And I have thought that readers of this column might want to know some of the outstanding things that are to be available.

Of Mozart there will be the Piano Concerto K.453 (Set 481), one of the greatest of the series, in a performance with Edwin Fischer that rushes the music too much for its proper effect but is pretty good otherwise. Also the superb Budapest Quartet recording of the Quartet K.465 (Set 285); and the Quintet K.593 (Set 350), performed very inadequately by the old Pro Arte Quartet and Hobday. Still missing are the Piano Concerto K.450, the Quintet K.515 and Quartet K.428, the Sonata K.526 for violin and piano.

Four volumes of Haydn's quartets have been restored, including Set 527 which offers three of Haydn's masterpieces in the form—Opus 20 No. 4, Opus 74 No. 2, Opus 77 No. 2. Another masterpiece, Opus 64 No. 3, is in Set 689, together with two fine works, Opus 50 No. 6 and Opus 74 No. 1; Set 595 offers three excellent works, Opus 20 No. 1, Opus 55 No. 3, Opus 76 No. 4; and Set 525 three others, Opus 33 No. 2, Opus 64 No. 6, Opus 71 No. 1. The Pro Arte performances range from poor to fair. Still missing are Set 528, with the great Opus 64 No. 4 and the fine Opus 54 No. 3 and Opus 55 No. 1; and the recordings of the Symphonies Nos. 67, 80, 86, and 97.

The superb Budapest Quartet performance of Beethoven's Opus 130 (Set 157) will be available again; and one can only hope that the new pressings

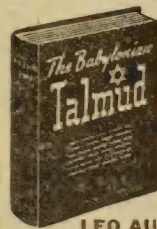
of the recording will give as good reproduction of it as the old. And Schnabel's performance of the Sonata Opus 106 (*Hammerklavier*) (Set 403), with its distortion of outlines and slovenliness of execution in the first and last movements, but with its statement of the slow movement that makes it a tremendous experience. Still missing are the Casals performances of the Cello Sonatas Opus 102 No. 1 and Opus 69.

Verdi's "Otello" (Set 152), with beautiful singing by Carbone and Granforte, has been restored. Also two excellent single records of passages from Act 3 of Wagner's "Meistersinger": 7682, with the quintet sung by Elisabeth Schumann, Melchior, Schorr, Parr, and Williams, and *Eucht macht ihr's leicht* sung by Schorr; and 7681, with *Abendlich glühend* sung by Melchior and Schorr, and *Aba! da streicht die Lene* sung by Schorr. But not the Rethberg-Schorr record of the lovely duet beginning with *Sieb' E'chen! Dächt' ich doch* and the later *Hat man mit dem Schutwerk*.

And still missing are Elisabeth Schumann's Schubert Recital, Lotte Lehmann's two Song Recitals, and Lehmann's volume of Wolf songs.

To the foregoing report of good news I must add a warning—that production

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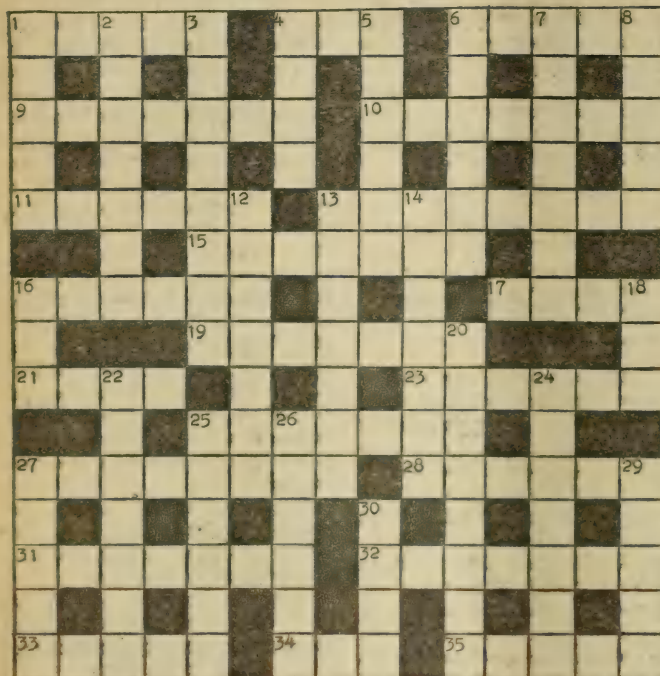
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 108

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Can be cut without injury
- 4 Keep a watch on this
- 6 It may fill the mattress or just a fold
- 9 A rum soul, perhaps, but he founded Rome
- 10 The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles
- 11 It's not only the rooster that sleeps thus
- 13 What we call a billion the French call this
- 15 Waldeufel, the Alsatian composer, was a favorite of this French Empress
- 16 A case comes before the Royal Navy concerning troops
- 17 "And how can man die better than facing fearful ----?"
- 19 Insinuated contempt
- 21 The word women love best
- 23 Scattered senses
- 25 Member of the firm of Pullen & Fillem
- 27 The alternative seems to be an Italian sort of conservative
- 28 The right to eat
- 31 Those who make tracks are likely to get him on their trail
- 32 Visitor making his voice heard?
- 33 An ass
- 34 Did care really kill one?
- 35 Dog that is another animal

- 3 It's something to get a real rest from these story tellers
- 4 "Thick and ---- they came at last"
- 5 A man might make his quietus with it, said Hamlet
- 6 The length of a dismal face
- 7 Garden of fruit-trees, mostly apple
- 8 Naked (anag.)
- 12 Comparatively bright
- 13 A keepsake from men to me
- 14 Liberty carried to extremes
- 16 Very chic, old girl. Where did you get it? (hidden)
- 18 "Naughtinesses"
- 20 Told off
- 22 Is a dame, literally and anagrammatically (hyphen, 3-4)
- 24 Auto to vocalize about
- 25 The ubiquitous beast of Spain
- 26 An explosive acid
- 27 This is all my eye!
- 29 "Lord above us" (Wordsworth)
- 30 The great novelist is incomplete, but betrays his nationality

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 107

ACROSS:—1 PUNIC; 4 HEADS; 7 RIPE; 8 REBETS; 10 TRIER; 12 ROOK; 13 TRET; 15 RED BOOK; 17 LINDER; 18 TIMING; 19 AXE; 21 VERNAL; 23 NODDERS; 24 RED; 26 OBTUSE; 28 REBETS; 31 ENTERED; 32 ACRE; 33 EAST; 34 HEXAD; 37 AUBURN; 38 ODIN; 39 TOTAL; 40 HERTS.

DOWN:—1 PEEK; 2 NEUTER; 3 CASHBOX; 4 HOT-POT; 5 ADIT; 6 SURE; 7 RURAL; 8 PRONE; 11 ERKINE; 14 TAGES; 15 RED NOSE; 16 KINDRED; 19 ALB; 20 END; 21 VIOLA; 22 RETIRE; 23 EYEWASH; 27 BNODAL; 28 BERBER; 29 ELAND; 30 SATIN; 33 CHIT; 34 EXIT; 35 BROS.

## DOWN

- 1 Bacon's physician
- 2 Self-important

of the restored recordings probably will be as limited as that of the recordings which have been supposedly available during the past two or three years, and as insufficient for the demand. That means you should place your order with your dealer immediately; but it also means that you will be able to get some of the things you want only by going from store to store repeatedly to see what has come in.

Though Victor has announced the recording of Berlioz's Symphony "Harold in Italy" made recently by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony, it has not arrived; and all that I have received from Victor that falls within the range of interest of this column is a reissue in a picture album of the set (740; \$6.50) of Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 2 performed by Horowitz with Toscanini and the N.B.C. Symphony. The work is characteristic of Brahms's large-scale writing—the first movement in the way it communicates pumped-up grandiosity in a synthetically contrived large structure, the third in the way it drips saccharine; but I can stand listening to the finale. An unsuitably simious and svelte performance of the solo part by Horowitz is fitted into a superb orchestral framework created by Toscanini; and the whole is beautifully reproduced by a recording made not in Studio 8H but in Carnegie Hall. The surfaces of my copy are pronouncedly audible.

I have also received Marian Anderson's old record (14210; \$1) of Schubert's "Ave Maria" and "Aufenthalt." My copy is afflicted with various noises, some of which get mixed in with and aggravate the shrill high notes that Anderson has recently learned how not to produce; and there are lifeless accompaniments by Kosti Vehainen.

## CONTRIBUTORS

LIN YUTANG is perhaps the best-known Chinese interpreter of China to the West. His most recent book, "The Vigil of a Nation," has occasioned a controversy, in which the author himself joins in this issue of *The Nation*.

CHARLES ABRAMS is counsel to the American Federation of Housing Authorities and author of "Revolution in Land."

JOHN W. WHITE, who has represented American newspapers in Santiago, Chile, for many years, recently completed a trip through South America.

# THE *Nation*

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*Editor and Publisher*  
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<i>Managing Editor</i> J. KING GORDON	<i>Washington Editor</i> I. F. STONE	<i>Literary Editor</i> MARGARET MARSHALL
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ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*]

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## *The Battle of Germany*

WITH six Allied armies across the Rhine, the Battle of Germany has begun. The manner of their crossing makes the beginning an auspicious one, and holds out much promise for the future.

Exactly one month before the 21st Army Group made the most significant of these crossings in the north, the Allies were apparently stuck against a firm German line running along the Maas, the Roer, the Ardennes, and the Saar Basin to the Rhine south of Lauterbourg. The accomplishments of Allied arms in the four weeks' offensive were tremendous. All Germany west of the Rhine except for an insignificant bridgehead south of Speyer in the Palatinate was cleared of enemy troops; four German armies were destroyed; Allied armies lined up solidly on the great river's west bank all the way from Cleve to Karlsruhe and at Remagen thrust across it. The last week of this preliminary offensive saw the boldest handling of troops, the most sweeping advances, and the most damaging defeat to the enemy when the American Third and Seventh armies executed a classic hammer-and-anvil movement in the Saar-Palatinate region, taking a bag of prisoners that may run over the 100,000 mark.

By last Friday the Rhine line had ceased to exist, and the enemy was clearly demonstrating his weaknesses. The rapid shuttling of precious divisions from the Ruhr front to the Remagen bridgehead had weakened the former without containing the latter: the First Army continued to make gains north, east, and south against a surprising lack of resistance. To the south, the Third Army seized upon the enemy's evident and unanticipated deterioration to make a virtually unopposed crossing between Mainz and Worms. Hodges's line of advance north from the Remagen bridgehead threatened an envelopment of the Ruhr; Patton's advance northeast threatened a sweep over the Main and up the Frankfurt superhighway toward Kassel and the upper Weser—indeed, by Sunday night the Main was crossed. Even before the long-planned and carefully prepared main blow across the Rhine could be struck, the Germans could no longer depend upon their traditional western barrier.

The main blow was delivered in decisive force, with traditional Montgomery thoroughness and with a traditional Montgomery order of the day: "And having crossed the Rhine, we will crack about in the plains of northern Germany, chasing the enemy from pillar to post"—a fair description of what will happen soon. It was the greatest combined operation since D-Day in Normandy; and like that operation it involved American, British, and Canadian soldiers, sailors, and airmen. On paper the Germans could muster as many troops against the Allied thrust as they did

in Normandy; they had the material advantage of fighting closer to their bases of supply and the moral advantage of defending their native soil. But the failure to offer serious opposition up to Sunday night suggests a profound disintegrating process eating at the whole capacity of resistance of the Germans in the west.

Undoubtedly the enemy was so light on the ground along the Rhine that Kesselring pulled back the mobile elements of his one remaining first-class army, the First Paratroop, to wait for Montgomery to show his intentions and then deliver a counter-attack. That counter-attack should come early while Montgomery still has one foot on land and one in the water; but it is difficult to see how it can have serious consequences. The main German force, presumably held back in the devastated fortresses of the Ruhr, is confronted by the tough veterans of the American Ninth Army; it can expect to find road crossings blocked by the Airborne Army, and every junction blasted by Allied aircraft, which shot up 6,000 German vehicles on Sunday alone. Any German force seeking to drive south out of Holland should be met by the Canadians. With his flanks thus secured, Montgomery may be able to swing the British Second Army around in a wide envelopment of the Ruhr; and with a quick building up of the base of operations east of the Rhine apparently assured, this movement should be possible far sooner than the similar break-out in Normandy.

## The Shape of Things

THE WHOLE ROW ABOUT THE MIDNIGHT CURFEW and Mayor LaGuardia has left us feeling rather terse and dogmatic. (1) We think the Byrnes order was foolish and unnecessary and will probably do more harm than good; (2) we think people who complain about it—except war workers on night shifts—are making a disgusting spectacle of themselves; (3) we think the Mayor should have accepted the order and done his best to enforce it in spite of his objections to it; and (4) we don't think he ought to be impeached for doing the contrary.

✱

GENERAL DE GAULLE IS REPORTED TO HAVE been irritated because there was no immediate response to his appeal for aid for the French forces that have risen against the new Japanese regime in Indo-China. Some assistance has now been promised by the American government. Chinese guerrillas and American planes based in China are reported to be already supporting the French in their efforts to prevent complete Japanese seizure of the colony. But the amount of assistance given must depend on the over-all strategy of the war against Japan. While we have no inside information about this strategy, the return to the Philippines, the conquest of Iwo Jima, and the air raids on Japanese cities indicate that our military plans call for an accelerated drive against the Japanese mainland by way of the China coast rather than a clean-up of outlying Japanese possessions. Reconquest of Indo-China would open up an alternate route to China, but obviously a much smaller

amount of material could be moved into China in this way than by the seizure of a Chinese port. If despite these considerations American plans call for an invasion of Indo-China, De Gaulle is wholly within his rights in insisting that the French be permitted to participate in the operation. He must recognize, however, that we cannot allow sympathy for brave Frenchmen in Indo-China to influence basic military strategy.

✱

PROSPECTS FOR A COMPROMISE MAN-POWER bill which will enable the country to surmount the difficulties that are bound to arise after V-E Day brightened considerably last week as a result of suggestions made by Senator Austin. His proposals are based primarily on the Senate's voluntary measure, but go beyond it in permitting the drafting of men of military age for war jobs in industry or agriculture and in "freezing" workers in essential war jobs as long as their services are needed. Penalties would be imposed on employers and employees alike for violation of the man-power regulations. The need for enforcement powers to supplement the present restricted authority of the War Manpower Commission has been illustrated by the failure of the commission's attempt to shift workers from non-essential to essential war jobs. Of more than 4,000 workers requisitioned from non-essential industries in New Jersey, only 500 were actually transferred to essential occupations; 200 workers refused to accept essential jobs because they involved a cut in pay, even though their refusal made it illegal for any employer to hire them during the war. Senator Austin proposed that workers should be required to accept the jobs to which they were referred but that employers should be penalized for labor hoarding. Although strong support for the Austin compromise is reported, several of the Republican conferees seem determined to delay action until after a European victory in the hope that they can then prevent any measure from being adopted.

✱

BAD TIMES ARE BACK FOR AMERICAN INDIANS IF the Supreme Court's opinion that the Box Elder Treaty does not provide a legal basis for Shoshone land claims is an omen. The court's weird opinion, written by Justice Reed and affirmed by a five-to-four vote, reflected the views of three members—his own, and those of Justices Jackson and Black. The court had been called upon to determine whether the Box Elder Treaty, concluded in 1863, recognized Indian title to 15,000,000 acres of Western land, for whose loss the Indians are seeking to recover damages amounting to \$15,000,000. In a confused concurring opinion Justices Jackson and Black gave the Indian his due—but no right to seek compensation for his lost land. They inferred that Indians could not have owned property since they had no such concept and no word to denote it. "Ownership meant no more to them," stated the justices, "than to roam the land as a great common and to possess and enjoy it in the same way that they possessed and enjoyed sunlight. . . . Acquisitiveness, which develops a law of real property, is an accomplishment only of the 'civilized'!" All very true, but still no reason for concluding, as they did, that the treaty provided no basis for Shoshone land claims. As Justice Douglas pointed out in a

dissenting opinion, concurred in by Justices Frankfurter and Murphy, the United States could have extinguished Indian title by force. It chose to negotiate a treaty and through it obtained rights of way and of settlement. In obtaining these cessions the United States clearly acknowledged Indian claims to the land. Senate amendments ratifying the treaty further supported these claims. Admittedly the Indians weren't advanced enough to place "keep off" signs on their ancient tribal lands, but the enlightened trespassers who took over the continent knew who "owned" Manhattan when they bought it for \$24. Treaties concluded with individual Indian tribes have formed the basis of the federal relationship with Indians and are the framework for their future protection. The Supreme Court should immediately grant a rehearing of the Shoshone case.

✕

ONTARIO IS WORTH WATCHING THESE DAYS. ITS government was defeated last week when the Liberal Party, led by Mitchell Hepburn, swung in behind the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation lack-of-confidence amendment. Premier George Drew, leader of the Progressive-Conservative Party, will waste few tears over his defeat. A bitter foe of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, he has wanted a wartime election to take advantage of the anti-King feeling over conscription. And he wants an election while Ontario is prosperous under the impetus of the war-industry boom and before reconversion, lowered farm prices, and unemployment raise ugly problems for which the Conservatives have no easy answer. The government party draws its strength from the farm areas and the upper and middle classes of the cities. The C. C. F., official opposition party, is strong in the mining north, the industrial towns, and the working-class metropolitan districts. In the present house, it holds almost as many seats as the Progressive-Conservatives; after the election it may well become the government. Its leader, Ted Jolliffe, a young Toronto lawyer, is brainy, competent, and a good parliamentarian. He represents a new type of Canadian politician which the left-wing movement has raised to prominence. Mitch Hepburn, political poltergeist, onion farmer, opponent of the C. I. O., came out of retirement to resume leadership of the Ontario Liberals. He has patched up his quarrel with Ottawa, he has color and drive, and he expects to make gains at the expense of the Tories. But the chief spectator at the Ontario election fight will be Prime Minister Mackenzie King. He must go before the Canadian people this summer and Ontario will be regarded as a preview of the big show.

✕

NEARLY 1,200 AMERICA FIRSTERS GATHERED AT the Plasterers' Benevolent and Protective Association (A. F. of L.) Hall in Chicago on March 15 to listen to Gerald L. K. Smith, who has been trying for some months to hold a meeting in the city. A heavy picket line surrounded the hall; some rocks were thrown, but an adequate police detail prevented disorder. Engaging in his usual antics, Smith announced the formation of a Nationalist News Service to compete with the AP and UP, said that "twenty-one national groups" were participating in an organized nationalist lobby in Washington, and stressed the future importance of the Nationalist Veterans of World War II—a group that he has

recently organized. Waving "the new flag" which he charged had been designed by "the internationalists"—a combination of the Rising Sun, the Union Jack, and the Stars and Stripes—he loudly denounced communism, President Roosevelt, Walter Winchell, Dumbarton Oaks, and the Yalta conference. Sprinkled through his tirade were the familiar anti-Semitic remarks: denunciation of the B'nai B'rith; castigation of Morgenthau; and references to a list of names he could not read, so he said, for fear of being called an anti-Semite! With various polls indicating a fairly high incidence of latent anti-Semitism in the Middle West, the potential threat which Smith represents should not be minimized. Currently he is biding his time, content merely to keep the old fires and calumnies alive. The crowd in Chicago was largely made up of elderly people trailing, as Robert Lasch of the Chicago *Sun* said, "the fragrance of Townsendism." Should a mood of frustration and disenchantment sweep the ranks of younger Americans after the war, he would have the opportunity that he so obviously, and confidently, expects—one more powerful argument for a post-war program of full employment.

✕

THE STRIKE NOW GOING ON IN THE MOTION picture industry, which finds 19,000 studio workers supporting the demand of seventy-eight set designers for recognition of their local union (a part of the Painters' Union), does not present a "jurisdictional dispute" in the usual sense of the term. What the set designers are seeking to accomplish is the preservation of their autonomy against encroachment by the powerful racket-ridden International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees. Over the years, the I. A. T. S. E. has attempted several bold forays upon other unions affiliated, as is the I. A. T. S. E. itself, with the American Federation of Labor. These forays have been based not upon any claim of membership or any real claim of jurisdiction over the type of work performed, but rather upon its ability to coerce the industry through its control of the projectionists in the motion picture theaters. In the past the industry has been a willing victim of this "coercion," so called, since it has used the I. A. T. S. E. as a means of battling other unions in the industry and, also, for the purpose of keeping the members of the I. A. T. S. E. under the control of its agents. During the period when it was directly controlled by Messrs. Bioff and Browne, the I. A. T. S. E. levied a 2 per cent assessment upon its members, from which it collected a fund in excess of one million dollars which was turned over to George Browne to expend as he saw fit. While busy raking in money from this source, Bioff and Browne were collecting a king's ransom from the motion picture producers. Faced with the possibility of being forced into such an organization as the I. A. T. S. E., the set designers have properly decided to strike for the protection of their rights. And they will win. The entire trade-union membership in Hollywood (with the exception of the I. A. T. S. E. locals) is solidly behind them and they have, in Herbert Sorrell, a spokesman of great force and ability.

✕

IN THE HALF-PAST-ELEVENTH HOUR RESERVED for the more cautious quislings, General Franco summoned his Cabinet and asked for a declaration of war on Japan.

On the desk of every minister was a list of Spanish civilians bayoneted by the Japanese fleeing from Manila. They numbered around a hundred and thirty—an infinitesimal fraction of the number of Spanish civilians killed by the German and Italian fascist aviation and artillery during the Spanish war, not to mention those massacred by Franco troops. But those civilians were "reds" and moreover there is no code of patriotism requiring that one declare war against oneself. Times have changed and even for a regime that is responsible for the death of a million Spaniards, 130 casualties offer sufficient grounds for swapping sides—though not too brusquely, not by declaring war on both ends of the Axis at the same time. That would be asking too much. A declaration of war on Japan alone, even if it does not win Franco the desired place at the United Nations conference, should facilitate the work of his agents who, according to our information, are already busy in San Francisco. Later there will always be time for declaring war on Germany, at precisely the right moment, perhaps on the day following the fall of Berchtesgaden.

✱

BUT FOR A DAY AT LEAST THE PRETENDER TO the non-existent Spanish throne seemed to have out-manuevered Franco—at least in the headlines. The aim of Don Juan's manifesto, published last Thursday at Lausanne, was also a seat at San Francisco. To this end he rang all the possible changes on the theme of liberty and constitutional rights and proclaimed that "the regime established by General Franco, modeled on the totalitarian system of the Axis powers, is fundamentally inconsistent with conditions prevailing in the world as a result of the present conflict." With this judgment no democratic Spaniard will quarrel, but when Juan offers himself as the alternative few will go along with him. To the total bankruptcy of the monarchical institution in Spain must be added his own miserable personal record: during the Spanish war he offered his services to Franco as a navy officer; later, when the general struggle began, his sympathies were consistently with the Axis, until the tide turned in 1943. Apparently his manifesto had little effect even among Spanish reactionaries; its repercussions in Madrid, according to the United Press, were practically nil. To the promises of such a man the old Chinese adage seems applicable: "If there be no faith in words, of what use are they?"

✱

OF COURSE, THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE MUST include Spain, and there is only one Spain that can be included—Republican Spain. For that reason we have been watching with satisfaction the progress recently made toward unity among the Republican forces. On March 26, for example, the New York *Times* published a dispatch from London reporting that Dr. Negrín had "grown enormously in prestige in the past six months" and describing him as the leading factor in the process of unification. Equally encouraging were the results of a meeting in New York of several members of the last Basque autonomous government, whose President was José Antonio de Aguirre, the well-known Catholic leader. The decisions reached open the way to the organization of a united Republican government in exile in which Basques and Catalans will be adequately repre-

sented. But the most significant bit of news is that reported through private channels from Mexico. During the Chapultepec conference Indalecio Prieto, until now Dr. Negrín's most stubborn Republican opponent, discussed the Spanish situation at a luncheon in one of the Latin American embassies. He criticized sharply the lack of a constructive policy toward Spain on the part of the Western democracies. The British government, he said, had been determined to force the reestablishment of the monarchy but lately had begun to realize that nothing could be accomplished in that direction. More recently it had taken up Maura, only to drop him within a month. The one clear policy was that of Russia, "which had always been consistently on the side of the Spanish Republic." He spoke in unexpectedly high terms of Negrín and even declared his readiness to meet the Prime Minister, although "with witnesses" present. Should Negrín insist upon including Communists, Señor Prieto said he would not enter the government, but he would "not be an obstacle to its formation." That, coming from Señor Prieto, is a long step forward.

✱

WE HOPE OUR READERS IN THE CAPITAL WILL join with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in honoring Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black at the dinner to be tendered him in Washington on April 3. The occasion will be the presentation to this great Southern progressive and judge of the annual Thomas Jefferson award. No one in the South more fully deserves it. It is a pleasure to note that the well-known Negro lawyer Charles Houston will be one of the speakers and that Senator Barkley will be toastmaster. Senator Pepper, Judge Sherman Minton, Fred Vinson, and Frank Graham will speak, and Mrs. Roosevelt will be present. This is the second time the Jefferson award has gone to Black. It was presented to him seven years ago for his services as Senator. It goes to him this time for his work on the court.

## Bretton Woods Is Vital

THE Bretton Woods agreements have come under such heavy fire from both British and American quarters that the average Congressman can hardly be blamed for becoming confused on the basic issues. Many of the criticisms are so technical that only a few experts understand their implications. Yet a little study will reveal that even the most technical objections spring in no small part from unreconstructed nationalist views. In a previous issue *The Nation* pointed out that British criticism was largely based on the assumption that Uncle Sam is taking John Bull for a ride, and that the effect of the International Monetary Fund is to put British economy in a gold strait-jacket at the mercy of uncontrolled business fluctuations in the United States. In the hearings before the House Banking and Currency Committee, the opposite view has been expressed by numerous witnesses. This was particularly evident in the testimony of Leon Fraser, president of the First National Bank of New York, who constantly stressed the benefits which Britain would enjoy under the fund to the disadvantage of the United States. The opposition of the big commercial banks to the fund does not

spring entirely, however, from fear that we are being hoodwinked by John Bull. Other important banking groups, particularly the investment bankers, have come out strongly for the Bretton Woods program as a whole. The difference is not one of relative patriotism but of conflicting interests. The investment bankers stand to gain by the governmental guaranties and international supervision of long-term international loans. The big commercial banks, on the other hand, are loath to part with the profits on foreign exchange which have traditionally been theirs.

That is not to say that the criticisms of the Bretton Woods program are wholly unfounded or that they are entirely based on selfish considerations. The fund represents a compromise between the clearing union proposed by Keynes and the stabilization fund proposed by the American Treasury. It is not a very satisfactory compromise. Its weaknesses are largely of a technical nature, but they would become important if the United States should decide to fly in the face of economic law by simultaneously encouraging exports, restricting imports, and seeking to collect from its debtors. This policy would inevitably drain dollars from any international clearing arrangement, and the efforts which were made at Bretton Woods to safeguard the new fund only appear to have made it cumbersome and difficult of operation.

Although it may be far from perfect, no one denies that the fund will facilitate international trade and reduce the danger of an international economic collapse such as occurred in the early 1930's. It does not solve the problems created by America's anachronistic commercial policies, but it may reduce their gravity. Even its critics do not seriously propose that the entire program be scrapped. They merely want it made over to accord with their special views or interests. The severest critics of the fund profess to see great value in the International Bank and urge its acceptance. Yet under the Bretton Woods Agreement the bank is open only to fund members. If the fund is rejected, there can be no bank.

From a political standpoint, moreover, Bretton Woods has a significance that goes far beyond the immediate economic advantages of the fund and the bank. The bill now before Congress for the implementation of the Bretton Woods program is a test. What happens to it will determine whether the United States wants to have a stable international economy after the war or plans to revert to unrestrained economic warfare. There is no middle ground. The alternative to Bretton Woods is no agreement at all. The agreement represents a compromise reached after weeks of negotiations. No major amendments suggested at this late date are likely to prove acceptable to the forty-four other nations represented at the conference. Since the program is the outcome of negotiation, the attitude of Congress toward it is being watched throughout the world as indication of American sincerity with respect to post-war collaboration of all kinds. If the plan is rejected, Britain will probably feel it necessary to embark on a policy of bilateralism which, in turn, will provoke intensified nationalistic reactions in this country. While Russia's interest in monetary stabilization is nominal, rejection of the Bretton Woods scheme might be interpreted in Moscow as a threat to the Yalta agreement. For no real distinction can be made between economic and political cooperation. Political security can be built only on a foundation of harmonious interna-

tional economic arrangements. The whole edifice of post-war security thus rests on the cornerstone laid at Bretton Woods.

## *The Lesson of the Defeat*

THERE is one clear and urgent conclusion to be drawn from the Senate's refusal to confirm Aubrey Williams as head of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). It is the need for preparation *now* by progressive farm, labor, and middle-class organizations for the 1946 Congressional elections. Williams was right when he said that "the crime" of which he was convicted in the Senate was that he really believes "the wage-earners, the farmers, and the little people should be an articulate part of our economic life." They never will be an articulate part of our economic or political life so long as we are content to elect a progressive President every four years—and then leave his program and his nominations to the mercy of a reactionary majority in Congress. We are glad that Williams is going back to his old job as director of organization for the Farmers' Union and that its militant president, Jim Patton, has declared his intention to take the issues in the Williams fight to the people in the states represented by those Senators who voted against him.

The charges against him were significantly vague. The best indication of the excellent job done by Williams in his years as deputy administrator of the WPA and head of the National Youth Administration is that his enemies could find so little in his record to use against him. The actual issue is that Williams is an uncompromising New Dealer. There is little doubt from the record of the hearings before the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee that Williams might have been confirmed despite his New Deal record if he had been willing to "play ball" with certain copper interests. His unwillingness to do so was followed by a covert and then an open smear campaign. He was termed a Communist and a "nigger lover." A Presbyterian minister in Birmingham, Dr. Joseph M. Broady, was brought forward to play the central role in a shamefully un-American campaign against him. Williams's rejection for public office was asked on the ground that, although trained for the Presbyterian ministry, he decided not to follow that calling because he could not believe in the divinity of Christ. Neither did our Unitarian President, William Howard Taft. Neither did some of the Founding Fathers, several of whom had the skeptical and agnostic attitude toward religion typical of the eighteenth century. It is pertinent to recall that the Constitution not only forbids the setting up of an established church in America but bars any religious test for public office. It is also pertinent to recall that no less a figure than George Washington declared as President that this was not a Christian country but one made up of men of all creeds and none.

We applaud majority leader Barkley for his able speech in defense of Williams and the four Republicans—Aiken, Langer, Morse, and Young—who voted for confirmation. We call attention to the fact that the hearings and debates again disclosed a familiar situation: the Grange, the Farm

Bureau Federation, and the National Milk Cooperatives spoke in the name of "agriculture"—against Williams, of course—without consulting their own members. They did so on the orders and anti-New Deal prejudices of Fred Brenckman and Ed O'Neil, their powerful Washington lobbyists. We hope that in the coming campaign the Farmers' Union

will continue to bring home to farmers how often their leaders are stooges for reactionary industrial interests rather than authorized spokesmen for agriculture. And we hope that the P. A. C., quiescent since November, will take the Williams defeat as a warning and prepare to fight in the next Congressional primaries and elections.

## Bridges and Some Broader Issues

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, March 23*

THE case of Harry Bridges will reach the United States Supreme Court for argument on April 2. The decision will be of worldwide significance. Should the court rule against Bridges, it will provide a sardonic background for the forthcoming international security conference at San Francisco. The deportation of an outstanding labor leader at this time would not increase confidence abroad in our country's dependability as an influence for freedom. A favorable decision would create new hope for the future. It would mark the final defeat of reactionary American forces in one of the longest and hardest-fought episodes in the history of class struggle in the United States.

The facts are well known. In San Francisco, the very city in which we hope to lay the foundations for a freer world, an Australian dock worker rose from the ranks to leadership of his fellows little more than a decade ago. An organization drive on the San Francisco waterfront culminated in a great strike which not only improved the conditions of the longshoremen but reverberated throughout the ranks of labor in industrially feudalistic California. Migratory workers in the lettuce fields and girls behind the counters of department stores were inspired to a new militancy. The 1934 strike also brought Bridges the enmity of powerful capitalist interests accustomed to docility and venality in California's labor leaders. Private and governmental agencies set out to "get" Bridges by methods we like to think of as peculiarly European. "The San Francisco police department," one federal official told a Congressional committee some years back, "has followed him [Bridges] unremittently for years, and our men have also."

The voluminous record of the Bridges case will bring before the Supreme Court an unsavory procession of spies and stool pigeons, hard-shell reactionaries and weak-kneed liberals. All the contradictions of our society are in those pages—the fighting potentialities of the American working class, the gains they have achieved against terrific odds, the power which reaction still wields here, the compromising and vacillating nature of the New Deal. The San Francisco strike was only one of many ultimately stimulated in that period by the encouragement which the Roosevelt program gave to labor. Yet these same California interests were so influential, the anti-New Deal undertow so strong, that departments of government subject to the President spent years hunting for means to punish a labor leader who had merely put into practice the collective bargaining Mr. Roosevelt advocated.

The deportation law in this case traces back to statutes enacted during the anarchist scare in the last century. It was tightened up, with the Bridges case in mind, in 1940. It provides for the deportation of any alien who has been a member of, or affiliated with, any organization which advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence. The Department of Justice, relying principally on the "Communist Manifesto," Lenin's "State and Revolution," and the 1920 theses of the Third International, says the Communists are such a group. The department would be hard pressed to prove it by anything the Communists have ever said during the past ten years or more. The court may have to decide, in the light of the party's actual policies, how much of a "clear and present danger" is created by things Marx said in 1848 and Lenin in 1917.

The court may choose to let sleeping ideologists lie. The court may consider it unnecessary to answer that question if it finds unsatisfactory the evidence that Bridges has been a member of, or affiliated with, the party. After all these years of well-financed private and government snooping, with a dash here and there of subornation of perjury, there are only two witnesses to membership. One of them is an odd specimen for the law books. This witness, O'Neil, swore on the stand that he never said Bridges was a member of the Communist Party. Two Department of Justice employees swore that in an unsworn statement O'Neil told them otherwise! Lawyers will appreciate what an extraordinary bit of "evidence" this is. The other witness, Bridges's rival labor leader, Lundeberg, told federal agents on three different occasions—in 1939, in 1940, and again in 1941—that he had no information to indicate that Bridges had ever been a Communist. But in the hearings before Inspector Charles B. Sears later in 1941 something new was elicited from Lundeberg. On the witness stand Lundeberg was thrice taken over the story of a meeting he said he had in 1935 with Bridges and the Communist Sam Darcy. Judge Sears in this examination warned government counsel against leading questions. In the third account given on the stand that day Lundeberg testified that when Darcy asked him to join the Communist Party, Bridges laughed and said, "You don't have to be afraid because I am one, too."

Neither the minority nor the majority opinions handed down in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on the Bridges case found this evidence impressive. Judge Healy, in the minority dissenting opinion, referred to "the paucity of the evidentiary product as contrasted with the magnitude

of the effort expended in producing it." But for reasons to which I shall turn in a moment the scope of appeal and review in deportation cases has been very limited. The Circuit Court majority, in upholding the deportation order, said it did not feel "the pleasurable satisfaction that, barring a very slight possibility of error, the truth has been revealed." But the majority did not feel that in a deportation case it had the right to weigh evidence. It affirmed that "the simple question this court must answer is: Is there *some* evidence to sustain the charges? There is." (My italics.)

This brings us to one of the key questions the Supreme Court may have to answer. Until now the courts have generally held that deportation is a mere civil procedure. The due-process clause, which proliferated a whole series of subtle defenses for corporate property rights in the last half of the last century, was reduced in the same period to a mere shadow in deportation cases. No less an authority than Madison, in the Constitutional Convention, declared the banishment of an alien "among the severest of punishments." But our courts held that to separate an alien resident from his home, family, business, and associations and deport him was a civil procedure not subject to the safeguards and the full review provided in property and criminal cases. Counsel for Bridges cite a decision by Chief Justice Stone which deviated from this pattern and are asking in effect for a reversal of the older doctrine. Should they win this point, it would greatly increase the protection of alien residents here against abuse of the Deportation Act by government officials.

This, like several other aspects of the Bridges case, is of importance to citizens as well as alien residents. Labor unions can be weakened and strikes broken by deportation raids, as after the last war. These affect the rights and bargaining power of all members of the union. In this connection it is important to note that Attorney General Biddle is seeking in effect to reverse an Immigration Bureau order of 1934. This order dealt with members of unions affiliated with the old Communist-controlled Trade Union Unity League. The order declared that mere membership in a Communist-controlled union was not to be used as grounds for deportation, that

union membership of this kind was not to be held proof of "affiliation" with an organization which advocated overthrow of the government by force and violence. Biddle, who appears as a very poor disciple of Holmes in this case, relies upon some aid given Bridges by the Communist Marine Workers' Industrial Union during the 1934 strike as evidence of "affiliation" within the meaning of the Deportation Act.

There are two other ways in which the doctrines argued by Biddle in this case are a danger to civil liberties in America. The Attorney General contends that an alien may be deported "for utterances, beliefs, or associations in which he would be protected from punishment by the First Amendment." Admittedly this amendment and the rest of the Bill of Rights apply to aliens as well as citizens. Biddle does not deny that. What he does argue is that an alien may be deported under certain circumstances for exercising freedom of speech, assembly, or association. This is a departure from historic American doctrine and an injustice to 3,500,000 alien residents who are subject to the same liabilities and duties as citizens. They are, for example, subject to the draft.

The argument made in defending and interpreting the deportation laws is also a departure from tradition in another respect. It is proposed that a man be punished by deportation, not for what that man did, or said, or himself believed, but for his alleged association with Communists. This notion of "guilt by association" or "group guilt" is, as Professor Chafee of Harvard has noted, a break with time-honored legal concepts, which hold that guilt must be personal, that no man may be punished for the deeds of others except in an actual criminal conspiracy. "It is the essence of the institution of liberty," Charles Evans Hughes said in 1920, when he opposed the expulsion of the Socialists from the New York Assembly, "that it be recognized that guilt is personal." The establishment of the idea of guilt by imputation, guilt by association, would place a powerful weapon in the hands of post-war reaction.

It is these vital, if obscure, legal and constitutional issues which may make the coming Bridges decision crucial for the future of civil liberties and trade unionism in America.

## Veterans at San Francisco

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

IT IS wise to run for cover when a speaker, freshly returned from a flying two weeks' visit to several war fronts, clears his throat and says, "Now what our boys are fighting for is. . . ." It usually turns out that the fellow finds all the soldiers pining for the same things the fellow himself was pining for prior to his tour of inspection: service men and new veterans are likely to prove nationalist or internationalist, free-enterprisers or planned-economy boys, depending on their "interpreter." The fact is, of course, that in a military force of some 12,000,000 men individual war aims are about as diverse as they would be in any comparable cross-section of the population. This is perhaps especially true in

the United States armed forces, fighting men of a nation which has never defined its war aims clearly.

One war aim, however, is, I venture to say, basic to 99 per cent of American service men. This is the desire for peace—I leave out the 1 per cent which enjoys the war. It is not only the desire for personal peace, for an end to death, wounds, destruction, boredom, khaki clothes, spit and polish, the top sergeant; it is also a very real desire, generally inarticulate, that the personal sacrifice of blood, time, and talent will mean something. It is a desire that the terrible, corroding waste of the war will add up to something positive, some guaranty of peace for one's children.

Now I will not go on from there and say that the 99 per cent are unanimously agreed that international cooperation is the only road to this peace. There are soldiers fighting today in Germany who think that if Roosevelt had never meddled in the European mess they might be resting back home. There are soldiers and marines in the Pacific who are fighting William Randolph Hearst's war, a war against the yellow peril. There are fighting men in all theaters who are sure we shall have to fight Russia after we have taken care of Germany and Japan. There are sailors who despise the British navy and scoff at the limeys; soldiers who are contemptuous of the French; soldiers who want to hurry home as soon as this particular mess is over and let the dirty, starving, naked Wops and Wogs and Frogs continue to be dirty, starving, and naked.

Having said that much I want to present quite frankly the views of one veteran and report on the stand that is being taken by the veterans' association with which I have been closely associated. In its Statement of Intentions the American Veterans' Committee called for:

Active participation of the United States in the United Nations organization to stop any threat of aggression and promote social and economic measures which will remove the causes of war.

Establishment of an international veterans' council for the furtherance of world peace and justice among the people of all nations.

That brings us to San Francisco. There has been a growing feeling throughout the country that the new veterans should be heard at the Golden Gate conference: after all without their efforts the conference could never have been held. The proposal came directly to the American Veterans' Committee in a letter from one of its founders who is a sergeant of the Army Air Forces in the Philippines. He demanded that the organization send representatives to San Francisco to tell the delegates what kind of world organization the fighting men want to see come out of the war and listed the advantages to be gained:

Your presence and the ideas you advocate will show some of the delegates who fear that the United States will not take up its responsibilities after the war that there is a large part of that most important body of men—the veterans—who not only want us to take up that responsibility, but who will fight vigorously for the idea of taking it up and extending it.

It will strengthen the hands of our own delegates if they wish to propose the more forward-looking schemes for the organization, or it will perhaps encourage them to propose the more forward-looking schemes if they seem reluctant to do so.

It will impress upon our foreign-affairs men and upon our Congressmen that veterans are going to take an interest in how they vote on such matters as well as on matters of aid to themselves.

Another Air Forces man, a corporal in New Guinea, wrote at the same time saying that "A. V. C.'s men should be there as reporters to veterans and fighting men who cannot be there but who have pledged themselves to work throughout their lives for continuing peace. . . . Right now you are our eyes and ears. Go with backing from all our men."

To get this backing, A. V. C.'s Planning Committee sent out an airmail edition of the organization's *Bulletin* last week containing eight questions for the members to vote on. Here are the questions:

1. Do you want A. V. C. to represent you at San Francisco?

2. Do you favor immediate formation of the United Nations security organization, with the United States joining before peace treaties are written?

3. Do you oppose reservations which would weaken the organization?

4. Do you support the use of United States armed forces to stop aggression without specific Congressional approval in each case?

5. If the United Nations Security Council asked for United States armed forces to take positive action to preserve the peace, would you be willing to serve?

6. Do you support the voting plan agreed upon at Yalta?

7. Do you want the United States delegation to pledge its unanimous support of the United States government policy?

8. Do you want as much power as possible placed in the hands of the Economic and Social Council for the purpose of removing the causes of war?

Questions 2, 3, and 4 were asked of the Presidential candidates in October by Senator Ball, with famous results; the same three, plus question 5, were asked of A. V. C. members in November, with results not yet famous but certainly of deep significance. The answers were very nearly unanimous—"yes to all four." Asking a man still in a foxhole if he would be willing to serve in some future battle is, as one member pointed out, "plenty rugged—the \$64 question for fair. But if I say yes to the other three questions, I have to say it to this one." The current *Bulletin* explains the Yalta plan for voting in detail before posing question 6, and points out Senator Vandenberg's strange insistence on "the right of free action" as prelude to question 7. It adds, "The hope of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is that they will give the world a period of enforced peace—a time in which we can all work for the removal of the underlying economic and social causes of war," and then asks question 8.

As the *Bulletin* points out, "This is a movement not just for A. V. C. members but for 12,000,000 service men—and the more votes we get the more we'll be listened to in San Francisco." Members are urged to "show this *Bulletin* around, get as many men in your outfit as you can to send us their votes, or write a letter with your vote and get others to join you in signing it." Already, a week after the *Bulletin* was mailed, the response from discharged men and from soldiers in the states has been great—and encouraging: "Yes on all," signed by five sailors in Washington; "The Chicago *Tribune* has been crying that the 'boys' should be represented at San Francisco. I agree. I hope the Colonel will be pleased with A. V. C."; "Send the delegates—let us be heard—O.K. on all eight—For a smashing Victory—lotsa peace!"

"Lotsa peace!" is the word." Enough evidence will undercut the isolationists' slogan: "Wait till the boys come home." The plans are laid; a delegation is going; the votes will be presented to the United States representatives; the proceedings will be reported back to veterans and service men.

# John L. Lewis, Challenger

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, March 24

THERE is an unchanging quality in the Lewis tragedy. Once again the massive, morose leader of the Mine Workers goes through his familiar theatrical routine of contract negotiations. This is his second major war-time show. The first led to four coal strikes. Probably nobody, not even Lewis himself, knows how the new adventure will end. It is clear, however, that the stakes are infinitely bigger than the union's listed demands. Lewis is still trying to recapture the place of power in the labor movement which he lost when the C. I. O. repudiated his leadership. He is still waging his war of revenge—the private war to which he has devoted most of his time and resources since Pearl Harbor.

Watching him tirelessly quibble with the operators, maneuver for position, assume old postures, and triumphantly turn new phrases, one cannot escape the sense of enormous human waste. At history's turning-point his battles remain personal and local; amid momentous realignments of world labor he recites his picturesque polemics against the coal barons, cries out anew against Roosevelt's Administration, haggles with men who are half his size. The most dramatic performer on labor's stage should have a more majestic role. This is the one Lewis chose.

It is fruitless to speculate on the outcome of the current talks. Official announcement of a deadlock is momentarily expected as this is written; the bituminous pact expires on April 1. The two most explosive items in the U. M. W. program are Lewis's unexpected proposal for a ten-cents-a-ton union royalty on all coal mined and his insistence that the union have the right to strike to prevent shipments of coal to firms whose employees are on strike. The first proposal, if granted, would give the U. M. W. the most fabulous war chest in labor annals. The second would make other unions vastly dependent on the good-will of the Lewis machine. Both have created minor panic among the easily terrified operators. They are willing to discuss the "fringe" wage increases sought by Lewis, such as payment for explosives; they would undoubtedly yield a lot of ground on this point. Will Lewis force a showdown on the royalty and boycott issues? Will the government seize the mines before the showdown comes? No one is sure yet. Much of Lewis's strategy may hinge on day-to-day developments in the European war. A sudden Nazi collapse would probably alter his time-table and dispel any mood of compromise.

Regardless of the tactical moves Lewis decides to make, his long-range plan is unchanged. It is reflected in his speeches at the wage conferences. It is mirrored in the sullen pages of the *Mine Workers' Journal*. As the war nears its end, he believes that labor will be in a mood for militant leader-

ship—and will find itself in the arms of John L. Lewis.

Throughout the war Lewis's thinking has been shaped by the conviction that the stabilization program was doomed to failure: inflation, profiteering, and inequalities of sacrifice were inevitable. Rank-and-file unionists would become disgruntled and disheartened. The prevailing temper at the war's end would be disillusionment. The labor chiefs who faithfully adhered to the President's leadership would find themselves generally discredited. And labor would roll out the carpet for Lewis's victorious homecoming. His strategy has required extraordinary patience, but Lewis has never wavered in his belief that it would be vindicated.

The *Mine Workers' Journal* has hammered away on the theme of the Adminis-

tration's "betrayal" of labor's interests. Lewis has punctured long silences with clamor against profiteering and scornful thrusts at pro-Roosevelt laborites. Now he has the floor again; the coal case gives him a national audience. "The rich get richer," he laments, calling the roll of corporate profits. Undeniable loopholes in the stabilization set-up provide him with his text. Administration blunders—such as the price increase granted to company stores in the coal regions—strengthen his hand. A. F. L. and C. I. O. leaders continue their futile demands for the relaxation of the Little Steel formula. In Detroit 300,000 members of the Automobile Workers' Union participate in a referendum on the no-strike pledge; one third vote to rescind the pledge on the eve of the war's climactic engagements. In Washington the Senate Banking and Currency Committee hears a long line of lobbyists for profit-laden industries demand new concessions to special interests in the price-control law. Lewis might have written the scenario himself. The outbursts of left-wing C. I. O. leaders against him are relatively unimportant; he is addressing labor's rank and file.

He began the negotiations in characteristic fashion. Demands for a general wage increase representing a frontal assault on the wage-stabilization line were generally forecast; instead he brought forth the royalty rabbit. One paradox in this proposal has not been widely noted. Throughout his career Lewis has sneered at "social-service" projects in trade unions. The union's business, he maintained, was wages and hours; let Dubinsky stage "Pins and Needles" or build a summer camp for unionists. Now he pledges that funds accruing from the royalties will be used to give U. M. W. members "modern medical and surgical service, hospitalization, insurance, rehabilitation, and economic protection." Surely none can contend, he asserts, that this device is inflationary; no one can brand it a violation of the stabilization rules.

On the surface this proposal seemed to represent a major if belated chapter in Lewis's education. On the one hand



he was recognizing that unions could serve human needs beyond the collective-bargaining table. He also appeared to be tacitly conceding that the economics of the anti-inflation program made some sense. But inevitably the thoroughness of Lewis's conversion was open to question. Who would



administer this huge royalty fund? Presumably the Executive Board of the U. M. W. Who is the Executive Board? John L. Lewis and the yes-men who have survived his purges. What guaranties are there that the money will be used for the lofty purposes outlined? None at all.

The phrase "economic protection" could readily be the justification for using most of the fund to finance post-war organizing enterprises which Lewis has long been planning.

Lewis's other surprise move was his filing of a strike notice. The ill-conceived Smith-Connally law, framed to "get" Lewis, gave him the opportunity to call for the biggest strike ballot in labor history. The vote, which will have occurred before this appears unless the government takes over the mines at the eleventh hour, is to be conducted by a government agency—the National Labor Relations Board. The result is a foregone conclusion. On Election Day the miners follow Franklin D. Roosevelt. In union affairs they follow Lewis. To the miners this is strictly union business. Anything more than a token vote of opposition will represent a sensational upset.

It had been anticipated, of course, that Lewis would avoid any discussion of strikes, as he did two years ago, and that the miners would act without written or public orders. "No contract, no work" needs no elaboration in the coal fields. Instead, Lewis proclaimed his respect for law and order; to protect the legal interests of his members—in the event of an unpleasant interruption of work—the notice was duly filed.

As soon as the strike vote is over the miners are free to stop work without fear of reprisal until the government seizes the properties. Once the walkouts begin, the Administration will unquestionably intervene; presumably the miners will resume work, and the long process of War Labor Board mediation will start. But the fact that a strike ballot was taken will vastly enhance Lewis's strength, both in the bargaining process and in his labor public relations. The operators are almost pathologically fearful of government seizure; this time, they are convinced, they won't get their mines back for an indefinite period—although their profits will continue. As the threat of seizure mounts, the temptation to capitulate grows.

The vote will also be heralded by Lewis as an affirmation that he is solidly supported in the coal fields. It will be a new demonstration of his supremacy in the U. M. W. It will offer him at least minor solace for the recurrent defeats he has suffered at Roosevelt's hands in national affairs. And, as in 1943, his foes will be divided. Suspecting Lewis, many will nevertheless be reluctant to join the witch-hunt against the miners. The opulence of the coal operators will caricature their squawks of patriotic indignation.

Whatever happens, the 1945 coal conflict remains primarily another incident in Lewis's long campaign. His real battleground will be the post-war world. The present skirmishing is a build-up for the decisive rounds in the fight for leadership of labor. Lewis shows no signs of senility.

## Hitler's Last General

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

AT THE climactic stage in the Battle of Germany Hitler once again seeks to stave off his inevitable fate by a shuffle of top commanders in the western theater of war. Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery's headquarters confirmed on March 22 what had earlier been rumored in Swedish and Swiss dispatches—that Field Marshal Karl Rudolf Gerd von Rundstedt has been relieved of his command in the west.

The only surprise in Montgomery's statement was the name of Rundstedt's successor. Previous reports had suggested that the man picked by the Führer to carry on the most thankless job in the world was Field Marshal Walther Model. Instead, Hitler's last hope is Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, who steps into Rundstedt's shoes. His deputy is Field Marshal Johannes Blaskowitz, who recently succeeded General Kurt Student in the northern army command, facing the Canadians. The southern wing of Kesselring's Rhine front is commanded by Obergruppenführer Paul Hausser of the

Waffen-S.S. Rundstedt's Chief of Staff, the young and brilliant Lieutenant General Siegfried Westphal, is still at his post. Significantly he served for almost two years as Kesselring's chief of staff in Italy before he was transferred to Rundstedt's command last November.

Of the new team Hausser alone can be regarded as a 100 per cent Nazi. Westphal and Blaskowitz are career officers of the old school. The latter is less than lukewarm in his Nazi faith; he is known to have vigorously opposed Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, and he frequently disregarded the Führer's strategic concepts in Russia. Early in 1943 he was transferred to the west, and led the German withdrawal from southern France with considerable skill.

Kesselring himself is almost as cryptic and ambiguous a figure as Rundstedt. Both men played highly mysterious roles in the plot that led to the attempt on Hitler's life last July 20. Undoubtedly they both had a finger in this affair, but with equal adroitness they knew how to extricate them-

selves at the critical moment. Immediately after the bomb attempt a usually well-informed Swiss newspaper, *La Suisse* of Geneva, reported that Kesselring, with two generals and two colonels of his staff, had been arrested on suspicion of complicity. On July 25 the official *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro* said that Kesselring had been slightly wounded in Italy—similar mishaps occurred at the time to several other Nazi field commanders who subsequently were revealed to have been implicated in the plot.

On November 2 Kesselring again was reported to have been wounded when an Allied plane strafed his automobile near Bologna. Then, on December 31, a broadcast by the Brussels radio quoted what was said to be the copy of an order of the day by Hitler, dated November 27, announcing the death of Marshal Kesselring and of several other high officers. This drew an immediate denial from Allied headquarters, whose spokesman in Rome categorically declared that Kesselring was still alive. Probably the Brussels story was planted by the Germans in an attempt to mislead the Allies about Kesselring and thus prepare the ground for his assumption of command—which the Nazis never announced. There is unmistakable significance in Kesselring's appointment to his present post.

Whatever his feelings toward Hitler and the Nazi regime, the Marshal is known to belong to the "no surrender" school. Although as a strategist he is not so highly rated as Rundstedt, he is a master of the slow, hard-fighting retreat. He proved in Italy that he is able to make the most of the defensive opportunities offered by difficult terrain. So it is logical to assume that Hitler's choice of the man at this crucial stage, when the Allies are about to cross the Rhine and the Oder in strength, is closely tied up with the Nazis' well-known plans for a desperate last-ditch stand in the inaccessible mountain areas of Bavaria, Austria, and northern Italy. Apparently Kesselring is the man picked to conduct the retreat from the indefensible plains of northern Germany to the "Alpine citadel," where the Nazi desperadoes hope to last through at least another winter. Rundstedt would hardly have been fitted for such a task.

Originally Kesselring, a fifty-eight-year-old Bavarian, was an air-force man. He was a captain in World War I and distinguished himself in many dog fights. It was largely because of his old friendship with Hermann Göring that he advanced rapidly under the Nazi regime. In June, 1936, he was made Chief of Staff of the *Luftwaffe*, in which he had previously headed the department of training. In this capacity, he had been the first to develop the technique of mass air attacks in support of ground forces which came to be known as *rollender Einsatz*.

As commander of *Luftflotte I* since the Wehrmacht reform of February, 1938, Kesselring took a prominent part in the Polish campaign, where his *rollender Einsatz* worked perfectly. Later he directed aerial campaigns in Belgium, France, and Britain. He was made a field marshal at the Reichstag "victory" meeting of June 30, 1940. After the outbreak of war with Russia he directed aerial operations on the central sector. In February, 1942, he was transferred to Italy, where he won most of his laurels.

Rundstedt's removal has dealt a severe blow to Allied hopes of getting the bulk of the Wehrmacht to surrender

once Germany's military situation has become hopeless beyond any shadow of a doubt. Whether or not Rundstedt recently made overtures to General Eisenhower looking toward an armistice, as reports from various European capitals have suggested—Berlin took pains to issue an official denial—there can be little doubt that the hope was entertained in Allied circles that Rundstedt at the proper time would surrender the regular army. He was the only German general with sufficient prestige and authority to swing a major portion of the Wehrmacht away from Hitler's and Himmler's leadership.

Field Marshal von Rundstedt is a unique phenomenon—unique not so much for his accomplishments in the military sphere, where he achieved solid distinction, as for the fact that for more than twelve years he managed to be a Nazi and an anti-Nazi at the same time. Virtually alone among the Reichswehr old-timers, whose somewhat qualified allegiance Hitler won when he became Chancellor, Rundstedt weathered all subsequent purges. In order fully to appreciate this achievement, let us glance back at the Reichswehr set-up before February 4, 1938, when Hitler first assumed direct command over all the armed forces of the Reich.

At the beginning of 1938 this was the distribution of top commands in the Reichswehr:

War Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht.  
Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg

Commander-in-Chief of the Army  
General Werner von Fritsch

Chief of the General Staff      General Ludwig Beck  
Gruppenkommandos

Berlin: General Karl Gerd von Rundstedt

Kassel: General Wilhelm Franz Ritter von Leeb

Dresden: General Fedor von Bock

Wehrkreiskommandos

Koenigsberg: General Walther von Brauchitsch

Stettin: General Johannes Blaskowitz

Berlin: General Edwin von Witzleben

Dresden: General Siegmund W. W. List

Stuttgart: General Geyer von Schweppenburg

Muenster: General Gunther von Kluge

Muenchen: General Walther von Reichenau

Breslau: General Paul Ludwig von Kleist

Kassel: General Hermann Dollmann

Hamburg: General Knochenhauer

Those were for many years the foremost names in the Germany army. These generals, with a few others, won most of the early blitz victories for Hitler. Few of them survived defeat.

Fritsch and Reichenau were murdered by the Gestapo; Beck and Witzleben were executed last July; Dollman was killed in the Battle of France; Kluge committed suicide; Knochenhauer is dead; Blomberg, in retirement since February 4, 1938, is believed to have fallen into Allied hands when Capri, where he lived, was taken; Brauchitsch has been inactive since his dismissal from the army High Command on December 19, 1941; Bock, Leeb, List, and Kleist were relieved of their commands on the eastern front in 1942 and 1943 and have not been heard from since the great

purge of July, 1944; Geyer von Schweppenburg reportedly was killed on that occasion. The only ones of the sixteen who at the beginning of this year were known to be alive and still holding top commands were Rundstedt and Blaskowitz.

This is the more remarkable as Rundstedt, so far as is known, never joined the Nazi Party and for years was regarded as one of the leaders, if not *the* leader, of the secret Wehrmacht opposition to the Nazi regime and Hitler's "intuitive" conduct of the war.

It is not accurate to say that Rundstedt was one of Hitler's earliest backers among the Reichswehr generals. He was no friend of the Weimar Republic, it is true, and in 1932 he arrested the Prussian Socialist Ministers Braun and Severing, but his sympathies were with the anti-Nazi-minded General Kurt von Schleicher rather than with Hitler or Franz von Papen. Rundstedt, in fact, scarcely concealed his Junker's contempt for the "inflated lance corporal" and the "brown filth" (the S.A.) that carried him to power. He openly despised and opposed the Führer's handyman in the High Command, Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel. Though he did not speak up when his good friend Schleicher and his wife were murdered by the Gestapo in the blood purge of June 30, 1934, he never forgave the Nazis this affront.

In the latter part of 1943 the rumors about Rundstedt's disaffection took very definite shape. On December 16 a dispatch to the New York *Times* from its well-informed Stockholm correspondent George Axelsson said that Rundstedt, at that time military governor of France, had fallen into disgrace because he "responded to the appeal from German officers in Moscow to overthrow Nazism." The *Times* did not say how Rundstedt had "responded" to the appeals of General Walther von Seydlitz's "Union of German Officers in the U. S. S. R." beyond saying that he had made "overtures" to Moscow. The paper added that the Gestapo got wind of Rundstedt's moves and that the Marshal's neck was only saved by the intercession of his fellow-generals. About the same time reports were current in London that Rundstedt had dispatched one of his trusted aides, a Lieutenant Colonel von Harbour, to Lisbon on a secret peace mission. Later it was rumored that Harbour had been caught and shot by the Gestapo.

As D-Day approached, a strange game of backstage intrigues and unexplained shuffles of command began, and Rundstedt's character and position became even more ambiguous. In the early months of 1944 it was generally understood in Allied circles that Rundstedt had been shunted aside and that the task of defending the Atlantic Wall against the impending invasion had been turned over to Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, one of Hitler's favorites. The prominence given to Rommel in German news dispatches and pictures and his highly publicized tour of the Atlantic defenses bore out this impression.

On May 18, 1944, however, the German Transocean News Agency announced that Rundstedt had been named commander-in-chief of all German forces in Western Europe. Nevertheless, rumors persisted that the Marshal was wavering in his loyalty to Hitler and planning to let the Allies into France. While events proved this story to be untrue, it is a fact that the Atlantic Wall was breached far more quickly

and at less cost to the Allies than had been anticipated. One month after the start of the invasion, on July 6, Hitler replaced Rundstedt with Field Marshal Günther von Kluge.

What had happened? There was no explanation until July 22, when a United Press dispatch from London quoted Allied intelligence quarters as saying that Rundstedt's dismissal was due to "a serious conflict between Nazi Elite Guard troops and the German army over the recent Oradour-sur-Glane massacre in France, which resulted in the assassination of a German general."

Thus when Colonel Klaus von Stauffenberg's bomb exploded at Hitler's headquarters on July 20, Rundstedt was in retirement. Reports immediately sprang up that he was in league with the rebels, that he had joined a secret "peace government," that he had fallen a victim of Himmler's purge. For a few days, while some of his colleagues hastened publicly to reaffirm their loyalty to the Führer and others were openly implicated in the assassination attempt, nothing at all was heard from Rundstedt. Then, on August 4, an amazing thing happened. A special announcement from the Führer's headquarters stated that Rundstedt, together with Keitel, Heinz Guderian, the new chief of the General Staff, and two obscure generals, had been appointed by Hitler to a military "court of honor" charged with investigating army officers who were suspected of participation in the putsch of July 20. The announcement went on to say that those found guilty by the "court of honor" were to be expelled from the Wehrmacht and handed over to the dreaded People's Tribunal for trial as "common criminals."

Incredibly, Rundstedt consented to sit in judgment on his peers. He acquiesced in the degradation of twenty-two army officers, most of them above the rank of major and including eight who were dead. He handed over to the Nazi Party's kangaroo court masquerading as the People's Tribunal his good friend Field Marshal Erwin von Witzleben, who for many years had served directly under him as commander of the Third Military District of Berlin. Witzleben and seven other officers were ignominiously hanged on August 8.

Shortly afterward Rundstedt's successor as commander-in-chief on the western front, Field Marshal von Kluge, committed suicide. This has been officially confirmed in a German High Command order of August 31, signed by Keitel, a copy of which fell into the hands of the British in December. According to the official Nazi version, Kluge's suicide was due to his "depressing responsibility for the outcome of the Battle of Normandy," but a B. B. C. correspondent, Hugh Carlton Green, who investigated the matter in Paris, arrived at the conclusion that the Marshal killed himself in despair over the execution of so many of his personal friends and out of a feeling of guilt. Kluge, Mr. Green declared, had known of the plot to remove Hitler and approved of it in principle, although he was reluctant to commit himself. This was the attitude of many high-ranking German officers in the July 20 affair, with generally disastrous consequences for them.

Whatever the reasons for Kluge's suicide, a few days after his death Rundstedt was back at his old post as commander on the western front. There was no announcement of this, and it was not until some weeks later that Allied intelligence

officers began to recognize the Rundstedt touch in German military operations. Once the secret was out, the Nazis confirmed it.

Meanwhile, Field Marshal Rommel, with whom Rundstedt never got along well, had been eliminated by an Allied airplane that strafed his staff car near Caen on July 17. Rommel was critically wounded and died a few days later. This left Rundstedt the real master on the western front.

Although we have no official information on the subject, there is good reason to believe that Rundstedt resumed his old command on his own terms. He did so at a time when the military situation in both west and east had taken a disastrous turn for the Germans. For the first time since the days of Frederick the Great, the Fatherland was threatened with invasion from several directions. All we know for certain at this stage is that some time in late August or early September Hitler's "intuitive" conduct of the war was cut short by a bloodless palace revolution engineered by Heinrich Himmler, Joseph Goebbels, and Albert Speer—the influential, if little publicized, Minister for Armament and War Production—with at least the tacit support of Martin Bormann, the Deputy Leader of the Nazi Party. The purpose of the coup was to override Hitler's objections to giving Rundstedt a completely free hand in the west. The Marshal had refused to resume his command without an iron-clad guaranty that there would be no more interference "from above" with his strategic and tactical decisions. Himmler, who in spite of his ruthlessness is a far more judicious person than Hitler, granted Rundstedt's demands and saw to it that the Führer did, too. All this is no longer in doubt. Every bit of information that has come out of Germany in recent months bears out these basic facts.

The salient fact in German military operations on the western front from last fall up to early March was Rundstedt's

untrammelled control. High Allied officers have attested to this on several occasions. The great German counter-offensive in the Ardennes last December was planned and executed by Rundstedt, although according to reports credited by some Allied officials Hitler inspired it. It was a good, professional job, even though it ended in failure.

In launching his offensive on December 16 Rundstedt issued an order of the day in which he exhorted his men to "give everything and to achieve the superhuman for our Fatherland and our Führer." In subsequent proclamations, too, he made a show of unquestioning loyalty and subordination to the Führer. By all appearances, then, Rundstedt was a faithful paladin of Hitler's, and all those rumors suggesting that some day he might become Germany's Badoglio were so much eyewash. Or were they?

If Rundstedt, the Junker, the old-school general, the friend of Schleicher, Fritsch, and Witzleben, really turned Nazi at a time when practically all his old colleagues had deserted the Führer, or had been eliminated by him, he would be a rare bird indeed. One may argue, of course, that in shouldering the hopeless task of pulling Germany out of the military quagmire into which Hitler's intuition had dumped it Rundstedt was prompted by purely patriotic motives. He may have wished to "save" Germany even at the cost of preserving Hitler and the Nazi regime. If that is the case, then Rundstedt's loyalty was bound to end the day it became obvious in his eyes that further resistance was senseless.

But it is far easier to climb on the Nazi band-wagon than to get off. According to Swiss reports, Rundstedt is now under arrest, awaiting trial. The Germans have officially announced that the Marshal's only son, Hans Gerd, a high official in the War Ministry, has been arrested. This alone is proof that the foxy "first gentleman of the German army" is in a bad way. He weathered all purges—except the last.

## Two Were Hanged

BY GEROLD FRANK

**E**LIAHU HAKIM and Eliahu Bet-Souri are dead. They paid with their lives on the hangman's scaffold in Cairo for the murder, the deliberate and premeditated murder, of Lord Moyne, British minister resident in the Middle East. There is no question that they died firm in the belief that they were martyrs, and there is no question that a small segment of Palestine Jewry will agree with them. But the tragedy is one that goes beyond mere sympathy for two misguided youths and the family of the man they murdered.

I attended their trial in Cairo, and like the other correspondents in the courtroom day after day, I was deeply affected by the dignity with which they stated their case, by the courage with which they faced their judges, and by the closely reasoned argument they presented. They killed Lord Moyne. There was never any question of that. "We came to Egypt to kill the lord," Bet-Souri said. He said it without histrionics. "He was a symbol of British rule

in Palestine, and as a symbol we killed him." They had nothing against him as a man. This was not a murder of passion. He was a symbol. Perhaps you saw photographs of Hakim and Bet-Souri which showed them as dark-jowled, shift-eyed guttersnipes. They were not that. Hakim, no more than eighteen, was a thin, sallow boy, and when he spoke, it was in a strained, hesitant voice, and he quoted the Bible. Bet-Souri was fair-haired and blue-eyed, with a close-clipped blond mustache above a firm mouth and strong chin—a steady youth who stood with folded arms between his impassive guards and now and then leveled a forefinger at the presiding justice and said calmly, "I disagree with you," or "That is not the fact." He was only twenty-three, but he spoke with the measured precision and maturity of a man twice his age. He carried the trial.

His premise was an astonishing one—we correspondents agreed on that—and yet so persuasive was his sincerity and so carefully reasoned his argument that if you accepted

his premise you found yourself driven almost to his conclusion—that he and Hakim should be acquitted. What was this premise? It emerged from the charge that Great Britain was given the mandate precisely because it promised to facilitate immigration into Palestine, that immigration was deliberately halted by the White Paper in contravention of the mandate at a time when thousands of Jews, now dead in Europe, could have been brought into Palestine, and that he, Bet-Souri, and other "Sons of Palestine" had pleaded and protested and appealed—without avail.

"If we have given up propaganda and speeches as a method and have turned to the gun," said Bet-Souri, "it is because that is how the situation is in Palestine." Lord Moyne was a symbol, and he was killed. What was their premise? Bet-Souri stated it in what was undoubtedly the most electrifying moment of the trial. The presiding justice, thin-faced, gray-haired, exact, wearing the inevitable red tarboosh and seated on a throne-like chair, had abruptly halted Bet-Souri in his speech and snapped impatiently, "Here, stop this! You are giving us political propaganda. Get down to facts. What has all this to do with the killing of Lord Moyne?" And Bet-Souri, suddenly losing his calmness as he stood in the prisoners' dock behind the spike-tipped iron staves fencing him off from us, took one step forward toward the presiding justice, leveled that accusing finger at him, and in a voice so impassioned and carrying the accents of such righteousness that it almost brought us out of our seats, cried, "Our deed stemmed from our motives, and our motives stemmed from our ideals, and if we prove our ideals are right and just, then our deed was just!" The presiding justice, taken aback, stared at him for a moment, looked down at his blotter, and said in Arabic, "Continue."

The court suppressed note-taking when Bet-Souri made his speech explaining the motives behind the murder, but to anyone who has been in Palestine they are no secret. It has been charged before that the Criminal Investigation Division of the Palestine government has used torture to elicit information, that men have been arrested and held in jail without benefit of trial. There have been charges of misrule and dictatorial acts. But, above all, an entire generation of youth have felt a terrible sense of frustration when they saw their people massacred throughout Europe by the million and were given no opportunity to fight as Jews against the monstrous enemy or even to rescue those who could be saved.

Why did Hakim and Bet-Souri kill Lord Moyne? It was to bring their grievances violently to the attention of the world. In their extremist philosophy the Zionist method of seeking a solution for Jewish homelessness by working in concert with Great Britain was ineffectual. "Our deed was a political deed," Bet-Souri told the court. "We did not know the lord personally. We carried a photograph of him so we could recognize him. It was a political act. What other reason could we possibly have?" For that reason he wanted their case tried before an international court, a "court that does not yet exist, based on pure morals and pure justice." I was told by an advising defense attorney that he first suggested to the boys that they plead temporary insanity and throw themselves on the mercy of the court. They refused. Lord Moyne was a symbol—and their act was a symbol. If they could not explain it, they said, it would have been in

vain. I asked Bet-Souri, when the defense rested, if he had said all he wished to say. He looked at me. "About 85 per cent," he said.

For much of the trial it seemed that Bet-Souri had the audience, the correspondents, and, if truth be told, even the judges, with him. His speech made a tremendous appeal to a courtroom of Egyptians many of whom in their own youth had belonged to similar extremist nationalist organizations. When Bet-Souri, arms folded, eyes fixed on space, said reflectively, "I remember how as a boy in Tel-Aviv, standing on the terrace of my father's house, I saw British police quell a demonstration, and I asked myself, 'What are these strangers doing in my land? Why should a man leave his home and family in a far-away country and come into my country to do these things?'" There was a rustling through the audience, and Egyptian turned to Egyptian with a knowing smile. Bet-Souri played upon Egyptian nationalism. "We had definite orders not to harm any Egyptian," he said. "Our fight is not with the Egyptians. Our orders dealt with Lord Moyne and only Lord Moyne."

Three Egyptian attorneys spoke in the boys' behalf, but it was Bet-Souri who stated the case and Bet-Souri who made the plea, and it was Bet-Souri who rose when his attorneys had finished and said, "I want to thank my attorneys. I want to thank this court for its treatment of me. I am sure we could not have received better treatment anywhere in the world. But I want to make it clear that I do not agree with everything my attorneys have said in my defense. The political views stated by the defense relating to Palestine are not my views." In this he was denying a statement that the aims of the Zionists and the Sternists were identical. In his own speech he had emphasized that his ideas were "not Zionist ideas," that he and his fellow-Sternists disassociated themselves from Zionism, that they represented the Sons of Palestine who had fought for Palestine's freedom before a Balfour Declaration existed. The Sternists, who at most number some 150 active members and who are part of an extremist group totaling about 2,000, do not represent Palestine Jewry, which numbers more than 600,000.

How was the assassination taken in Palestine? It came as a tremendous shock. People could not believe the first Cairo dispatches which stated that the two killers "spoke Hebrew."

I was listening to the radio in the office of a high Zionist official in Jerusalem when Winston Churchill, speaking from London, declared that he, one of the "architects of Zionism," might have to reconsider his position if terrorism continued. The Zionist leader had been telling me how he, personally, had been overwhelmed by the news of the murder, and how terrible a blow his cause had suffered. Now, after Churchill's warning, tears actually sprang to his eyes as he said, "When I think how proud we have been that Zionism could always come before the world with clean hands as a constructive, creative movement of the highest human order, and when I think of what these boys have been led to do—" He walked around his desk and clenched his fists in helplessness. "It is something so exasperating to us, something so awful and dreadful, that I cannot find words to express myself."

Lord Moyne is dead. Bet-Souri and Hakim are dead. They committed murder. They have paid for what they did. It is one more tragic chapter in the history of a tragic people.

# China to Lin Yutang—II

BY EDGAR SNOW

IN the latest issue of *The Nation* I notice that the learned Dr. Lin Yutang has written an extensive footnote to his "Vigil of a Nation" by way of a reply to my comments on that extraordinary opus. In the main he does not refute my observations about the paucity of reliable testimony and documentation in the book itself, but is obliged to draw upon new data from official Kuomintang sources to support his position. Evidently the industrious Dr. Lin is now compiling a sequel; so I think we may safely wait for "Vigil No. 2," in toto, before dealing seriously with the latest results of his research into the iniquities of Confucius with a red flag.

Meanwhile, it doesn't require too much energy, or take too much of the reader's attention away from the business of fighting our real enemy, the Japanese, to make the following comments on his essay:

1. Dr. Lin denies that he is opposed to the United States arming the Communist partisans against the enemy. I got quite the contrary impression from his book—but very well; I must have misunderstood him, and I shall now assume that he is henceforth in favor of our giving the partisans "arms, food, medicine, and financial help" and expects in return only that the Communists shall not oppose continued lend-lease aid to Chiang Kai-shek. That seems a constructive attitude; all that Lin has to do now is persuade Chungking to adopt it.

2. The analytical Dr. Lin detects a sinister Russian influence behind the fact that in my review *The Nation* inadvertently dropped the "g" from General Pang's name. Am I, then, to assume a similar influence at work on Dr. Lin because in his reply the "g" is also missing from the name of General Peng Teh-huai? If we are going to be technical why did Dr. Lin omit the aspirate in writing both "P'eng" and "P'ang"? Why, for that matter, does he omit it in "yu-t'ang"? The Japanese usually omit aspirates when romanizing Chinese names. Could there be any hidden significance in this coincidence?

3. The main burden of Dr. Lin's remarks seems to be that the Kungchintang has utilized the war as a means of strengthening its military and political power. That much is self-evident; all his documentation on that point is quite superfluous. At the same time Dr. Lin will doubtless readily concede that it is equally obvious that the Kuomintang has likewise utilized the war emergency in order to suppress, wherever possible, all serious political opposition to the perpetuation of its own one-party dictatorship.

4. Elsewhere Dr. Lin asserts that I "distorted" his meaning or inaccurately quoted him. I do not think so; his attempts to prove otherwise seem quibbling to me. Readers of his book may draw their own conclusions about that.

5. There is nothing new or startling in Lin's "revelation" that the Kungchintang has not abandoned its ultimate aspiration to complete the revolution in China and establish socialism there. The Communists have never denied that, but apparently Lin only recently discovered it. Why assume, however, a similar ignorance on the part of the American public?

6. There is also no doubt that the Chinese Communists

are very close in their sympathies to the U. S. S. R. and that during the war they have sought to defend Soviet policies.

Finally, Dr. Lin asks what course China will follow in the future and whether it will "adopt the Anglo-Saxon or the Russian model." He asks what I think. I think the dynamic elements of society are far too complex for any great people like the Chinese to adopt any other one country as a model. In the long run the Chinese will work out a social pattern which synthesizes all the living economic, political, cultural, and social forces of their own environment and their great history—in other words, an authentic Chinese pattern. I think Dr. Lin's anxiety and fears on this subject are somewhat neurotic, and unworthy of a distinguished philosopher in the long bright tradition of Lao Tze and Master Kung—whether under a white sun or a red star.

## In the Wind

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL, a prolific writer of tracts extolling free enterprise, has this to say in a leaflet currently being distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government: "The present hollering for sixty million jobs is a con game, pure and simple. . . . Let us not fall off the earth reaching for the moon."

JOHN LEUTHOLD of Breckenridge, Colorado, writing to the *Denver Post* of March 11, quotes with approval Pope Pius's speech contrasting "a people's government by honest and far-seeing men" and "a democratic state left to the whims of the masses." "I claim," says Leuthold, "that there is practically as big an intellectual difference between the honest and far-seeing men whom the Pope had in mind and a human mass formation as there is between the cowboys and the steers." And the editor comments, "Not a bad comparison."

ALEX SMALL, a staff writer for the *Chicago Tribune* syndicate, came East about six weeks ago to write up the magazines for his readers. This is from his report on *The Nation* and the *New Republic*, as it appeared in the *Tribune* and other papers of March 18: "Like *Harper's* and the *Atlantic*, these weeklies are read by people who have weight in their communities. If asked which has the more effect on policy, the *Saturday Evening Post* with its 3,400,000 circulation or *The Nation* with its 42,000, my choice would be the latter. . . . They are for war, war everywhere and with everyone who is not of their religion. An itch for mischief especially seems to possess the dynamic Freda Kirchwey, today the dominating spirit of *The Nation*. If there is anything anywhere to add to the misery of this tortured world, any blazing injustice, any despicable sham, any foul deed, you may be sure that the *New Republic* and *The Nation* are for it."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Vidkun Quisling having taken over the Norwegian King's summer residence near Oslo, all bushes on the road leading to it have been removed. . . . And down in Denmark the Nazi Gauleiter, Dr. Werner Best, travels between his villa and his office in an ambulance.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.].

# Spain and the Peace

BY BERNARDO CLARIANA

(Translated from the Spanish by Dudley Fitts)

"This peace is the true end of the war."

—Don Quixote: I, xxxvii.

1

MESSIEURS THE DELEGATES TO THE GREAT SAN FRANCISCO PEACE CONFERENCE

Illustrious cartographers of the pursuit of collective happiness  
Precise pilots  
Babylonian guests  
Inexorable judges of the crime of war  
Forgers of the peace,  
A Spaniard in exile addresses you  
Compressing his speech into three short questions:

*Is it the Peace of Governments, or the Peace of Peoples?*

*The Peace of Arms, or the Peace of Ideas?*

*The Peace of the Dead, or the Peace of the Living?*

As you leave the train in San Francisco

—How very odd that its name should be the same as

Franco's!—

Upon your return from the Crimea and from Mexico,

A Spanish Ariel glides among

You Prosperos obsessed with the idea of denying his presence,

But his spirit conquers you and compels you

Murmuring at your ears

"Spain . . . Spain . . . Spain."

What are you going to do with the Spanish people?

*The Peace of Governments, or the Peace of Peoples?*

How can you deny a seat at San Francisco

To the Spanish Republic?

Perhaps you will prefer to offer it to Francisco Franco?

Will you sentence twice to solitary confinement

An innocent and heroic people?

Review your own shortcomings

At that time when Spain alone worked the miracle

Of being itself, the sole incarnation

Of all the United Nations of the earth,

And a few men of good-will

Raised high in their agony

The lance and targe of the Knight of La Mancha.

—How then can you condemn an entire people

To loneliness and exile

And silence?

Place but a small chair in San Francisco

And label it with the name of the people's Spain,

And you will see how the applause of the worlds old and new

Will give you the cubic measure

Of the ubiquitous heart of my country.

2

*The Peace of Arms, or the Peace of Ideas?*

It is time now to have done with propaganda and to begin with truth

Since it is impossible to utter a single word about peace

Without taking Spain into account,

Just as it is impossible to speak of justice

And ignore Don Quixote.

—When this war is ended

Remember simply

The place where it began,

And you need not say like Cervantes,

"In a town in La Mancha, whose name I do not wish to recall" . . .

For all of us remember perfectly well,

And some of those nations

In whose names you pronounce

Your disquisitions on the peace

Have their own dead also in Spain.

The peace of arms, or the peace of ideas?

—or as the anguished Don Miguel

de Unamuno would say,

Neither the one nor the other

But the peace of men's souls.

Messieurs the Delegates to the great San Francisco Peace

Conference,

How shall you order

The triumphal cavalcade

Of the Four Freedoms

If you keep Prometheus chained

To the rocks of Spain?

3

*The Peace of the Dead, or the Peace of the Living?*

It is all said now in that restless Bible of my land,

Filled with the bitterness of insult

Is the cup of loneliness

That our Lord Don Quixote

Drains in solitude,

While shattered on the ground

Lies the valiant lance

That in knightly career

He bore against the windmills of Germany.

And you may point out that San Francisco

Is not the meeting of the Twelve Peers of France

Or of the Knights of the Table Round

That Don Quixote should be given a place in it.

But listen to what Ariel is whispering into your ears

As you leave the train in California;  
 "Invite the Spanish Republic  
 "If you would bring peace to men's souls;  
 "Begin your justice with Spain  
 "And proclaim far and wide  
 "That the heirs of Quixote  
 "Will rebuild in peace their workers' republic,  
 "Ransoming the gentle pasture land  
 "From the dukes and the canons."  
 This is the only justice that Spain demands of you  
 The only reason for what you are doing now  
 At this very moment  
 When you so cruelly maintain  
 Your obstinate silence  
 As to Spain,  
 Messieurs the Delegates to the great San Francisco Peace  
 Conference  
 Babylonian guests  
 Inexorable judges  
 Forgers of the peace  
 Precise pilots  
 Of the drifting ship of the world.

## *Neo-Democracy in Brazil*

BY PAULO DUARTE

THE present scramble of fascists and quislings to leave Hitler's sinking ship for a safe haven in the post-war world from which they may comfortably conduct new fifth-column activities was to be expected. But although we have been warned of this many times, there is still a surprising inclination to accept at face value the democratic protestations which these fascists are now putting in circulation. Since President Vargas of Brazil has become one of the most lavish spenders of these spurious coins, it is important that his recent democratic words and gestures be analyzed in the light of his past record.

In the fourteen and a half years of his regime fascism has established itself in Brazil. It has gone through three violent stages—revolutionary, constitutional, and dictatorial. The revolutionary period began with the popular national revolution that brought Vargas to the presidency in October, 1930, and lasted until July, 1932. The revolution had demanded the setting up of an electoral tribunal to guarantee free and honest elections, but once in power Vargas not only failed to restore the long-disregarded public liberties but rigidly enforced their restriction.

The reaction was the 1932 Sao Paulo revolution, which demanded that a constituent assembly be called immediately and legal order reestablished. Many leaders of the 1930 revolt participated in this new constitutional revolution. It was put down and its leaders were exiled, but its ideas remained so firmly fixed in the public mind that in 1933 Vargas was forced to call the constituent assembly. Less than a year later many of the exiles were elected deputies to this body and returned to the country. Vargas's involuntary constitutional period began at this point, July, 1934, and lasted until November, 1937. During these years Parliament enacted

some of Brazil's best social legislation; Vargas was generally opposed to it at the time, but he now frequently cites it in defense of his administration.

In accordance with the democratic 1934 constitution, a presidential election campaign opened in 1937. Armando de Salles Oliveira, candidate of the Brazilian Democratic Union, an alliance of all democratic and liberal parties, had the enthusiastic support of Vargas's native state of Rio Grande do Sul and of other regions. Facing certain defeat, Vargas allied himself with the Integralistas, the Brazilian fascist party, and induced Parliament to declare the country under martial law, on the pretext that the government needed extraordinary powers to combat communism. Parliament demanded documentary proofs of the existence of a Communist menace. Vargas pledged the word of honor of the army and navy. He also stated that the proclamation of martial law would never be used to evade presidential elections or to restrict public liberties permanently. After receiving these solemn promises Parliament passed the desired measure. Vargas promptly dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, the state legislative assemblies, and all political parties, promulgated a fascist constitution which abolished all public liberties, prolonged his rule for six more years, and imprisoned or exiled all democratic leaders. This inaugurated a completely fascist period which still continues.

On March 2, after the press had been muzzled for seven years, the dictator held a conference for some hundred reporters. The statements he made at this interview reveal him as a political adventurer pure and simple. According to newspaper reports Vargas denied that the constitution of November, 1937, was a "fascist document." Yet the author of that constitution, Francisco de Campos, Minister of Justice, has frankly defined as fascist both the constitution and the type of government it established. Vargas himself has praised the fascist laws of his "New State" in numerous speeches, and on June 11, 1940, on the eve of the fall of France he publicly proclaimed the failure of the decayed democratic regimes.

In discussing the request that amnesty be granted to political prisoners and exiles, Vargas told reporters that each case should be considered individually. As to elections, he had the audacity to assert that "only political parties may present candidates" for the presidency of the Republic. As everyone knows, there are no political parties in Brazil; they were dissolved by Vargas in 1937.

Now that the Brazilian people are enjoying a brief respite from censorship and have chosen Eduardo Gómez as their candidate for President, Vargas has the effrontery to say, "Let's wait. Who knows whether some name will not appear—a name not yet thought of—to bring tranquillity?" Vargas plans to use the same trick that served him so well in 1937. First present a candidate to oppose Gómez; that has already been done by the announcement of the candidacy of General Dutra, the Minister of War. Later, under the pretext that the election is disturbing national peace, a third name will be proposed—that of Getulio Vargas. The same maneuver worked excellently in 1937, when in opposition to De Salles Oliveira, Vargas sponsored the candidacy of Americo de Almeida, whom he then double-crossed in order to perpetuate himself in office, asserting that he wished "to

save the country from the shock of an electoral campaign in such a moment of serious preoccupations."

In the eight years since then Brazilians have had their fill of Vargas's bag of tricks, and all indications are that he won't be able to get away with it this time.

## How Many Germans?

BY MAX MANDELLAUB

THE Nazi hope that Germany would emerge from the war as the most numerous as well as the strongest nation of Europe has completely collapsed. On November 11 last, Hans Hertel, a prominent Nazi official, told the Germans: "The fight with arms yields merely temporary decisions. The birth rate decides the fate of nations for a long time ahead." That is what the Nazis had in mind when they ruthlessly exterminated potential mothers and fathers of "non-Germanic races." German demographers, in spite of their satisfaction over the falling French birth rate, were concerned about certain of their own population trends and alarmed by the continuing high fertility of the Slavs. They decided to use military and political intervention to establish a new ratio of human reproduction in Europe.

When Hitler invaded Poland, the Third Reich contained 15 per cent of the population of the European continent. The Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Flemish, Alsations, and Swiss, together with German ethnic minorities scattered through Europe, were to yield approximately 25,000,000 people whom the Nazis, with the Gestapo as their instrument, hoped to make conscious of their Germanic blood. The plan was to create a block of 100,000,000 Germans or re-Germanized people and to step up the yearly rate of natural increase to 1.5 per cent. In less than two generations there would then be almost 200,000,000 of the *Herrenvolk*. Berlin propagandists have insisted that since 1940 the German birth rate has not followed the catastrophic trend it showed during World War I. They have announced that "in 1942 there were 15.7 births per 1,000 Germans, in 1943 the figure was 16.4, and in the present year, 1944, it is 17.6." The Reich's Central Statistical Office has calculated, however, that 820,000 births have not materialized during the last five years owing to the war, which suggests an average yearly decline of 160,000 births. If we apply these figures to the population of the Reich, which was about 68,500,000 at the end of 1939, we find that Germany's "normal" growth between 1939 and 1945 was about 1,700,000. The anticipated 3,800,000 *Volksdeutsche* refugees within the Reich's borders by the end of the war raises the hypothetical number of Germans in 1945 to 74,000,000. War losses of course must be deducted.

Hitler has never published a complete casualty list. *Die Nation*, a Swiss periodical, reckons that by the fall of 1944 the Nazis had lost 8,500,000 dead, four times as many as in the Kaiser's war. This figure, however, includes Austrians, Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, and "volunteers" from the subjugated countries serving in the German armies, and probably 2,000,000 must be deducted to obtain the figure for Reich Germans. Thus in five years of war the master race has lost approximately 6,500,000 dead.

Bitter Nazi resistance will probably increase the death toll by another 1,500,000. At least 5,000,000 *Reichsdeutsche* will be prisoners of the Allies by the end of hostilities; 4,000,000 have already been captured, with Soviet Russia holding at least 65 per cent of them. Germans killed during the inevitable social chaos following military defeat, plus the soldiers that die of their wounds, may add another million to the losses. The population of the Reich, therefore, when the Allies take over the control, will have been reduced by some 14,000,000, and about 60,000,000 will remain.

Comparative population trends in the Kaiser's and in Hitler's Reich are shown in the following table:

GERMAN POPULATION (IN THOUSANDS)

<i>The Kaiserreich*</i>	<i>Hitler's Reich without his conquests</i>
1910.....64,568	1935.....66,871*
1911.....65,359	1936.....67,349*
1912.....66,146	1937.....67,831*
1913.....66,978	1938.....68,072*
1914.....67,790	1939.....68,450†
1915.....67,883	1940.....68,700†
1916.....67,715	1941.....68,500‡
1917.....67,368	1942.....67,300‡
1918.....66,811	1943.....65,800‡
	1944.....63,500‡
	1945.....60,000‡

\* Official statistics.

† Estimates.

‡ These figures take into account the absence of prisoners of war and the presence of *Volksdeutsche* refugees.

It is apparent that at the end of the Second World War there will be nearly 7,000,000 fewer Germans within the Reich than in 1918, and 8,500,000 fewer than on the day Hitler attacked Poland.

But these figures do not tell the whole story. Of the 60,000,000 remaining, at least 15,000,000 live in border territories which will be attached to Germany's neighbors or internationally controlled. Furthermore, the age and sex composition of the German population will show a significant disequilibrium.

In 1940 the Nazis, according to their reckoning, had a reserve of approximately 19,000,000 German males of military age. Ninety per cent of the 14,000,000 losses estimated above will be from that age and sex group, which suggests that there will be 36,000,000 females as against 24,000,000 males in 1945, and that 17,000,000 of the males will be under sixteen or over sixty-five. The whole male population between the ages of seventeen and sixty-five will have been cut to a small percentage of its normal size. At best, 7,000,000 young or middle-aged men, many of them invalids, will be left. With 17,000,000 to 18,000,000 women between the ages of sixteen and forty-five, there will be two and a half times more women of procreative age than men. Such a disproportion constitutes a powerful threat to traditional concepts of morality and family stability. Towns and villages will be filled with women, children, old men, and cripples. In coming years the German birth rate will reach an all-time low, in comparison with which even the French pre-war rate will look like an index of fertility.

This is the prospect for a nation whose leaders planned a mass grave for "inferior peoples." They have succeeded in preparing the biggest cemetery of all for their own people.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## THE THEATER IN PARIS

BY FRANK JONES

Paris, February 8

YOU asked me to let you know what I found in Paris. I hope you'll be interested in what I can tell you about the only Paris activities I've had much chance to observe—those of the theater and press. After all, going to Paris in peace time was a creative act, a source of vision, enabling, for example, Joyce to see and write down his Dublin, Henry James and Henry Miller their Americas. Going there in war time, as a choiceless soldier, is an accident, but what an accident! It makes possible, for the first time in an army career, the feeling that one is *somewhere*; anywhere else one merely exists in a place which will soon be exchanged for another, and sometimes isn't even a place, but a jumping-off place, a stopping-off place, Joe's Place or Stinky's Place or simply an inferno of ennui.

So, being somewhere, let me try to tell you about something in this place—the theater. There are fifty-one theaters now presenting plays. But, first, a word in general. Paris is seething with intellectual activity. It's the one thing of which there is no shortage. Even the paper shortage, which has recently halved the newsprint allotment of every periodical in France, doesn't dim the basic fact: there are more and better politico-literary weeklies now than before 1939—all young, vigorous, independent. Each of the resistance movements has one—*Volontés*, *Bataille* (formerly *La Marseillaise* of London), *Fraternité*, and so on. The Communists, of course, call theirs *Marseillaise*. Here too they are taking over the national past, as at home they have knighted Lincoln. Even non-political weeklies devoted wholly to books and the arts have an independent air—I say "even" remembering publishers' house organs like *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*. All these journals keep up such a high standard in articles, reviews, gossip, and cartoons that you hardly miss the great vanished monthlies like the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, which gave up the ghost more than a year ago, having run out of literary topics at once "collaborative" and in vogue—Stefan George, for instance. My point in mentioning these weeklies is that everybody buys them, that the day after they come out you are likely to see a sign in the kiosk: "No more *Lettres Françaises*."

And everybody goes to the theater. Prices are way above pre-war level; there is no heat, even in the national theaters (the Comédie Française is oldest and coldest); there are electricity troubles and restrictions so that matinees start at five; but the intensity of projection and response is all the greater. The plays? There you touch the weak spot, as in London and New York. There are biographies—the loves of Molière on the left bank, those of Liszt on the right, and the dear old Brontë sisters on the way to Montparnasse—adaptations of novels, and many frothy comedies—you can take your choice of "Private Lives" or "Design for Living" if you don't trust

their French equivalents. The English vogue extends to serious plays, too. Barrie's "Dear Brutus" and Priestley's "Dangerous Corner" are successes. No American plays. I don't think we are doing very well here yet as ambassadors of the arts. For one thing, we seem to have sent Paris no movies newer than "His Girl Friday"—which sounds quaint as "La Dame du Vendredi." I provoked an outcry of reproachful envy at dinner with some French friends by saying in all innocence that I'd seen "The Great Dictator" three times. Paris, which adores Chaplin, hasn't seen it yet; Rome, which doesn't, has. Policy, I suppose. Well, as I was saying, many of the serious plays now running in Paris are translations. The Odéon is giving "The Cherry Orchard"—about once to every five performances of Florence L. Barclay's "The Rosary"; Charles Dullin is still going strong in the Stefan Zweig-Jules Romains "Volpone"; other avant-garde companies are doing Strindberg and Gogol; and one may even see dramatizations of "Wuthering Heights" and "Tess of the d'Urbervilles."

So what about French plays? The biggest hits in serious native drama are Paul Claudel's "The Satin Slipper" at the Comédie Française and a new "Antigone" by Jean Anouilh at the Atelier. Religion and politics: the familiar French pre-occupations. Both plays have been running for more than a year—the Claudel as part of a repertory, of course, but the other nightly.

Claudel's vast panorama—over four hours' playing time—is a success because the direction given it by Jean-Louis Barrault, a young actor with a face like a hatchet and a voice like a sword, enables its poetic genius to outsoar its dramatic defects. Barrault plays the lead, opposite Marie Bell, who, you'll recall, searched for her youth in "Carnet du Bal"—but didn't find it in time to do justice to Claudel. Madeleine Renaud, Mme Barrault in private life, exquisitely plays another important part. The Barraults—known as the model household of the Comédie Française—both made their name in the movies: he in "The Puritan" and she in "La Maternelle." Barrault has been a big man at the Comédie for some time, and I wonder how he will take it if, as is widely rumored, Louis Jouvet is made managing director of the institution in succession to Edouard Bourdet. Jouvet with a small company has been touring France and North Africa for years, adding patriotic color to his already huge renown as actor and director; so he is due to have a triumphal return to Paris. Barrault also had an avant-garde company before the war. In general, the invasion of the august house of Molière by people known primarily for work in films or experimental theaters—even Raimu, the baker who had "The Baker's Wife," is rolling them in those plush aisles now—has gone still farther than under the Popular Front, when Léon Blum, the ex-drama critic, first gave official sanction to the policy. Oldsters who

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like their classics straight, and more of them, grumble about having their Racine rationed along with bread and cheese, and dream of the old days of the *grand style*, which died, as everywhere in Europe, with the last war. The situation, as usual, is neatly summarized at my favorite boulevard theater, the A. B. C., which is presenting some "excerpts" from current Comédie performances, including "The Cid" as it would be played by Charles Trenet, which might be paralleled by Frank Sinatra as Hamlet.

But Barrault's Claudel production showed me how a classic is made. The play when read may seem an impossible hodge-podge of farce, fantasy, and melodrama, with its saints and friars and guardian angels, its Moorish villains and Negro lasses and Chinese lackeys, its voyages and passionate interviews and speeches by the moon; a simple plot complicated by self-indulgent invention, making at unnecessary length a Catholic retort to "Tristan and Isolde," to the effect that adultery, even though a grand passion, must not be committed, because it is followed not by a warm mystical love death but by the everlasting damnation of the soul. For years Claudel's lovers grope toward each other, but do not meet, kept apart by moral sense and religious scruple, until late in life, when the woman presents the man with a daughter begotten through her husband by her lover's spirit—it says so in the book—and dies soon after; and the play ends with an epilogue showing the lover, a very old man, being taken on as a servant in a convent to keep from being sold into slavery.

That such a castle in seventeenth-century Spain should be made credible and exciting to twentieth-century France, in which nevertheless it was written, is a tribute to the marvelous work of Barrault, who had the Germans to cope with when he started the run, justice to cope with when they left—his first guardian angel only recently got out of jail—and the hardest winter in years to fight, as I discovered on the January night when I saw the spectacle. I rushed to the buffet in the one intermission to warm myself with champagne for want of coffee. Some of his pictures, with Honegger's perfect incidental music, I shall never forget: the opening scene, a shipwrecked friar (a student of rhetoric at the Conservatoire) praying, in most divinely sounding French, for the salvation of his brother's soul; the absurd and colorful bit parts—servants, messengers, fantastic animals—rushing in and out of the wings in their delicious costumes; the votary of pleasure, Dona Musique (Madeleine Renaud), weaving about her lover with gauzy garments and honey speech in a blue Sicilian cave; and the great scenes where the lovers speak and dream of each other in wild, bitter gestures and cadences high with pride and heavy with tears.

From the new Catholicism to the ancient Greeks is no farther than from the Rue de Richelieu to Montmartre, where André Barsacq's production of the latest "Antigone" has been packing them into the tiny Atelier Theater (formerly Charles Dullin's—he is now running the Sarah Bernhardt, whose name the Germans changed during their visit—guess why. The author, Jean Anouilh, has been challenging Cocteau on his own ground: his "Orpheus" having been produced some time ago, he now treats the Antigone story much more daringly than did the other Jean, who merely stripped it of its stateliness to make its bare bones do a sensational dance of love and death. Anouilh makes it favor Creon, whom he con-

ceives as an extremely intelligent man determined to bring Thebes into a rational condition after the horrors perpetrated by the other members of his family—brother-in-law Oedipus, mother-in-law and sister Jocasta, and nephews Polynices and Eteocles, who have lately plunged the poor city into civil war, as if the plague and royal incest weren't enough. Creon hates having to decree that the rebel nephew be left unburied and that death shall be the penalty for trying to bury him, but does so because it is the custom of the country, "*pour encourager les autres*," knowing that the "stupid people" will be impressed by it, as by all his speeches, which he knows to be brilliant, statesman-like, and full of lies.

When Antigone, a strange girl suffering from sex frustrations and a martyr complex, disobeys the edict and gets caught, Creon first offers to have the whole thing hushed up. She haughtily refuses. He then tells her the full facts about the two brothers (as seen by Anouilh, not Sophocles!): how they were both degenerate rascals, betting the royal wealth on the horses and beating and cursing their father, until one started the civil war because the other owed him money. Neither of them deserved to succeed to the throne, but since it was the elder's by legal right, Creon has puffed him up into a national hero in his speeches, following the only policy that will preserve the principle of legitimacy in a waste of shame. Antigone's will to die for her brother's memory is at first shaken by these revelations, but at last she insists on being put to death, leaving Creon no alternative but to execute the decree. Her fiancé, Creon's son, whom she has won away from her younger prettier sister by suddenly doing herself justice in dressing for a dance, kills himself in grief. So does his mother, Creon's wife, a good soul who preferred knitting to talking ("I could never see," muses Creon, "why the poor need all those knitted goods"). "She just put her needles down and cut her throat," says the messenger, simply. Creon sits silent a while, gazing pensively at a little boy who is his confidant. "Come!" he says at last. "There is a council meeting at five." An exit—and a performance—justly cheered by the audience the night I went.

Excellent written and beautifully staged in modern dress, the play has the prime element of Parisian success, something to argue about. Some say it degrades the high moral tone of the old story. It seems to me one must either modernize thoroughly and frankly or leave the Greeks alone; the contemporary tragic heroine does not make sublime speeches about divine law, she simply whips up her natural impulses until they conquer her natural fears. Others assert that the play is collaborationist in intent because it belittles Antigone's resistance to the state. But she is not portrayed as rash or silly: of her speeches, which are instinct with the wisdom of the heart, one is a superb hymn to liberty—oh, metaphorical of course—fine words about being free to rise before the dawn and breathe great drafts of pristine air, but one hears the undertones of the seemingly harmless words the Germans doubtless pretended to appreciate. On the whole I find the politics and psychology of the play quite sound. It is less fantastic than Giraudoux's treatments of the ancient themes, "Amphitryon 38," "There'll Be No Trojan War," and "Electra," which set the style for this sort of thing some years ago. Anouilh's writing is grimmer, sparer. For the Giraudoux influence at its worst—that fine writer, who died just a year

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in danger  
of remaining  
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economic lines?**

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ago, is having his apotheosis now—one should see something called "Happy Ulysses," about Ulysses's homecoming, by a new playwright in uniform who sensibly remains anonymous. The ravishing décor and costumes furnished by a young company in this their first production do not prevent one from being battered and stunned by assaults of whimsy that would make not only Homer but Barrie retch. It must be said, though, that the actors, including four little girls about five years old, braved the cold in Homeric costumes, something that cannot be said of greater theaters. The Odéon was going to revive "Oedipus Rex" two weeks ago, but put it off until the current thaw.

So you see the "literary theater," as Broadway tolerantly terms it, is still popular in Paris, and the new is still old and tradition stands. Still the greatest innovators, Anouilh and Claudels, Péguy and Cocteau knowingly draw on the Greek and Christian origins for their most breath-taking novelties. When shall we learn that skill? Perhaps when Billy Rose, like the A. B. C., can put on a number entitled "The Purge in 435 B. C.," which describes an older attempt to punish collaboration with a conquering foe. An Athenian judge grills some suspects, including Phryne the courtesan, about services rendered to the invader. "On vous accuse," he informs the lady, "de collaboration horizontale avec les Perses." "Mais oui," she cheerfully agrees, "et les Mèdes aussi . . . Les Mèdes et les Perses, voyez-vous?" Case dismissed. *Toujours gais, these French!*

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### A Forgotten Agrarian Revolt

IN THESE DAYS "tinhorn" is a little flower of speech applied to shady gambling promoters, but a hundred years ago it had a nobler connotation, for it was both the symbol and instrument of an agrarian revolt in New York State. In the counties bordering on the Hudson the Van Rensselaers and other "patroon" families had flourished on a "durable-lease" system of land tenure. They "sold" property to farmers in return for a perpetual annual rent in produce and labor and the payment of all taxes on the land. If the farmer wished to resell the land, he was bound to pay the landlord one-quarter of the price or, at the landlord's option, to surrender it for three-quarters of the market value.

While Stephen Van Rensselaer, "the good patroon," lived, resentment merely smoldered, for he refrained from pressing his full claims, and when he died in 1839, there were uncollected rents amounting to \$400,000. His heirs decided to collect; the farmers determined to resist. Gradually the farmers built up an active organization which used direct, as well as political, action against the hated feudal system. When landlords' agents or sheriffs approached their stony hills, the tin horns normally used to summon them to meals sounded a warning. Disguised in calico Indian robes, with stained faces, they forced more than one armed expedition from Albany to retreat.

In "Tin Horns and Calico" (Holt, \$3.75) Henry Christman, an Albany newspaperman, has told the full story for the first time, drawing on old letters, diaries, and news-

papers. Fortunately his narrative skill matches his pertinacity in research, and his book is absorbing reading as well as a real contribution to American history.

It is strange that the professional historians have so neglected this anti-rent movement. It kept New York State in an uproar for a decade as it spread through half a dozen counties on both sides of the Hudson, and it formed a principal issue in several elections. Through the Free Soil movement it links up directly with the agitation which finally led to the Homestead Act; and some of its active adherents, after migrating to the West, assisted at the birth of the Republican Party. Mr. Christman is to be congratulated on recognizing its importance and rescuing it from oblivion.

KEITH HUTCHISON

### Inside the Ghetto

THE GHASTLY STORY of the Nazi extermination of Warsaw's half-million Jews is told in "No Traveler Returns" (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), the material for which was supplied by Dr. Henry Shoskes and put into book form with the assistance of Curt Riess. The general outline of the story has been known—that the Nazis first herded the Jews into a ghetto and then began slaughtering them in various ways and increasing numbers until none were left. In this book we have for the first time details as seen from inside the ghetto. New, hideous facets of Nazi sadism are presented. More important, we have a study of how a peaceful people reacted to events beyond their comprehension. For many months the conservative Adam Czerniakow, mayor of the ghetto, honestly thought he could save his people by "adjusting" to the German conquerors. He was their Neville Chamberlain. Ultimately he swallowed poison.

For two years there was no organized resistance among the Jews of Warsaw because the Germans kept promising special immunities to this group and that group, all the while killing Jews. A few farsighted men, among them the Socialists and Communists, had seen the doom of the Warsaw Jews from the first. They had said it would be more glorious and more satisfactory to die fighting. Finally these men prevailed. For six flaming and bloody weeks in April and May two years ago, the remaining Jews in Warsaw threw themselves into heroic, ingenious, and successful warfare against the "master race." They expected to die and they did, and in so doing they killed a disproportionate number of Germans. In so doing—the world being what it is, not all Gandhis—the Jews of Warsaw ennobled their tragedy. They kindled a beacon to other peoples of Europe.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

### Guide to Mexico

GOOD NEWS FOR TRAVELERS to Mexico is the new edition of "Frances Toor's New Guide to Mexico" (Crown Publishers, \$2.50). Entirely rewritten, compact in format, and sturdily bound, it can be guaranteed to return high dividends for its place in the suitcase. The expert archaeologist or historian, or the explorer intent on remote villages, will not, to be sure, find all the information he needs within these pages. But most travelers are not experts, and a surprising number of references to specialized interests will be found here to

start the curiosity of the amateur: markets, fiestas, arts and crafts, social experiment, colonial and pre-conquest culture.

For the special counts on which one judges a guidebook, the score is pretty good. There are seventeen maps showing motor routes and cities. Although the guidebook writers' contention that local automobile clubs and oil companies supply maps is generally true, we still need more maps in a guidebook like this. It will always seem to me ridiculous to publish a guide to Mexico without (1) a good folding map of the entire republic, (2) a detailed map of the Valley of Mexico. There are ten pages of indexes; the General Index might be much more ingenious, but it serves for most questions. Means of transportation, hotels, and other accommodations are treated practically, with such remarks as, "There are second-class buses, but they are not advisable."

There are two ways to write a guidebook: either to begin in a scholarly way and work up through the difficult mass of available material to a thorough knowledge, or to begin on the surface in familiar acquaintance with the things described, and to dig out just as much background as each fact seems to warrant. This book is the second sort; its compiler has known and loved Mexico for many years, and she sets out to tell what people will want to know on the spot. Most important of all, this is current information, checked in the year 1944: for the traveler that outweighs any other consideration.

ELIZABETH WILDER

## A Common Tongue

**EXHIBIT 1:** Address by the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill at Harvard: the possession of a common tongue is of incalculable benefit to the two great Western democracies, and Churchill would like to see the whole world enjoy the same advantage.

**Exhibit 2:** from the subtlest of logicians and critics, I. A. Richards: "[A common language] must be clear from any threat to the economic, moral, cultural, social, or political status of any person or any people. It must carry no implications of intellectual, technological, or other domination. No one in learning the world language must have any excuse for even the least shadow of a feeling that he is submitting to an alien influence or being brought under the power of other groups." Words of gold, which bar out English, whether basic, standard, pidgin, or straight Menckenesese.

A fabricated language then? "Crackpot schemes!" (like a World Union for International Security). Here comes:

**Exhibit 3:** a volume entitled "The Green Star," by Joseph W. Dubin (National Institute of Esperanto, \$2.50). Mr. Dubin shows very convincingly that a number of scholars, scientists, business men have taken the problem very seriously, and especially that Esperanto has provided a large-scale prolonged demonstration that such a scheme is perfectly feasible. Esperanto has been in practical use for over a half a century. The movement has held yearly congresses attended by thousands. It has had periodicals by the dozen and books by the hundreds. It can be done.

Esperanto is not perfect. Its "absurdities," if you like to call them so, are venial compared with the ambiguities and inconsistencies of all great languages. Zamenhof was a practical idealist. He did not believe in his own infallibility; he

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knew that, in order to be applied, a scheme must have a certain degree of stability. On this firm basis the language could and did freely evolve but without losing its identity. If an official authority would take hold of the problem, Zamenhof was ready to accept reforms, and even to abandon his own solution altogether.

I happen to prefer a different project, which might be called "Basic Anglo-Latin," or Interlingua. I follow with interest the scholarly labor of the International Auxiliary Language Association. But I am glad to testify that the generous spirit of Zamenhof, "*la interna ideo*," is in harmony with our present efforts for world peace; that Esperanto has a vigorous life of its own, and a strange, undeniable fascination; that it is an immediately available solution, with an abundant supply of textbooks and dictionaries, of teachers and translators. The present volume is a well-rounded encyclopedia of the whole problem. It contains all the essential facts, including a complete Key to Esperanto.

ALBERT GUERARD

## FICTION IN REVIEW

WHEN, some weeks ago, instead of writing about a certain novel at the usual length I confined my review to the statement that I had been able to read only 200 of its 600 pages and these with only the greatest self-discipline, it was protested that this represented an evasion of my reviewer's duty. The protest was not very widespread, but even the mildest flurry of disapproval surprised me. For to my thinking there is no more responsible method of book-reviewing than honestly to declare, if the occasion warrants, that a book is too dull or opaque to finish. If a case-hardened reviewer can't penetrate a novel, why should she suppose that other readers will be able or want to? It even seems to me to be a generous method: it spares an unreadable book the circumstantial indictment which is earned by bad books that are at least readable.

At any rate, protest or no protest, accepted critical practice or not, I am afraid I must follow the same procedure with Alex Comfort's "The Power House" (Viking, \$3). Because of its author's place among the younger British intellectuals, "The Power House" claimed my attention. It

was not able to engage it. I read the first two dozen pages three times without having any notion of what I was reading; then I made several firm attempts to break into the story at a later point of its development, each time without success. This report must therefore stand for the whole of my review.

On the other hand, there is Frederic Prokosch's "Age of Thunder" (Harper, \$2.50), which I could perhaps wish I had *not* been able to finish since to complete it was only to confirm the suspicion which took hold of me after a chapter or two—that I was following a clearly charted path through a miasma. That is, while Mr. Prokosch's novel presents no difficulties from sentence to sentence or even from page to page—its prose, although fancy, is perfectly navigable, and I can recount every incident and index every character—it raises the rather unanswerable question of what Mr. Prokosch had in mind when he conceived and wrote it.

"Age of Thunder" opens reasonably enough: a young man has dropped by parachute into occupied France with a mission to uncover the point of disaffection in the underground. But what follows this conventional gambit is a series of incidents which are not only unconnected with each other but in themselves connected with reality only as a dream is. The young man joins a party of secret travelers to Switzerland, but we are not told why the journey is being made or why the characters behave as they do in the course of it. Accusations of darkest treachery are made without being either confirmed or dispelled; the group swells and diminishes without purpose; two members of the group—including a Negro who especially activates his author's gift for inappropriate adjectives and adverbs—are murdered, but we know of their death only what one can learn from a corpse. The young man wanders into a hotel, where he is visited by a grim Hollywood type who strangely reminds Mr. Prokosch's hero of someone named Robinson; but who is Robinson? who, even, is the grim Hollywood type? Even when the hero is arrested by the Gestapo—oh, most corporeal of incidents!—he is dismissed with a philosophical talk and a cigarette. And so on, through four nights of fantasy on the loose, in which, among other adventures, Mr. Prokosch's young man is housed in a castle, eats campfire spaghetti with a party of Italians, discusses love with a euphonious trio consisting of an Arab, an Annamese, and a Macedonian, is wounded among a garrison of comrades. We are understandably relieved when, the Alps sighted, we are told that the hero's mission has been accomplished.

"Age of Thunder" is not presented as a surrealist novel; I suppose, however, that if we must have a category for it, that would do as well as any, since it combines recognizable details and dream conception in the orthodox surrealist fashion. But whatever its aesthetic or philosophical intention, I have small patience with it because, to me, it is simply a narrative without sequence, larded with conversations more fabulous than enlightening. I still hold to the opinion that fiction doesn't approach poetry by merely turning its back on sense.

John O'Hara has a new collection of short stories, "Pipe Night" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$2.50), with many of which you may be already acquainted from the *New Yorker*. They are very much worth looking at again. For whereas a

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## REPLY TO DEL VAYO

by EARL BROWDER

Mr. Del Vayo's article, "V-DAY AND REVOLUTION"  
in March 17th NATION, discussed in  
April 3rd NEW MASSES — Now on sale.

great deal of our short fiction loses by being published in book form, Mr. O'Hara's pieces seem to me to gain in intensity; and they achieve a kind of cumulative seriousness. I am also especially struck, and quite freshly, by their craft—the impression of an enormously careful plotting and of a precision and economy of means which should be a model to the vague and garrulous. Then there are always Mr. O'Hara's eye and ear, those instruments of something so much deeper and better than ordinary accurate reporting.

DIANA TRILLING

### CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES A. WECHSLER, national-affairs editor of *PM*, is the author of "Labor Baron: A Portrait of John L. Lewis."

JOACHIM JOESTEN is a well-known writer on European affairs. His article in this issue is adapted from a forthcoming book, "The Nazis at Bay."

GEROLD FRANK is a war correspondent who has recently returned from the Middle East.

BERNARDO CLARIANA is considered one of the best of the younger Spanish poets. After fighting in the Spanish War he escaped to this country and is now living in New York.

DUDLEY FITTS is the editor of an "Anthology of Contemporary Latin American Poetry."

PAULO DUARTE, an exiled Brazilian journalist, was formerly Brazil's representative on the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations.

MAX MANDELLAUB, a well-known European scholar was formerly connected with the Institute of International Studies at Geneva.

FRANK JONES, before he entered the army, taught Latin and Greek at Yale and contributed many reviews to *The Nation*.

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## Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

SOME three years ago the Messrs. Howard Richardson and William Berney won a Maxwell Anderson prize for poetic drama. Their play was based on a North Carolina version of the Ballad of Barbara Allen, and the Shuberts have just given it an elaborate, thoroughly professional production under the title "Dark of the Moon" (Forty-sixth Street Theater). Cautiously described as "A Legend with Music," the whole turns out to be one of the most interesting dramatic novelties I have seen in some time and one which appears to have a much better chance of surviving in the hurly-burly of Broadway than the prize-winning efforts of amateurs usually have.

Folk material on the American stage is, of course, nothing new. Almost two generations ago earnest municipal souls used to plod through the high-minded pageants of Percy Mackaye, and more recently a whole school of regional dramatists have flourished somewhat precariously under the devoted ministrations of Paul Green. But only very rarely has a "Sun Up," a "Hell Bent for Heaven," or a "Tobacco Road" really established itself in the commercial theater, and it may be that "Oklahoma" is more than an isolated masterpiece. It may be, that is to say, that while folk

material does not lend itself to straight realistic treatment, it is destined to inspire a rich series of "legends with music."

Only, to be sure, in a very general way does "Dark of the Moon" resemble "Oklahoma." Here the story is supernatural and tragic rather than sunny and comic. Here there is only incidental music and a sprinkling of old ballads rather than a full operatic score. But in both grotesque folk humor plays a part; in both music is used to sustain a mood which bare prose words could scarcely support; in both a similar style of pantomimic dancing is lavishly employed. And the striking fact is that methods basically similar should, in the case of "Dark of the Moon," so successfully create eerie and tragic effects. No one could suppose that the story of a "witch boy" who becomes human in order to marry a mortal girl and who loses his humanity again when his wife is unfaithful to him would be a story easy to tell effectively. But in this version it is told very effectively indeed.

One reviewer described the piece as being sometimes like "Oklahoma," sometimes like "Sing Out Sweet Land," and sometimes like "Tobacco Road." One knows what he meant, since ancient ballads are sung and there are moments of grotesquely earthy humor. Perhaps, at times, the elements are not completely fused. But "Dark of the Moon" is certainly no hodge-podge such as the description just quoted might suggest, for it is, on the contrary, remarkable for the extent to which a unified style capable of making the strange fable seem convincing and valid is actually achieved. Certain striking scenes, like that of the *al fresco* dance at which the witch boy steals his girl from the local bully and that of the revival meeting where, after she has borne a monstrous child, the girl is thrust back into the embraces of her former lover, are vivid and exciting even standing alone; but they are not the most difficult ones. All through the performance I felt that ultimate success or failure would depend upon the treatment of the catastrophe. Would the scene in which the witch boy becomes a witch boy again and must lose, not only his humanity, but almost his memory of it, be dodged or be muffed? And I must report that it is neither. On the success of that scene the whole ultimate effectiveness of the legend stands or falls. If the conclusion had been merely grotesque or merely quaint, the whole would have descended to one of those

levels. But, instead, the imagination of the authors holds up, and the scene becomes, as it should, eerie, tense, and terrible. Indeed, I cannot remember a more successful treatment of the supernatural in recent dramatic writing.

On the whole the production is well conceived and well acted. I thought the costuming of the witch girls in a curiously operatic fashion a serious mistake, especially since their dialect speech makes it clear that they were conceived in terms of the mountaineer's imagination. I thought also the first scene of a conventionalized mountain top similarly incongruous; but the other settings were excellently designed and the acting first rate. Carol Stone is Barbara, and a newcomer, Richard Hart, plays the witch boy with great dignity and great fire.

## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

IN THE English-made "Colonel Blimp" David Low's lovingly malicious archetype—and by implication, every Tory—has been relieved of all selfish motives for his actions and of nearly all dangerousness or even obstructiveness in those actions. This is annoying, and worse; but at the same time the movie's characterization of an innocent, brave, honorable, and stupid man is, within its own limits, so persuasive and so endearing, and so rare to movies, that I am at least as grateful as I am annoyed. If Low's and the movie character were blended, Blimp would be a great tragic-comic character. Lacking that, I wish that some publisher would get out a 25-cent volume of the cartoons, to brace and extend the picture among the many people who otherwise will get their only idea of Blimp through the gentlest kind of Technicolor. There is nothing brilliant about the picture, but it is perceptive, witty, and sweet-tempered, and it shows a continuous feeling for the charm and illuminating power of mannerism, speech, and gesture used semi-ritually, rather than purely realistically, which owes a good deal to Lubitsch in the good second-best of his comedies. I very much liked the performances of Roger Livesey as the Colonel, Deborah Kerr as his imago in three instalments, and Anton Walbrook as his German friend.

In "God Is My Co-Pilot" the Flying Tiger hero, Dennis Morgan, tells a priest, Alan Hale, that he has killed a

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hundred men that day; he obviously feels deeply troubled by the fact, and is asking for spiritual advice. Since the priest does not answer him in any way about that, but pretends to by commenting comfortably on a quite different and much easier perplexity—every death makes a difference to God—it is regrettable, not to say nauseating, that they bothered to bring up the problem at all. Aside from these religious conversations, any one of which would serve to unite atheists and religious men in intense distaste for the lodgers in the abyss which separates them, there is a good deal of air combat on process screens, obstructed by the customary close-ups of pilots smiling grimly as they give or take death in a studio, for considerably more than soldiers' pay, a yard above the ground. The picture is not as bad, I must admit, as I'm making it sound; but it is not good enough to make me feel particularly sorry about that. God is my best pal and severest critic, but when He asked for this touching March afternoon off, I didn't have it in my heart to refuse Him.

I would like to be able to make "The Affairs of Susan" sound half as bad as it is, but I know when I'm licked. In this interminable film, which might be described as a Make's Progress, Joan Fontaine is photographed as Joan of Arc; the Maid looks as if she were testifying, for a handsome fee, to every nice thing the Voices told her about Lysol. Miss Fontaine also appears as a lake-shore innocent, in trousers and a thinly knit jersey; in a series of gowns and negligees which are still more earnestly calculated to refute the canard that, if the Hays Office permitted, she would be ashamed to make a clean breast of her "development" (I think the word is); and in a collusion of hornrims, tight hair, ties, and sharp tailoring which, if they suggest nothing admissibly human, may at least roughly approximate Mayor LaGuardia's mental image of "Trio." This sort of thing makes me all the angrier because Miss Fontaine has proved that she is an actress worth building a good picture around—or even worth using in one which doesn't build around anyone. About Dennis O'Keefe's characterization of a writer, I feel less kind. He achieves it purely by letting his hair get rather long behind the ears. In objecting to this, I am probably the only living writer who has to cast his stone through a glass house; and much as I loathe haircuts, I have been trying ever since I saw the picture to brace myself to enter a barber shop.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

IN his *New Republic* review of Tovey's latest books Ralph Bates pointed out that Tovey's wonderfully illuminating statements about music are almost entirely incidental to his expositions of the progress of ideas and form in particular works; and that such expositions are further enriched in the same incidental way by his general literacy. Bates cited, as an example, the discussion of the nature of tragedy that occurs in one of the essays on chamber music; then, revealing that the essay is concerned with a work by Brahms who is today "least enjoyed by really intelligent listeners," Bates concluded that the fact "that Tovey thought him one of the very great masters makes one decide to think again, and if possible to feel anew, about that unfashionable genius."

That argument would require one to be similarly influenced by what Tovey writes about C. Hubert H. Parry—for example, about his choral works "with their unsurpassable truth and depth in the setting of words." And Bates stopped with verbal argument in a matter where any number of words are less conclusive than even one action. It would have taken too long to do the complete job; but he should have listened at least to the finale of Brahms's Piano Quartet Opus 60 that was the occasion of Tovey's remarks about tragedy, and reported whether the experience had brought him to a new conclusion about it—not so much whether he had found it to be tragedy, as whether it had proved, as tragedy, to be convincing and moving; or in other words whether as music it had communicated something genuinely felt which had dictated the flow of substance into form, or had communicated only pumped-up attitudes through a synthetically contrived large structure. The "really intelligent listeners" Bates referred to include some who have listened again to Brahms after reading Tovey, and who haven't discovered anything new in Brahms but have learned something important about Tovey—that his scholar's and composer's interest in the mechanics of musical construction sometimes leads him to hear great or important utterance where there is only elaborate manipulation of the devices of melody, harmony, counterpoint, and orchestration; and that, as a result, the statements about music and the general

obiter dicta that are so illuminating and enriching are elicited by poor music as well as good.

No; where men like Brahms and Parry are concerned one does better to be influenced by Shaw, who has sharp perception and no tolerance for "attempts to pass off the forms of music for music itself." Brahms is not for him the great composer that he is for "learned musicians" when, in the German Requiem, he "sets a pedal pipe booming and a drum thumping the dominant of the key for ten minutes at a stretch, while the other instruments and the voices plough along through every practicable progression in or near the key, up hill from syncopation to syncopation, and down dale from suspension to suspension . . . Brahms seems to have been impressed by the fact that Beethoven produced remarkable effects by persisting with his pedal points long after Mozart would have resolved them, and to have convinced himself by an obvious logical process that it must be possible to produce still more remarkable results by outdoing Beethoven in persistency. And so indeed it is, as Bach proved before Mozart was born. Only somehow it has not come off in Brahms's hands."

## The Sewanee Review

Edited by ALLEN TATE

(Spring Issue, 1945)

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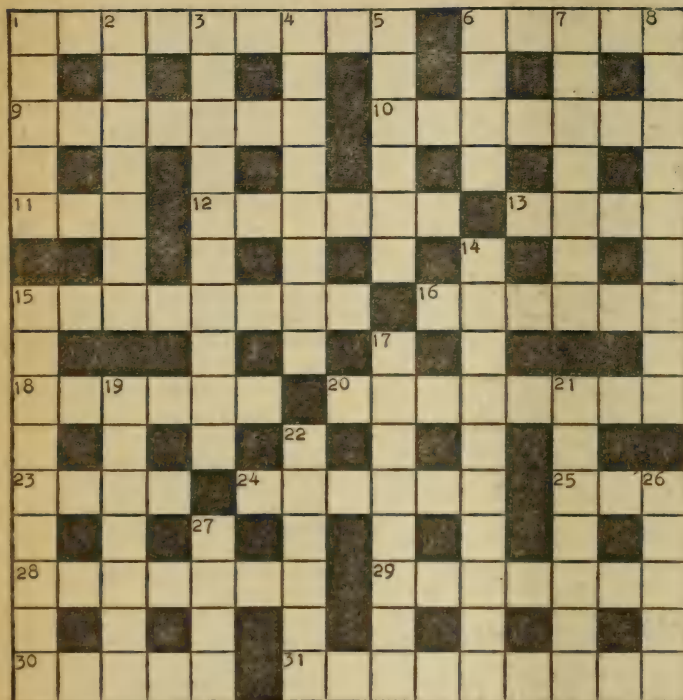
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## Crossword Puzzle No. 109

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Jocose—at having got five vowels in their proper order, perhaps
- 6 Sewell returns with L knocked out of him
- 9 Friday p.m. to Monday a.m. (hyphen, 4-3)
- 10 Reveals (anag.)
- 11 Did Opal ever meet her? I once did (hidden)
- 12 Moves by slow degrees
- 13 She was a good cook, as cooks go; and as cooks go, she ---
- 15 He is doubtless well-versed in "coast use" (two words, 3 and 5)
- 16 Pugilistic
- 18 An ogre transforms himself into an ass
- 20 Inaugural opportunities
- 23 There are many such small expenses at election time
- 24 Robin Hood's maid
- 25 You might mistake this dog for a Boxer
- 28 Passage from a book
- 29 Might make tin rust
- 30 Suit-able material for a Russian
- 31 Silly asses!

## DOWN

- 1 Not so many here
- 2 No cream, but possibly a violin
- 3 Appropriate name for a boys' preparatory school? (two words, 3 & 7)
- 4 Term of endearment for Buffalo Bill? (two words, 3 and 5)

- 5 Poetic relationship of Judy O'Grady to the Colonel's lady
- 6 "Perhaps it was right to dissemble your ---, but why did you kick me downstairs?" (Kemble)
- 7 Closest
- 8 They occur in June and December
- 14 Sweet-scented flower
- 15 The answer tells you what to do if you want this clear atmosphere
- 17 Mark Tapley was one
- 19 The one who encourages sounds like a gambler
- 21 A writer turns to music and produces something far above our heads
- 22 Crooks are. So are cooks
- 26 Stage entrances
- 27 Where the hair usually thins first

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 108

ACROSS:—1 CAPER; 4 FOB; 6 FLOCK; 9 ROMULUS; 10 DIDACHE; 11 ROOSTS; 13 MILLARD; 15 EUGENIE; 16 CASERN; 17 ODDS; 19 SNEERED; 21 LAST; 24 NESSES; 25 DENTIST; 27 ORATORIO; 28 EATAGE; 31 TRACKER; 32 CALLING; 33 CUDDY; 34 CAT; 35 DOGIE.

DOWN:—1 CURER; 2 POMPOUS; 3 RELATERS; 4 FAST; 5 BODKIN; 6 FIDDLE; 7 ORCHARD; 8 KNEAD; 12 SUNNIER; 13 MEMENTO; 14 LICENSE; 16 COL; 18 SOS; 20 DETAILED; 22 SEA-MAID; 24 SCARING; 25 DONKEY; 26 NITRIC; 27 OPTIC; 29 EAGLE; 30 SCOT.

Nor is it any better when it is done by the learned musicians. One of the products of the English professorial school of composers elicits from Shaw the comment that if he worked at it he could "turn out five acts about King Lear that would be, at least, grammatical, superficially coherent, and arranged in lines that would scan," and that friendly critics would be able to praise by dodging the one important question, "Has the author been able for his subject?" There are, he adds, in Parry's "Job" "no end of nice little things I could point out about the workmanship shown in the score, its fine feeling, its scrupulous moderation, its entire freedom from any base element of art or character, and so on through a whole epitaph of pleasant and perfectly true irrelevancies"; the only important thing is that "there is not a bar in it that comes within fifty thousand miles of the tamest line in the poem."

And on another occasion it is Stanford's "Eden" that makes Shaw "wonder what Mr. Stanford would think of me if I took advantage of my literary craftsmanship to write inane imitations of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' with all the latest graces of style, and got my friends to go into raptures over its grammar and its correct scansion. However, who am I that I should be believed, to the disparagement of eminent musicians? If you doubt that 'Eden' is a masterpiece, ask Dr. Parry and Dr. Mackenzie, and they will applaud it to the skies. Surely Dr. Mackenzie's opinion is conclusive; for is he not the composer of 'Veni Creator,' guaranteed as excellent music by Professor Stanford and Dr. Parry? You want to know who Dr. Parry is? Why, the composer of 'Blest Pair of Sirens,' as to the merits of which you have only to consult Dr. Mackenzie and Professor Stanford." If only Shaw could be turned loose on the musicologists and their reviews of each other's books!

A friend reports that the worst of these Savonarolas, Professor Paul Henry Lang, who has made the musical atmosphere hideous with his harsh-voiced exhortations, referred to Shaw in a recent article on Wagner in the *Saturday Review of Literature*: Shaw, said Lang, had, in his "Perfect Wagnerite," correctly understood some fact or other about Wagner's "Ring," but had of course been hampered by his lack of knowledge of music. The kind of knowledge the musicologists have Shaw did not have; but they, on the other hand, haven't the kind he had.

# THE Nation

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## The Shape of Things

THE EASTER DAY LANDING OF THE TENTH ARMY on Okinawa furnishes the most impressive evidence of the rapid growth of Allied power in the far Pacific. It would have taken a brave man a year ago to say that at this time American troops would be three to five hundred miles from Japan, or that such a large operation—the biggest amphibious landing to date in the Pacific—could be undertaken so soon after the end of the major campaign at Iwo Jima. It is encouraging to see the Pacific commanders continuing to learn new lessons and to put them into effect so early. The ten days of pre-landing bombardment at Okinawa are apparently the result of the previous experience at Iwo Jima, which had only three days of pre-landing bombardment. This careful preparation paid dividends at Okinawa in the seizure of two air strips the first day. The effects of the Okinawa campaign will be tremendous: greatly increasing the number of bombers over the home islands, severing the last tenuous supply line to the empire in southeastern Asia and the East Indies, and posing the early threat of further landings in Japan or China.

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THE MAGNIFICENCE OF MILITARY VICTORY stands in sharp contrast with the sad state of political confusion among the major Allies. Within a week the prospects for San Francisco have suddenly grown dim. The proposal to change the distribution of votes in the future United Nations Assembly appears to us unreasonable and mischievous, as we point out in an editorial elsewhere. But as if this were not enough, the sudden demand of the unreconstructed Warsaw government to be represented at San Francisco has dropped like a bomb into the Allied camp. It is too early to know what lies behind this proposal. Some observers in Washington suggest that it may be a Russian move to counter the apparent purpose of Britain and the United States to invite Argentina to San Francisco. If this is the case, indeed whatever may be the case, we hope that the powers will get together immediately and clear up the differences which threaten the hope of international agreement. The present situation is the best evidence that could be given of the absolute necessity of continuous political consultation between the major Allies. Such misunderstandings would never have reached the point of hostile maneuvering if a United Nations Council had existed to deal with them as they arose. We hope the plan for an immediate five-power meeting will be put into effect and the issues of Poland, of Argentina, and of the disposition of Assembly votes will be thrashed out and settled. The unity pledged at Yalta cannot be allowed to crumble.

SORRY, BUT WE CANNOT JOIN IN THE REJOICING that Argentina has come over to our side—the Argentina of Farrell and Perón. And we maintain our composure not only for reasons of decency. We can understand of course, the feeling of shame which, as Arnaldo Cortesi wrote in the *New York Times* on April 1, fills every man in Buenos Aires at seeing his country become an international joke. What a moment to declare war on Germany! But it is not that. We refuse to rejoice because we consider Argentina and Franco Spain the two principal bases for Nazi post-war activity. Last week the *Voz Argentina*, the radio program conducted by Argentine exiles in Montevideo, said that Argentina's declaration of war on the Axis followed a secret meeting of German and Argentine fascists at which it was recognized that a declaration of war was necessary to the preservation of the Nazi beachhead in Latin America. Whether or not that is true, a declaration of war by the Farrell government amounts to exactly nothing, so far as the democratic cause is concerned. The same Nazi agents who are active in Buenos Aires today will continue their work. Moreover, the Nazis will use to good advantage the place Argentina may be granted in an international organization. Once they have gained entry, the Nazis can apply their old fifth-column technique, just as the quislings in the old League of Nations—the Albanian, Hungarian, and other pro-fascist delegations—worked to further the interests of Hitler and Mussolini and to undermine the peace. We are absolutely opposed to the acceptance of the present Argentine government, in fact, of any fascist government, as a member of the San Francisco conference or of the world security organization.

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BY KILLING THE MAYORS OF AACHEN AND Monschau, the Nazis have proved that they were not making idle threats when they warned Germans against working with the Allies. The three parachutists who descended upon Aachen and, under the very eyes of our soldiers, shot the mayor appointed by the American commander, can be considered heralds of a terrorist movement of which we shall hear more as the invasion of Germany proceeds and until the country is freed from every nucleus of resistance. One of the techniques of the ultra-fanatics who, according to the general assumption, will make a last stand in the Bavarian mountains will consist of murdering all those Germans who might be used in a democratic reconstruction of the country. That orders for the execution of both murders came from above was made evident by the joy with which Radio Berlin broke the news. It was as though we had gone back twenty years to the time when Erzberger and Rathenau fell—under the same hand. For the ideological link between the parachutists of Aachen and the reckless volunteers of the *Frei Korps* is undeniable. It is hardly surprising that Dr. Goebbels, who in 1935 gave his official blessing to the film "Hangmen and Soldiers," a glorification of the murders committed by the organization *Consul* and the Erhardt Brigade, should now exhibit his triumphant satisfaction over the murder of the two collaborating mayors. In reply to this act, there is only one course the Allied authorities can take. Every Nazi who commits a deed like the one in Aachen must be court-martialed and shot just

as though he had taken the life of an Allied soldier; and the Allies must select for administrative posts in every German community the best anti-fascists they can find.

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THE GENEVA CONVENTION ON WAR PRISONERS has long since proved a scrap of paper in Nazi Germany. The treatment of Russian and Polish prisoners has rivaled for sheer brutality the treatment of the Jews of Europe. Recent reports from prison camps on the western front indicate what we may expect as the war goes into its last desperate phase. In the German prison hospital in Heppenheim 290 Americans lost an average of thirty-five pounds each from undernourishment, all were verminous, and several died of neglect. By contrast, within the American lines in France German prisoners have fared so well that the comparative luxury of their standard of living is provoking bitter resentment among French civilians. In this country the army has lately refused to permit prisoners of war to be used in lumber camps because conditions are not fit for the *Herrenvolk*, and only recently has conceded that the P. O. W. diet might reasonably be brought into line with that of meat-short American civilians. It will be a pity if our guests return to Germany believing that Americans are soft of head as well as soft of heart and that the symbol of our great free republic is the full belly. Certainly, there have been few if any attempts to educate German war prisoners in the basic principles of the democratic system we intend to install in their homeland, and it has been common practice to leave Nazi non-coms in subordinate positions of control in the camps. We suggest that general improvement of the prisoners and heightened morale among our Allies would result from shorter food rations and more liberal servings of democracy.

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THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION, LONG RIPE for an investigation, is going to receive one. Last week even the *Journal of the American Medical Association* took tardy notice of the "continuous flow of charges . . . from a variety of investigators, commentators, periodicals, and publications whose observations have led them to believe that medical care in the Veterans' Administration is on a standard far lower than that prevailing in ordinary practice in the United States." The policies of the Veterans' Administration will eventually affect the health of nearly one-sixth of our total population. *Nation* readers will recall Edward M. Maisel's carefully documented exposé, *Should Veterans Have Legs?* (March 10), which showed that limb manufacturers, aided by General Hines, had been able to sabotage improved appliances for the crippled. Other investigators have reported on conditions in the veterans' hospitals. A thoroughgoing investigation is in order. Unfortunately, Representative Rankin has managed to persuade the House of Representatives to authorize his Veterans' Committee to look into the hospitals, and, apart from Mr. Rankin's well-known record, it is clear from his preliminary announcement that a whitewash may be expected. It is up to the public to see that a real investigation is conducted. The American Medical Association proposes that it be made "by a committee responsible directly to the executive office of the President."

AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF CONSTRUCTIVE action in a matter involving interracial relations is afforded by the recent transfer of Council House, a settlement house in the East Bronx section of New York, from the Council of Jewish Women to an intercultural group which will administer it in the interest of a neighborhood now predominantly Negro. The house was built in 1929 to serve the needs of a thickly populated Jewish neighborhood where there were few cultural or recreational facilities. As the Negro population of Harlem began to overflow into the East Bronx in 1941, the proportion of Negro children served by the house increased rapidly, and it became apparent to the directors of this Jewish enterprise that they would soon be operating a completely Negro community center. Other organizations faced with the same anomalous situation have reacted differently: some have boarded up their establishments, others have sold them. The neighborhood has thereby suffered social loss, and the ill feeling between races has been exacerbated. The Council of Jewish Women, wishing to be more constructive, consulted with Negro, Catholic, and Protestant leaders in the neighborhood, set up a new corporation representing all groups, presented the house to it as a gift, and contributed \$30,000 toward its expenses for the first three years. Forest House, as it has been renamed, will serve henceforth not only as a community center but as a symbol of interracial good-will.

## *Tariffs Must Be Cut*

THE President's request for a renewal of the Trade Agreements Act is in many ways the most important he has made to the present Congress. Mr. Roosevelt expressed the interests of the country as a whole when he declared that the tariff issue is no longer a question on which Republicans and Democrats should divide. Elimination of trade barriers is essential if we are to have full employment and higher living standards. It is also necessary if we are to lay sound foundations for international peace and security in the post-war period. Yet there will be partisan attacks on the Trade Agreements Act, supported by many sincere persons who believe that the American standard of living is being "protected" by the tariff and that any reduction in our customs duties is a threat to their pocket-books or their jobs. They fear that if it were not for the tariff this country would be flooded with "cheap" goods, forcing American producers to cut their wages to meet this competition.

Economists have been pointing out for years that these fears are groundless—that no one is ever the loser when he trades something he has in abundance, or can make cheaply, for something he does not have, or can only produce expensively. They have shown that our "protected" industries are not the high-wage industries that have contributed to making American living standards the highest in the world but are low-wage industries. On the other hand, the industries which produce goods for sale abroad, and would benefit most from an increase in foreign trade, pay relatively high wages. Thus it is to the worker's as well as to the country's interest to specialize in the things we can turn out most efficiently and

cheaply so that they can be exchanged for the things which other countries can produce cheaply and abundantly.

The reciprocal-trade program was rather cleverly concocted to offset the prejudices of protectionists. Tariff reductions have been made only as part of a bargain in which foreign countries agreed to remove restrictions against American exports. And in actual fact we have succeeded in forcing greater concessions from other countries than we have granted in return. The reduction in trade restrictions achieved as a result of the reciprocal-trade program has not gone far enough to enable the United States to discharge its responsibilities as the world's leading creditor. Because of high tariffs, our people have not been able to buy enough abroad to provide foreigners with the dollars they require to buy the American goods they want and at the same time meet their contractual obligations to this country.

In the post-war period we shall have to place more emphasis on imports. For only through an increase in imports can we hope to expand exports and create the conditions of equilibrium that are necessary for a stable world economy. In practice this means acceptance of the President's request for authority to reduce tariffs 50 per cent below their present rates. The duties on many key products have already been cut under the Hull program by as much as 50 per cent without injury to American producers. We must be prepared to make additional reductions if there is to be a substantial increase in trade after the war.

To a much greater extent than is commonly understood, trade barriers were erected by other countries as a defense against American protectionist policies. But since there is bound to be a tremendous demand for American goods after the war, foreign countries will have every incentive to lower the barriers against these goods if we show that we are prepared to buy more of their goods in exchange. By grasping this opportunity to reverse the forces of economic nationalism which plagued the world between World War I and World War II, we can help build a sound international economy based on rising living standards throughout the world. Failure to grant the President's request would be a bad omen for the San Francisco Conference.

## *"Sovereign Equality"*

LAST Thursday's announcement from the White House opens up a deplorable prospect. Britain and the United States agreed at Yalta to support Moscow's proposal that the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Republics should be represented, with one vote each, in the proposed General Assembly of the United Nations.

Formally, the Soviet proposal is unobjectionable. Two political communities, which Moscow describes as self-governing even in foreign policy, are being put up for membership in the United Nations organization. But this is not quite the view of the matter taken at Washington. There it is interpreted as two more votes for the Soviet Union as one entity. Other governments will share this opinion. President Roosevelt, therefore, unlike Mr. Churchill, attached a condition to his agreement. If the San Francisco Conference accedes to Moscow's request, the United States will ask three votes in

the General Assembly. As it cannot make even a pretense of having junior partners with autonomous foreign policies, who could be separate voting members, it will appear in the undisguised and unpopular role of demanding a triple voice in a body which was supposed to give full expression to the "sovereign equality" of states.

Of course, the comedy won't stop there. France will refurbish its claim to representation for a string of dependencies. Why should not the Netherlands, and any other state with colonies, follow suit? If they do, "middle powers," like Canada and Brazil, will almost certainly demand a multiple vote. The mass of small states will be asked to acquiesce in a formalized hierarchy of power which leaves them on the lower steps. Some of them have qualms enough already about inequalities in the proposed organization. This last indignity may keep them out.

The essential purpose of the San Francisco Conference was to reconcile the lesser nations to a plan of organization which gives special prerogatives and immunities to five great powers. A substantial case had been made out for permanent representation of the great powers on the Security Council, and for allowing them a veto on decisions involving the use of force. The justification rests on a difference of function marking off the nations that must bear the chief responsibility

and supply the chief means of enforcement. No such differentiation has any place in a body which, like the Assembly, is largely consultative, which cannot command action, and which has no responsibility for enforcement. Its decisions will nevertheless be highly important in the whole economy of the organization, and equal participation in them was held out as one of the chief attractions for the small nations. The newly disclosed bargain would end all that, and if the "Big Three" insist, it may wreck the conference.

Worse than that, it throws back into the arena the whole question of American participation in security organization. Again the old myth of "six British Empire votes" is on parade. In sober fact Great Britain will have no more control over the vote of a dominion than the United States over that of Cuba or the Soviet Union over that of Poland. But sober fact will weigh nothing with those who, now that the subject is thrown wide open, are already insisting that the United States must have six votes or stay out. Their opposition will be reinforced by the international perfectionists, who will condemn the scramble for multiple votes as another manifestation of the "power politics" which, in their view, vitiates the whole Dumbarton Oaks plan. The fat is in the fire; and nothing short of a withdrawal of the proposal will pull it out.



# Out of the Ashes of Europe

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

*"If the day should ever come when we must go, if some day we are compelled to leave the scene of history, we will slam the door so hard that the universe will shake and mankind will stand back in stupefaction."*

—Joseph Goebbels.

NOTHING Hitler's Wehrmacht can attempt now will stop the torrent of Allied armor pouring through the breached walls of Fortress Europe. The defeated Nazis can do just one thing more: they can organize their defeat, plan it as they would any other campaign so as to gain from it all possible advantage. The alternative would be surrender, and even in this past week, when Allied victories crowded so close upon one another that they could not be marked on the map, few military men predicted German surrender. The German officers who fell into Allied hands through capture or capitulation assumed that the army as a whole would fight on. They knew they were licked, but they expected the Nazi bosses to hold out until the whole land was conquered, and after. Hitler and Goebbels and Himmler have nothing to lose by resisting—except their country. For themselves they delay the predestined end and gain time to organize total catastrophe.

This plan has won a good Nazi-Teutonic label, "Operation Götterdämmerung." It demands a defense of strategic "islands of resistance" such as ports, the rocket-launching bases in Holland, the submarine hide-outs in Norway, even after surrounding territory has been lost; it demands an attempt to make a stand on any lines of defense capable of being held even briefly; and it demands a final withdrawal into the inner fortress of the German-Austrian Alps, from where Nazi bitter-end fighters would carry on guerrilla warfare—by arms and by assassination and by propaganda—to the point of physical annihilation.

In carrying out this strategy of defeat the Nazis will undoubtedly win many successes along the line. They will multiply the casualties among Allied troops. They will give themselves time to kill off their own weak-kneed members, as they have been doing at an increasing rate ever since last July, and perhaps to slaughter wholesale the remaining anti-Nazis in concentration camps and jails, along with those new elements of resistance which emerge as collapse and chaos increase. They will kill the last Jews in Germany if any still survive to be killed. They will plan and carry out the systematic assassination of local officials who take orders from the occupying authorities: two already are dead.

And while these details are being attended to, the more permanent policies of the new underground Nazi Reich will begin to be put into effect. Last Saturday the State Department released a report on a Nazi scheme for post-defeat industrial and commercial activities aimed at rebuilding German power for a new war. The information on which the report was based fills several volumes. It shows exactly how the Nazis plan, through every form of infiltration and especially through existing ties with foreign commercial interests,

to revive their pre-war cartel agreements, recover their seized industrial plants in other countries, and reestablish their control over important patents. Another story, told by I. F. Stone in *PM* almost a week earlier, of a meeting of German industrialists and officials held last August in Strasbourg, exposed even more concretely Hitler's scheme of permanent political warfare. To provide the best possible conditions for this come-back, the effort to divide the Allied nations will be stepped up and every other familiar form of political sabotage continued.

No one knows the detailed Allied plan for the future control of Germany. Perhaps more exists. In any case what actually happens is likely to follow no predevised program. We can only hope that the disastrous mistakes made in other reconquered countries—and in the areas of Germany first invaded—will not be repeated in the Reich as a whole. It is encouraging to read that the AMG officer in Frankfurt, Lieutenant Colonel Howard D. Criswell, appointed as Bürgermeister and Police Chief two anti-Nazis; and he did it immediately, while the snipers were still at work. This is an innovation, as American war correspondents on the German front can testify. If it is made a precedent, the breakdown of civilian morale and of whatever democratic sentiment exists in Germany may be avoided. The reconstruction of any sort of ordered life is going to be hard enough, no matter how wise the occupying authorities. It will be impossible if Nazis—however passive or perfunctory—are left in office. To root them out will require a genuine wish, which was nowhere evident in Italy or North Africa, to identify and work with anti-fascists. What is done in this regard in the early days of our occupation may determine political developments for years to come. A repetition in Germany of the Badoglio-Roatta policy would guarantee the survival of those military and industrial interests on whom the Nazis depend for the success of their continued revolution.

The defeat of that revolution will be accomplished not by victory in war, not by "hard" peace terms or severe and prolonged military control, not by the security system to be built at San Francisco—not by any of these, although all are necessary prerequisites—but only by a democratic counter-revolution. If fascism is to be crushed in its vital center—in Hitler's Germany—a new policy must be instituted from one end of Europe to the other. The Allies must reconcile themselves to the rise of popular forces, they must permit radical social and political change, and they must systematically give democrats rather than fascists the responsibility for directing civilian life.

It is commonly said that the future of Germany will determine the future of Europe. The reverse is closer to the truth. One might say: As Europe goes, so goes Germany. Only in a Europe freed from reactionary political and industrial control, from the domination of Junkers—of whatever nationality—and their political spokesmen, from the subtle controls of the church of Rome, can one hope for the rise of a decent, democratic Germany. While the Allied armies sweep into the heart of Hitler's Reich we are bound to ask how they intend to use their massive victory. As Hanson Baldwin said in the *New York Times* on Sunday: "A challenge to all we have fought for lies in the ashes of Europe."

# If They Ask for Bread . . .

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, March 31*

THE first concrete tonnage figures on the UNRRA are not impressive. The Canadian Ambassador, L. B. Pearson, who is chairman of the UNRRA's committee on supplies, issued a statement yesterday in which he said that 30,000 tons of goods had already been shipped or loaded. He said that the UNRRA hoped to load 60,000 more tons in April and to send at least 480,000 tons to Europe by the end of June. The magnitude of these actual and prospective figures may be gauged by some others recently disclosed by Carl Levin in two excellent articles on the UNRRA published in the *New York Herald Tribune* of March 12 and 13. Levin reported that the United States Army, assuming that the Germans would give up once we gained a secure foothold on the continent, had planned to send 2,000,000 tons of relief supplies into France in the first six months after D-Day. Actual shipments between June 6 and December 31 were only 262,000 tons. This was admittedly inadequate for France alone, but it seems enormous beside the 30,000 tons the UNRRA has so far "shipped or loaded." The UNRRA figures hardly measure up to the promise implied when the President told the first meeting of the UNRRA in November, 1943, that "we mean business in this war in the political and humanitarian sense just as surely as we mean business in the military sense." The "business" has not been very lively.

This is neither the President's fault nor the UNRRA's. Mr. Roosevelt's sincere desire to help is beyond question. Unfortunately it is not a situation which can be solved by pressing a button, even a button in the White House. Governor Lehman and most of his staff are about as sympathetic, conscientious, and able a group as the President could have gathered for the purpose. But they are hemmed in on all sides by men and agencies concerned with other matters. Ambassador Pearson indicated some of them when he warned that the prospective UNRRA shipments he had announced depended on the full support of the supplying countries and on improvement in the tight shipping situation. Ships are the major bottleneck. The army and navy naturally and properly have first call upon them, but I wish it were possible for some independent agency, perhaps a committee of Congress, to give us some insight into how wisely ships are being used. Even civilian agencies of government such as the UNRRA seem unable to get any clear picture of what shipping is available or how it is being used. In this, as in other contacts with civilian officials, the army tends to be high-handed.

I know very little about shipping. But in an investigation I made at the time of the Indian famine in the fall of 1943 I did find evidence that political considerations—Anglo-American shipping "spheres of influence"—blocked the rationalization of routes, that a good deal of food could be stowed away on boats carrying munitions, and that suggestions from the maritime unions for greater efficiency were not being given the attention they deserved. I was told that

the army could economize on shipping space without hurting the war effort. An example cited was Coca-Cola, which is shipped in bottles already carbonated instead of in the condensed form of syrup to which carbonated water can be added when served. I suspect that in many similar instances room could be found for relief supplies without impairing military efficiency; and I rather imagine most of our soldiers would be glad to give up Coca-Cola to get a little more food and clothing into liberated Europe, however painful the sacrifice might be to soda-pop manufacturers.

With all due respect to many humane and thoughtful individual officers, among them men of the highest rank, the fact is that the army has never been too understanding about the civilian relief problem. The military were the nemesis of the carefully worked out European relief requirements of the Inter-Allied Committee under Sir Frederick Leith Ross, which was set up in September, 1941, and worked almost two years with little result. When the President placed Governor Lehman in charge of an Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation in November, 1942, the latter soon found himself stymied by brass-hattism. A year later, when the UNRRA was being established, the military staged a behind-the-scenes coup and obtained a directive from the President giving them responsibility for relief in liberated areas for the first six months after liberation. A war President cannot easily ignore the advice of his generals, but the directive created justified dismay among those who had worked on relief problems with the army in the African invasion.

The UNRRA has many political problems abroad. The richer Western European countries, with gold balances and assets in London and New York, prefer to do their own buying in the hope that they can get more than their share. The poorer Eastern and Central European countries that depend on the UNRRA have been fearful lest food be used as a political weapon. Experience after the last war and more recently in Greece indicates that such fears are not unjustified. The UNRRA is overcoming most of these difficulties. Little attention is paid by the press to its major political headache, which is the United States, where the importance of the relief problem is but imperfectly understood. Ambassador Pearson touched politely on this when he said that some countries are behind in their promised UNRRA appropriations. One of these is the United States. So far Congress has only authorized \$450,000,000 of our \$1,200,000,000 quota. An additional \$350,000,000 was to have been transferred from lend-lease. Each country's appropriation is to be spent for UNRRA supplies within its own borders, and we are even farther behind in terms of supplies than in terms of money authorizations. Ambassador Pearson provided some graphic figures in this field. The UNRRA was supposed to get 400,000,000 pounds of meat during the current six-month period, but only 33,000,000 pounds are available, all of this from Canada.

The experience of the UNRRA is not without relevance for the forthcoming conference at San Francisco. It shows that in international organizations action is not determined by theoretical voting powers but by whichever nation "has what it takes," whether this be military power or relief supplies. Supplies are in the hands of the Joint Anglo-American Combined Boards on Food, Shipping, Raw Materials, Production, and Resources. And on these boards the United States is distinctly the senior partner since it has most of the available resources. The UNRRA cannot even go direct to the Combined Boards any more. Between the UNRRA and the boards now stands the new inter-agency committee established by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes on March 11 to screen all past relief and supply programs and pass on all future ones. FEA Administrator Leo T. Crowley is chairman, but the dominant figures on the committee are Will Clayton of the State Department, General Somervell, and Marvin Jones of the War Food Administration. None of these are likely to be too sympathetic about the relief problem, and all are strongly under the influence of commercial considerations unfavorable to extensive shipments of relief.

The big food interests and their spokesmen within the military procurement services and in the War Food Administration have deliberately pursued a "bare-shelf" policy designed to leave us at the end of the war with as little surplus as possible. The considerations uppermost in the mind of the food industry were indicated by Lee Marshall in a speech last May at the Quartermaster Corps Food Service Show in

Cincinnati. Marshall is head of the Continental Baking Company and was then director of distribution for the War Food Administration. He pleaded for greater care in buying food for the army. "This constant readjustment of food supplies to needs is important for at least one paramount reason," Marshall said; "it can very definitely stunt the growth of post-war problems concerning the disposition of government-owned food stocks." It can also stunt a whole generation of children in Allied countries. "You might say," Marshall went on in a burst of frankness, "that we have a selfish interest in keeping stocks as low as practical."

Next to food, the liberated peoples most need clothing; we should be ashamed only to give them our cast-off garments. But the textile industry does not even want to produce low-cost garments for the home market, much less for our allies. I hope to discuss the food and textile problems in more detail in a later letter. The heart of the relief problem is our capacity effectively to mobilize the food and textile industries. And that depends in part on our willingness as a people to pull in our ample belts a little. The Germans starved the peoples of the occupied countries deliberately to strengthen their own future military position in Europe. It is already apparent that we may treat them worse out of sheer carelessness, shortsightedness, and lack of planning. If we do, we weaken our own allies against German revival. If humanity and moral obligation will not move us, let us remember that devastated countries make poor markets, that poverty is contagious in the modern economy, and that pestilence too can spread.

## *The War Fronts*

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S order of last Saturday calling on German troops to surrender summed up the situation within the Reich accurately: "The German government has ceased to exercise effective control over a wide area. The German command has lost effective control over many units, large and small, of the German forces."

The German high command has indeed lost control to such an extent that captured senior officers were still not sure who was their commander in the west, Rundstedt or Kesselring, and even before Eisenhower's order many Germans, both individually and in units, were giving themselves up. Allied armies took 85,000 prisoners in the seventy-two hours ending Saturday afternoon, 34,000 of them on Thursday alone, and on some sectors of what was once the German front between Switzerland and Holland thousands of enemy troops were simply being disarmed and told to walk west without guard.

The collapse of that front was certainly one of the fastest and most complete breakups in military history. Eight days ago—I write on Sunday—the Twenty-first Army Group crossed the Rhine north of the Ruhr in what then seemed the beginning of a large-scale and bitter battle to obtain a

bridgehead so that supplies might be built up for a breakthrough into the flat Westphalian plain leading toward Berlin. To the south the United States First and Third armies were already over the river, but the First was apparently being contained in the Remagen bridgehead and the Third seemed doomed to slow progress in the hills of South Germany. By the beginning of last week, however, it was apparent that the German situation was far gone. Eisenhower had in fact, as he promised, won the Battle of the Rhine on the river's west bank, where the enemy lost a quarter of a million men and became consequently far too weak to hold the long river line.

This in no way detracts from the skill and dash of the Allied performance on the east bank or from the courage of the Allied troops, which met heavy opposition and broke it down. As sheer exercises in the practical handling and rapid supplying of mobile columns Hodges's and Patton's sweeps to the east and then to the north will long be studied in the war colleges—the First Army's tanks advanced from one to one hundred miles in four days. Both generals showed a heartening lack of concern about their exposed flanks as they hurried to drive into Germany and to aid in the envelopment of the Ruhr.

While these headline gains were registered through the soft center of the western front, Marshal Montgomery's three armies to the north were finding the going much harder. As in Sicily, Normandy, and the Maas-Rhine battle British and Canadian troops pounded at the hinge of the enemy line where it was strongest. In all these actions the cautious, thorough Montgomery and his dogged, hard-working infantry-artillery teams have drawn the unspectacular but vital assignment of grinding away the hinge while Patton's fast tanks pushed through the opening door and swung it back.

By the end of last week the door was off its hinges and in splinters. On Sunday the United States Ninth and First armies joined behind the Ruhr, encircling perhaps 50,000 Germans and cutting off the Wehrmacht's last basic industrial resources. The Germans reported American troops in Kassel and British troops in Münster. A correspondent cabled through Montgomery's security blackout that British and Canadian columns had burst through the last resistance at the northern hinge and were driving north into Holland, northeast toward the Baltic ports, and east over the Westphalian plain. Once again it seemed as if—from Frankfurt to the north at least—lengthening supply lines would offer greater hindrance to the Allied advance than would any coherent German defense. The picture was not so rosy south of Frankfurt. The Germans were fighting hard along the upper Main, around Aschaffenburg, where the United States Seventh and French First Army were heading toward Nürnberg, Austria, and a possible junction with the Russians which would seal off the Nazis' last-ditch "national redoubt." The bulk of the Germans in the west might be "a whipped army," as General Eisenhower had said, but the forces in the south fought with the tenacity and skill of S. S. men.

It is entirely possible that we shall witness a comparatively rapid disintegration of the Germans in the north, while those in the south continue to offer heavy resistance. The fall of the Ruhr in nine days is almost too easy: it suggests that the best enemy troops are in the south prepared to swing back on a line through Württemberg, Bavaria, and Austria. Continued heavy resistance to the large-scale Russian offensive toward Vienna, plus the fact that the Russians apparently value the Vienna drive more highly than that toward Berlin, suggests that a similar decision has been taken by the German command as regards the east.

All this gives rise to the interesting conjecture that we may still have Germans to kill after North Germany and Berlin have fallen into our hands. The historians may thus have to wrestle with the problem of when the European war ended. General Eisenhower has now given official weight to the theory long advanced in these columns and elsewhere that there will never be a formal German surrender but rather a gradual disintegration of the Wehrmacht, with progressively larger units surrendering but with the machinery of the state disappearing so that no one man or power can eventually sign a piece of paper admitting the German nation's capitulation. It is obviously to the Allied interest that Eisenhower be able to issue a statement proclaiming the end of organized German resistance before too many troops get into the "national redoubt"; so that any further resisters can be shot as criminals and the Allies can be relieved of the neces-

sity for another major campaign. On the other hand, it would serve a kind of rough justice if the Nazi leaders and S. S. bully boys slipped away to the south, if the end of organized resistance were proclaimed after the fall of Berlin, and if the southern Nazis were then hunted down and executed in the field.

## 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AT A PRIVATE GATHERING in Paris a year ago Lloyd George was told to his face that the expectation in England, among the Tories, was that he would presently land squarely in the Conservative camp. "They think so, do they?" he replied. "Well, they may find themselves greatly mistaken." But now he has clearly made the jump.—April 3, 1920.

THE ALLIED STATESMEN have shoved Hungary over the edge of the civilized world into the dark void of chaos. By indifference and starvation and force of arms, they threw out their friends. With a futile gesture of disapproval they disposed of the Hapsburg Joseph, leaving in power his supporters. Those supporters and their rule of horror the Allies have formally, definitively recognized.—April 3, 1920.

MUNICH, FEBRUARY 15.—The political situation in Germany today is so confused that it must be impossible for an outsider to form any conception of it. The political ability and acumen of the Germans are being put to a test now that the people have the power to decide their own fate. . . . The bureaucracy is to a large extent monarchistically inclined and utterly opposed to the existing government. This is one of the sources of weakness of the Ebert regime; it has not been willing to or has been unable to clean house in the departments.—MAX HIRSCHBERG, April 3, 1920.

FOR EVERY JACK there is some compliant Jill; from all the plains and valleys the couples scramble up to the difficult ark of matrimony. Sheba travels to Solomon and the event is set down in the Book of Kings. Caesar rules over Rome and Cleopatra over Egypt, but the wet sundering leagues cannot separate them. . . . How then should Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks fail to swing into the orbit calculated from the beginning? . . . In this wedding the royal lines cross. It is as expected and as gratifying as the conclusion of a feature film.—April 10, 1920.

NEVER DID WHAT WAS HERALDED as a grand and inspiring cause collapse more completely of its own weight than the movement for universal compulsory military service. Its backers, who were so confident a little while ago that it would easily pass the Senate, did not dare to bring it to a vote in that body.—April 17, 1920.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Henri Bergson, "Mind and Energy"; Van Wyck Brooks, "The Ordeal of Mark Twain"; James Branch Cabell, "The Cords of Vanity"; Gabriele D'Annunzio, "Tales of My Native Town"; Paul Gauguin, "Noa Noa"; Walter Lippmann, "Liberty and the News"; Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Anti-Christ," translated by H. L. Mencken; Eugene O'Neill, "Beyond the Horizon."

# Lloyd George

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

*London, March 28 (by cable)*

I WOULD hesitate to say that Lloyd George was the most brilliant man I've known, but he was among the very few of undoubted genius. Today, with the European war ending, it is a comparison with Winston Churchill that first comes to mind. Lloyd George too led the country to military victory and knew what it was to encounter the bitter resistance of a party machine. If the quality of generous leadership comes out less clearly in him than in Churchill it is because, once installed in office, Churchill was through birth, tradition, and training a military and national chief, while Lloyd George was a man of the people, of peasant stock, and had continuously to fight not only the enemy but also the military and social hierarchy.

His war memoirs are unequalled as a source book for the history of the last war. Written with a vigorous intensity that was his special characteristic, they have as their underlying theme the justification of the Premier in his struggle with Field Marshal Haig.

At the end of the book a critic asks why, if our generals were as bad as that, Lloyd George didn't get rid of them. He would have replied that as a civilian with a pacifist record in the Boer War he couldn't risk an all-out open struggle with the military hierarchy. He would have added that he only held his position by his own dexterity and capacity, and he would have recalled that in the period immediately before the war he was bitterly hated by all the propertied class and during his fight to tax the landlords and curb the power of the House of Lords was regarded as the most dangerous radical who ever reached power.

That he had in him the same qualities of courage, tenacity, and leadership which Winston Churchill has displayed no one will deny. On one occasion, which his biographer will some day describe in full, at the end of March, 1918, he pulled the British Cabinet through its darkest hour as Churchill did in 1940. The Germans were nearing Paris and Calais, and some of the members of the Cabinet went to him in despair. They arrived to find Lloyd George singing a Welsh hymn about the Valley of the Shadow, with Smuts, likewise a peasant and a religious man, joining in. He went on to deliver a short speech which invigorated and united the Cabinet.

Lloyd George was the first man of the people who ever reached the highest post in Britain.

A Welsh solicitor, he first became known for defending the right of dissenters to be buried in consecrated ground even against the will of an Anglican parson. He was the natural champion of the nonconformist middle class against the landlords, the church, and the aristocracy. In the House of Commons he fought brilliantly for education, free trade, and the taxation of the rich. He, more than anyone else, was responsible for making the state accept the duty of pub-

lic welfare. To this day you may hear working people describe their health-insurance benefit as "my Lloyd George." At the outbreak of the First World War, which he supported only after the invasion of Belgium, he stood as the chief champion of the small man. Why was it, then, that after the war he lost power and never again held office?

The complex reasons may be summarized by saying that his judgment was far less sure in the years immediately after the war, and the Tories took the first opportunity of ridding themselves of a leadership they had always detested; that Lloyd George was responsible for splitting the Liberal Party, which would have decayed in any case with the rise of Labor but which need not have fallen into rapid and total disaster; that he was unable to join the Labor Party mainly because he had won the undying distrust of Labor, which attributed to him many of the evils of Versailles and the economic miseries that followed it. The pre-war wizard came to be regarded as totally untrustworthy. Above all, his broken promise to the miners who trusted him to carry out the nationalization proposals of the Sankey Report and his share in the period of the Black-and-Tans in Ireland made people forget the great credit due him for the Irish settlement.

Though Winston Churchill was rightly regarded as the main force making for war with the newly formed Soviet Union, and Lloyd George in fact always opposed intervention in Russia, Labor blamed the Premier for our anti-Soviet policy and attributed to him far more than his share of blame for Versailles. In fact Lloyd George fought with much dexterity against many of the worst provisions of the settlement. But Labor was right in regarding as unworthy his conduct in the 1918 election, when unnecessarily he allowed himself to be stampeded by the ballyhoo of the press lords. So it came about that, feared by the Tories and distrusted by Labor, the ablest politician and executive in England was left with the funds of the Liberal Party but no party machine behind him. Without a party following, a member of Parliament, even if he has been Prime Minister, can seldom attain office.

Lloyd George had a dazzling personality and unequalled charm which worked even with his enemies. Those who called to curse often left with benedictions; those who called to resign came away flattered, wreathed in smiles, only to discover later that their grievance was unremedied. Partly it was his golden voice, flexible, friendly, and disarming; partly it was his lightning quickness of perception, what Lord Keynes called his sixth sense. He was a superb negotiator, and no one has ever had his capacity for gauging intuitively the feeling of a meeting. He could rise on occasions to the very highest peaks of oratory. Introducing visual images, sometimes flamboyant and sometimes comic—one thinks of his perorations about Welsh mountains and his famous description of City magnates as penguins—his

speeches were not in the classical form and were much better to hear than to read. Their effect came from gesture, intonation, and the sudden unexpected parenthesis. He had, moreover, the rare gift of being able to speak with such intimacy to a ragged House of Commons that every member felt his words were addressed individually to him. In common with others who have been political opponents of Lloyd George, I was never able to dislike him after I met him. He was a superb raconteur and never in the least bitter about his exile from office.

Lloyd George wasn't unhappy during the last twenty years of his life. Indeed, I'm not sure that he was prouder of anything in his career than of the long series of memoirs or, even more important, of his extraordinary achievement as a farmer. I used to go periodically to Churt, where he had turned a huge sandy area which naturally grew little but

heather and pine trees into one of the most profitable farms in Britain. He imported from the Aldershot barracks many tons of manure; I remember his remark that it was the only use he ever had for cavalry. And he was immensely and rightly proud of his show crop of fruit and vegetables. They were very pleasant, familiar visits to a man who lived with the personal simplicity of the peasantry from which he sprang.

It is one of the tragedies of British history that this man of unique quality should have been diverted from political leadership at a period when we so sorely lacked leaders. The history of England might have been different if MacDonald and Lloyd George had been friends and had jointly led a radical government capable of carrying on and extending the work of social reform which Lloyd George began in his great days before 1914.

## Is This "Peace in Our Time"?

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

AMERICAN progressives and liberals have wisely decided to accept, and to work for, the adoption of the Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta international agreements in basic outline. In doing so they are exposing themselves to the criticism of purer internationalists, who continue to express the principles of a more consistent constitutional approach to international issues. Those principles were once the creed of the whole democratic international movement in this country. The British, in fact, used to criticize American internationalist thought because it proposed to create an international authority by pure constitutional means instead of by a more organic process. They believed that the unity of the international community must be achieved by the coalescence of national forces, a process analogous to the growth of the British Commonwealth, rather than by a process analogous to the establishment of the League of Nations.

The decision to support Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta is based on the view that it is safer to try to extend the core of world community created by the war partnership of the great powers than to attempt the constitution of a world authority above and beyond the sovereignty of the great powers. Critics of this position assert that American internationalism has capitulated to expediency and has forsaken principle, that it supports a system of power politics rather than international justice, and that it is preparing another "Munich," this time to appease Russia (here the internationalists join hands with the nationalist critics of our foreign policy).

While the majority of American liberals have taken a thoroughly sound position, their defense of it has been weak, and their efforts to improve the Dumbarton Oaks agreement have been ineffective. To say that we must accept an imperfect peace in an imperfect world is not an adequate defense. Nor would the Dumbarton Oaks agreement be substantially improved by the insertion of some

international bill of rights which has no relevance, and would have no efficacy, in a world alliance of states.

Let us admit more freely that Dumbarton Oaks envisages, not a world authority, but a world alliance of states, and that the authority of the great powers is to be the core of world order. Let us admit the perils of this procedure. The great powers may try to hold the world together merely by their force. They may not mete out sufficient justice to the small powers to make the peace sufferable. They may not build the mutual trust necessary to create the central core of international stability which the plan intends. We must not deny that a peace secured through preponderant power may not deal adequately with all the economic and social relations of the nations, that it may center its attention too much upon the final suppression of aggression. And we must not deny that when preponderant power has been established through the cooperation of several great nations, whose partnership is still very tentative and incomplete, divisions may develop which would wreck the instrument of order. We ought not to deny these things even though our apprehensions may be overheard by the cynics and nationalists who are ready to use any argument to asperse a plan placing a check upon the power and self-will of our own nation.

Let us confess these apprehensions and then state clearly why we still hold resolutely to the basic outline of the Dumbarton Oaks agreement. We do so because we know, or dimly sense, what our critics do not admit. We know that decisions of nations may perfect and amend, but not reverse, the main currents of history. We know that modern technical warfare has made strong nations stronger and weak nations weaker. We may not like this tendency, but it is part of the general historical pattern; modern technics centralize power in both national and international life, in both the economic and the military realm. Our whole program for achieving a future international community

requires that we make this inexorable tendency of a technical civilization serve the ends of justice. This is a desperately difficult task. It cannot be accomplished at all if we attempt to defy the process. The present plan for international order undoubtedly makes concessions to the pride and power of the great nations. It qualifies the sovereignty of nations which have already lost some of their sovereignty through the historical process. It qualifies the sovereignty of the great powers only in so far as their mutual agreements place restraints upon their self-will and oblige them, in order to maintain these agreements, to draw the smaller powers further and further into them.

If we accept such a system, despite its dangers, it is because we see no better alternatives within reach. There are undoubtedly many ways of perfecting the proposed agreement. But there are no better alternatives in terms of basic principles. The defects of the present system are not derived from the inadequacy of this or that statesman or the recalcitrance of this or that nation. They are derived from the fact that nations can do only what is implicit in the historical process in which they are involved. Nations cannot create a new universal sovereignty above themselves by a pure fiat of will and then turn around and subject themselves to this sovereignty. Individual idealists can of course envisage such a procedure. But the traditions and habits, the collective instincts and impulses of the nations run counter to the ideal concept.

We need only analyze the impulses of our own nation to perceive the impossibility of a pure constitutional solution of the international problem: we have given the world one example of national schizophrenia. After the last war American idealists contrived a constitutional solution, but it was sabotaged by American cynics, nationalists, and realists. Whatever may be the defects of our present foreign policy, Roosevelt must be given great credit for having avoided a new display of this kind of political immaturity.

It is true of course that Russia seems particularly intent upon establishing a system of unilateral security and that its hegemony in Eastern Europe may threaten the stability of a mutual system. But even so its policy differs in degree rather than in kind from that of the other great powers. Let those of our critics who insist that we are dealing not with "one world" but with "two worlds" state their alternatives clearly. Do they want to prepare for the next war between Russia and the West? Dumbarton Oaks is different from Munich because Russia is different from Germany. Russia is not driven by the mania of world conquest, though it obviously has residual fears of the Western world. Shall we seek to quiet those fears by efforts to achieve a mutual-security system, or shall we play upon those fears and make another war inevitable? Is it not quite clear that our idealist critics are offering us nothing but another war under the guise of an unattainable purer constitutional system? The cynical and nationalist critics offer it without any disguise. That is what they want.

We do not show ourselves to be cowardly compromisers with "power politics" or mere exponents of expediency in working for the acceptance of the present plans in basic outline. We advocate those plans because we have some understanding of the processes of history and are not will-

ing to be led into another war by the mirage of a perfect international society of democratic socialist republics.

On the other hand, there are possibilities of improving the Dumbarton Oaks plan which we are not exploiting to the full. Many of our criticisms betray our old abstract notions, not yet completely disavowed. The organization "Americans United," for instance, which is effectively marshaling American opinion in support of Dumbarton Oaks, believes that the most important amendment to the charter should be a "provision for the establishment of a commission on human rights and fundamental freedoms." The same proposal is made by the Federal Council of Churches. It assumes that we have in fact an international government, when we have only a world alliance. If our own national government is unable to establish certain human rights in some of our states in opposition to the prejudices and traditions of the local communities, it will hardly be possible for a new-born world alliance to enforce particular ideals of freedom upon all its members. National sovereignty will not be sufficiently abridged to make such enforcement possible.

Our efforts to improve Dumbarton Oaks ought to be much more within the framework of the plan. The recent demands of Russia and our own country for three votes each in the General Assembly seem quite unjustified in view of the equal authority of the great powers in the Security Council and the already heavy preponderance of power of the Security Council over the General Assembly. On this issue the combined criticism and pressure of the smaller powers and of democratic opinion within the great powers may well effect basic changes in the charter. The General Assembly in which the smaller powers will express themselves must be given and will undoubtedly obtain greater authority. It is particularly important that military strategy be not left completely in the hands of the great powers.

Though a complete constitutional system is not possible, more elements of constitutional justice are possible within the framework of the charter. The social and economic council, for instance, is in its present outline too much a welfare organization. This council must become an international agency for administering and completing trade and monetary and credit agreements, such as the Bretton Woods accord, if real substance is to be given to a United Nations partnership.

The contemplated treatment of the vanquished nations is vaguely defined, and present proposals contain contradictory objectives which reveal the failure of the great powers to reach real agreement on how the continents are to be organized. The West does not know what to do with Germany politically or economically because it has no real plan for Europe. Russia knows what it would like to do with Germany. It does not want to destroy German industries but to use them. It does not want to destroy Germany politically but to keep it in subjection. The Yalta agreement suggests that we have not resolved these contradictions but merely piled one proposal on top of the other so that we shall try both to destroy Germany and to make it yield reparations.

The contradictory purposes of the Allies can only be resolved through more complete forms of partnership; and these cannot be made effective without drawing the smaller

powers into them more fully. In that sense, if the international problem is solved at all, the method of solution will tend to mitigate both of the present dangers—the danger of dissension among the great powers and the danger of injustice to the small powers.

It is not at all certain that the agreement achieved will yield to historic improvement. This may be only "peace in our time." But unlike Mr. Chamberlain's peace it is not foredoomed to failure. It has a fighting chance of success. And the alternatives have no hope of success at all.

## Bill White's Bazooka

BY ALEXANDER KENDRICK

[Mr. Kendrick was Moscow correspondent of the Philadelphia Inquirer until last October, when he returned to the United States in protest against "the refusal of the Soviet government to afford adequate, reasonable facilities for war coverage." He is now the Inquirer's Washington correspondent.]

LAST of seventeen "Roving Editors" listed on the masthead of the *Reader's Digest* is W. L. White. For a long time Bill White wanted to get to Russia, but he discovered to his chagrin that the *Digest* did not provide credentials that satisfied the Soviet authorities to whom he applied for a visa. He appealed for help to several persons supposedly "close to the Russians" in this country, but to no avail. At last he invited Eric Johnston to take him along on his trip to Russia as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. As a member of Johnston's party he could hardly be refused a visa. But he was still the *Reader's Digest's* "roving editor," as he announced quite frankly to the regular American correspondents when he arrived in Moscow.

I was in the Soviet Union when Bill White arrived, and I was there when he left. I shared with him the experience of being bombed by German planes at the American airfield in the Ukraine. I base the following criticism of his book, "Report on the Russians," either on my own knowledge of his thirty-day stay or on the statements of two other American correspondents who made the Urals trip with him.

There seems to be no point at this stage in citing the dozens of errors in names and facts that appear in his report. In the book version he admits a number and corrects them. Through the *Digest* version the errors had already been circulated among its millions of readers, and nothing could be done to retrieve them. Again it is not very important, except as throwing a light on his own scale of values in war time, that White found all Russians shabby, grim, and solemn; that he observed they did not smile ("I suddenly remember that neither do the Prussians"); that Moscow streets are "incredibly empty" and have dingy shops and "dilapidated buildings"; that Soviet factories are dirty and slow-moving.

This is trivial stuff—deceptively trivial. But it leads slyly into his central thesis: that a socialist society is a poor and tawdry affair in contrast with a capitalist society. It lacks competition and incentive. Its citizens are inefficient, drab, sheeplike. White is irked that Johnston is not more vigorous in his pro-capitalist utterances, that he even talks about doing business with Russia after the war. And behind the outward contempt is fear, fear that socialism in Russia is

not failing but succeeding, that it challenges Western capitalism in spite of our shiny bathrooms and clean streets.

Viewed objectively, therefore, the book is less a report on the Russians than on a state of mind toward the Russians. It is a political document rather than a literary work. Its appearance in the *Reader's Digest* and its wide distribution through this medium in the United States and Latin America must be regarded as political warfare aimed at undermining the whole idea of world security through cooperation and mutual trust.

The little errors play their part. (Most good reporters check before they commit themselves in final copy.) The choice of adjectives, the interpretation of incidents contribute to the total picture that is built up. But in addition to inaccuracy and conscious "angling" it is necessary to report that White has resorted to pure invention.

Here are two incidents in which White has summed up his most venomous appraisals of Soviet society. Both are presented as fact. Both are fiction.

He describes a meeting with two American engineers working in the Soviet Union, salt-of-the-earth characters named Tex and Ed. He bumps into them at the Omsk airport, where they are waiting for a plane. For ten pages they tell him what is wrong with the damned country—lack of home life, promiscuity, barbarism, constant surveillance, heartlessness, and kindred items. He sets all this down in the readable dialogue form he used in "They Were Expendable." Later, when he returned to this country, he was questioned about the incident by correspondents who were with him on the Urals trip and who had somehow failed to see Tex and Ed. White then admitted that he had invented it. His story was based on a meeting he had had with two engineers in Casablanca when he was on his way to Russia. He thought it better for the purposes of the book to put the meeting in Omsk.

The second invention is much more malicious and scandalous. Early in the book White introduces an American correspondent whom he nicknames the Field Marshal. The man is easily identifiable. Later in his account of a party given by the city officials of Novosibirsk this same man crops up. He is drunk and covets a pretty brunette waitress. He goes over to the secretary of the Communist Party in Siberia, places his arm about the latter's shoulder, and makes known his wants. The party secretary nods agreement, and the next scene shows a NKVO man forcibly leading the protesting girl upstairs to the Field Marshal's room. Luckily for her, the Field Marshal is too drunk to entertain.

Now, the American correspondents on the trip say that the Field Marshal was not one of their party and that the incident did not occur in any shape or form.

White does a distinct disservice to his newspaper colleagues on two other counts. First, he quotes some of their disparaging remarks about Russia completely out of context, and since he names them by name, he impugns their professional standing as competent reporters. Second, he recites their bill of grievances against the Soviet censorship and then demolishes their excellent case by writing a book which in Russian eyes is proof that American newspapermen can't be trusted. Moreover, he cuts the ground from under the valid and constructive criticism of the Soviet Union which many of us have offered and which eventually should have led to better understanding. Soviet censorship has been too drastic. Soviet officials have failed to dispel suspicion of the foreigner; they have had an exaggerated concern for security and have been unduly secretive about military and government policy. Bill White has not helped to improve this situation. The task of Americans inside Russia is vastly harder than it was before White's jaunty arrival last June.

One important footnote must be interjected to account for White's slant. Finland rides on his back like the old man of the sea. He makes it plain to the Soviet vice-consul taking

his visa application that he was a reporter on the Finnish side during the late mutual unpleasantness and chuckles at the vice-consul's decision that in the Finnish war White's opposition to the Soviet Union was "purely verbal." But he fails to report that when he arrived in Moscow he told correspondents that, psychologically speaking, he was still on the other side of the Finnish-Soviet frontier.

Bill White enjoys most of his present reputation because in "They Were Expendable" he was able to put down what people told him dramatically and well. In "Report on the Russians" he uses the same literary technique. It would be difficult to analyze a complicated, prejudice-ridden subject like Russia by such a method even if the reporter were unprejudiced himself. White is not in this category.

Among those getting ready to convert from war to peace are the people who hate Russia. During the war-time alliance they have dropped their previous "I like Russia, but—" Now they watch the clock for the time when the Russian armies will no longer be needed, for the time when they can open what may turn out to be the most virulent anti-Soviet campaign in history. Bill White has jumped the gun on the clock-watchers. But the others are wasting no time. They are reaching out gratefully for White's custom-built bazooka—an excellent weapon for the dirty in-fighters of political warfare.

## Unseat the Poll-Taxers!

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

**F**IRST the Georgia legislature voted three to one to keep the poll tax; then it voted three to one for repeal. One thing that helped it change its mind was a telegram to Governor Arnall promising that if the tax were repealed a campaign to unseat Georgia's ten Congressmen would be dropped. The telegram was signed by Arthur Dunn of New York, counsel to the Southern Electoral Reform League, on behalf of Moss A. Plunkett of Roanoke, Virginia, president of the league. This organization of liberal Southerners is continuing a campaign against the sixty-nine Representatives from the seven remaining poll-tax states. It has formally notified them of intention to contest their election, and has presented more than a thousand pages of evidence to the House Elections Committee to show that their election was unconstitutional. The last of the law's delays will run out toward the middle of May, and the sixty-nine must then appear before the committee and show cause why they should not be unseated. They have not yet presented any evidence in their own behalf. Their time for doing so will expire about April 7—the date is indefinite because the sixty-nine replied to the notice of contest at different times; after that they will have thirty days in which to prepare briefs, and then they must stand trial, evidence or no evidence, briefs or no briefs.

According to the letter of the law their situation is desperate, but all the human factors are on their side. The Elections Committee is divided into three sections to facilitate its work; the chairman of the first section is Thomas G. Aber-

nethy of Mississippi, one of the accused; the chairman of the second section is Ed Gossett of Texas, one of the accused; the chairman of the third section is Hugh Peterson of Georgia, who was originally one of the accused. Of the other members of the committee, three are among the accused and eleven are Republicans; only eight are Democrats from non-poll-tax states. In few actions are the accused so well represented on the bench.

However, there is good constitutional ground for contesting the seats of poll-tax Representatives. The Fourteenth Amendment is known chiefly as the dull matrix of that many-faceted diamond the "due-process" clause, but it contains other diamonds also, among them this one discovered by Mr. Dunn:

... when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein [i.e., in Congress] shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.\*

\* The word "male" was made superfluous by the Nineteenth Amendment, but has been allowed to stand.

After the decennial census of 1940 the Seventy-seventh Congress was required by the same amendment to determine the number of Representatives to which each state was entitled by its population. This it did. It allotted nine to Alabama, seven to Arkansas, seven to Mississippi, six to South Carolina, ten to Tennessee, twenty-one to Texas, and nine to Virginia. In all these states payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting. The following table shows the average percentages of possible voters who actually voted in the last three elections:

	Poll-Tax States	Non-Poll-Tax States
1940.....	23 per cent.....	73 per cent
1942.....	5 " ".....	39 " "
1944.....	21 " ".....	60 " "

Such figures, says the Southern Electoral Reform League, indicate that the poll tax abridges the right to vote. As a matter of fact, when the Virginia tax was provided for at the state constitutional convention of 1901, Senator Carter Glass was very frank about its undemocratic purpose:

The chief purpose of this convention is to amend the suffrage clause of the existing constitution. It does not require much prescience to foretell that the alterations which we shall make will not apply to "all persons and classes without distinction." We were sent here to make distinctions. We expect to make distinctions. We will make distinctions.

In 1939 the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals held that the poll tax was primarily intended, not to produce revenue, but to limit the suffrage (*Campbell v. Goode*, 172 Va. 463, 2 S. E. (2d) 456).

If the penalty were enforced, the seven poll-tax states would be entitled to only twenty-three Representatives instead of sixty-nine. Their legislatures would have to call special elections, either redistricting the states to make a smaller number of districts or providing for the election of all their Representatives at large.

There doesn't seem to be much chance that the Elections Committee will go so far to uphold the Constitution. One Congressman told Dunn, "We're like a club up here in matters of this kind, so I think your contest is going to die in committee." Dunn replied that it was "a matter of the Constitution against Congressional courtesy." Representative Woodrum of Virginia, who favors repeal of the poll tax, told Dunn that it could be achieved only by public pressure. Dunn and Plunkett believe their action may be effective in creating pressure for a federal anti-poll-tax law.

The idea of enforcing the penalty provided in the Fourteenth Amendment was first put forth by Dunn in a book "Arithmetic or Revolution?" published in 1934. Carter Glass's newspaper, the Lynchburg, Virginia, *Daily Advance*, once called the seventy-two-year-old Dunn a "carpetbagger," which shows what century it lives in, but as a matter of fact his mother was a Virginia slaveholder and a relative of Governor Henry Alexander Wise, who refused to reprieve John Brown. Dunn himself was, if anything, more conservative than Glass until 1933. He studied economics at Princeton, accepting as eternal laws of nature the pre-machine-age theories of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo. After graduation

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## India Looks Beyond the War

BY B. SHIVA RAO

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Today India is kept under firm control by means of a great number of ordinances which have been promulgated by the Viceroy without consultation with either the executive or the legislature. More than three hundred of these decrees have been issued since 1939 and given the validity of laws, though they have no legislative sanction behind them. Mr. Amery, in his first speech in the House of Commons after assuming charge of the India office in the summer of 1940, gave an assurance to Parliament that the peace-time provision limiting the life of an ordinance to six months was being dropped for the purpose of enforcing military discipline and the conscription of British residents in India. By a singular accident this vital passage did not appear in the reports of the speech published in the Indian press at the time and was only discovered three years later by an Indian legislator studying parliamentary debates.

It is the same story in the provinces. In five of the biggest provinces, where the Congress Party held office until the outbreak of the war, the governors are virtually dictators, with a few officials, mostly British, acting as advisers. The legislatures have not been summoned for more than five years, and public meetings cannot be held without permission of the executive. The experience of provinces where "popular" governments are still supposed to function has been scarcely different. In Bengal, during the critical days preceding the famine, the governor frequently conveyed orders to his officials without even informing the Cabinet. So drunk with power has the executive become in India that practically all the high courts and the federal court have

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After the decennial census of 1940 the Seventy-seventh Congress was required by the same amendment to determine the number of Representatives to which each state was entitled by its population. This it did. It allotted nine to Alabama, seven to Arkansas, seven to Mississippi, six to South Carolina, ten to Tennessee, twenty-one to Texas, and nine to Virginia. In all these states payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting. The following table shows the average percentages of possible voters who actually voted in the last three elections:

	Poll-Tax States	Non-Poll-Tax States
1940.....	23 per cent.....	73 per cent
1942.....	5 " ".....	39 " "
1944.....	21 " ".....	60 " "

Such figures, says the Southern Electoral Reform League, indicate that the poll tax abridges the right to vote. As a matter of fact, when the Virginia tax was provided for at the state constitutional convention of 1901, Senator Carter Glass was very frank about its undemocratic purpose:

The chief purpose of this convention is to amend the suffrage clause of the existing constitution. It does not require much prescience to foretell that the alterations which we shall make will not apply to "all persons and classes without distinction." We were sent here to make distinctions. We expect to make distinctions. We will make distinctions.

In 1939 the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals held that the poll tax was primarily intended, not to produce revenue, but to limit the suffrage (*Campbell v. Goode*, 172 Va. 463, 2 S. E. (2d) 456).

If the penalty were enforced, the seven poll-tax states would be entitled to only twenty-three Representatives instead of sixty-nine. Their legislatures would have to call special elections, either redistricting the states to make a smaller number of districts or providing for the election of all their Representatives at large.

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The official bureaucracy in India, adept at drawing up plans and reports but at nothing else, has imposing reconstruction schemes ready for the post-war period. But who

will carry them out? The men who might succeed in setting a pace for India's social and economic program that would satisfy the impatient masses, groaning under prohibitive high prices, are languishing in prison. The administrative machine in India today is run by landlords and capitalists and their supporters. The Bengal famine of 1943 alone is enough to condemn them as a self-seeking, visionless, unrepresentative set of men, unworthy of respect or confidence.

The impression one gets of India from within is very different from the optimistic view that prevails in this country. On the one hand there is a piling up of discontents—



Jawaharlal Nehru

political, economic, and racial—awaiting only a suitable opportunity for a massive outburst. On the other hand there is an inert and reactionary upper class blindly imagining that ordinances, censorship, British troops, and all the other war-time expedients for maintaining law and order can be carried into the post-war world. It is not difficult to foresee a head-on clash between these two sets of forces. In visualizing such a situation one must consider the role that will be

played by the demobilized Indian soldiers, the organized industrial workers, and the thousands of political (now underground) "absconders," as well as the effect on the masses of the disappearance of the restraints associated with Gandhi's creed, restraints which marked past civil-disobedience movements.

As a political weapon for winning India's freedom non-violence attracted thousands of votaries, despite the grave provocation of the Amritsar massacre immediately after the last war. But the experiences of the past twenty-five years have brought disillusionment to the vast majority of Gandhi's followers. The new generation in India does not feel bound by his principles. Large numbers have died in detention or, after release, of illnesses caused by detention. It is a mistake to think that treatment of political prisoners in India, especially of the rank and file, has been of the same kind as the much-advertised "Aga Khan palace" conditions provided for Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee. Those who have survived the ordeal of prison life—the harsh treatment by the police, the bad food, even in some cases solitary confinement in underground cells or Delhi's red fort—are not demoralized; they are only waiting for a favorable opportunity to resume the struggle. But not in Gandhi's way!

Under existing circumstances the consequences of a clash can only be large-scale civil strife, which the authorities must attempt to control by martial law or something very like it, or the kind of order that the landlords, capitalists, and autocratic princes would like to see established permanently in India. In short, the choice is between revolution and dictatorship.

There is perhaps one way out of this increasingly perilous situation. The forces which want rapid progress must come together under Nehru's leadership; then India's freedom will have a sound democratic foundation, and in the post-war world India can throw its entire weight on the side of a lasting peace. Nehru's last words to me on the eve of his arrest in August, 1942, were, "It would be dishonorable betrayal of the Allied cause for India to think of a separate peace, with any of the Axis powers; we stand not only for our freedom, but for that of Burma, Malaya, and the other Japanese-occupied areas in Asia." If Nehru were to be at San Francisco, he would strike that note and reflect the views of the six hundred million people of southeastern Asia. But what significance can an Indian delegation have that has been selected by Lord Wavell and speaks according to a brief prepared by the British Foreign Office?

Indo-British relations seem to be marked by a curious fatality. In 1942 the Cripps mission had an unequaled opportunity to obtain a settlement; it failed because the Churchill Cabinet and Lord Linlithgow would not indorse the interpretation originally placed on the offer by Sir Stafford. Today a settlement seems considerably more difficult. After the war it may become impossible—except after a long struggle.

What India wants above all things is, first, a change in its external status, which today is that of a political dependency. Nothing arouses such universal and deep resentment as the enforced compliance of India's delegations at world conferences in the decisions of their British masters. The white man's prestige in Asia has been destroyed in this war, and it will not be restored by the old-fashioned conceptions of the Kipling generation.

After it has been recognized as an equal among the world's major powers, India will want to settle down to a period of social and economic progress, which will be possible only under the leadership of a radical like Nehru. Its problems demand a completely new approach, one inspired predominantly by a consideration of the welfare of the masses, not, as hitherto, by regard for the convenience of landlords, princes, and the wealthier classes which have grown up under British rule. Internationally it will exercise all its influence to end colonial rule and to hasten the emergence of other peoples from subjection to imperialist powers. The future peace of the world cannot be guaranteed by pacts and creeds which lack moral sanction. Aggression from without will be met by a timely demonstration of adequate force. The foundation on which imperial authority in Asia has been built, the submissiveness of the colonial peoples, has been destroyed forever.

These things need to be understood in America, for it is easy to misrepresent the struggles and aspirations of far-off people like those in India. Ours is an essentially human problem; it concerns the health, the education, and the feeding of four hundred million people. Nothing else matters in India in comparison with this, and no one on the outside can solve it for us. Our own leaders, commanding the confidence of the Indian masses and the sympathy and support of democratic and progressive forces throughout the world, can lead India through the difficult post-war years to a new conception of its responsibilities as one of the guardians of peace in Asia.

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

FORMER wars almost without exception have come to an end in three sharply defined stages. First the fighting has stopped. Then the treaties have been drawn up—in full knowledge of the general situation, exactly counterbalancing conditions of peace have been worked out. Finally, in full knowledge of the general settlement, a start has been made toward carrying out these conditions.

In this war these three final stages have merged. While the world is still shrouded in the smoke of battle, various resolutions—erratic, scattered, vague—are being formulated about the post-war order. And even if such resolutions were lacking, there would still be countless *faits accomplis* to shape the post-war world. At the same time it is becoming clearer every moment how uncertain, until the very last day, will be the basis for decision. The farther the Allied armies drive into Germany the more plainly we see that the war is going to end under markedly different circumstances from those envisaged a year ago.

The Allied governments have announced the three fundamental principles by which their treatment of Germany will be governed. The first is military: Germany shall be rendered completely incapable of waging another war. The second is economic: Germany shall make compensation for the damage it has done, but it shall be left capable of working back gradually to a decent standard of living. The third is political: Germany shall, if it is at all possible, be made into a democracy.

Conditions in Germany, however, as they are being revealed at this stage of the war, make the application of these principles a different matter from that formerly contemplated. The military potential of the Reich will have been destroyed to a degree that was not foreseen some months ago. The Nazis themselves have been the ones who have most thoroughly and most savagely disarmed their country. If there have been people in Germany who during World War I have thought of preparing for World War II, the Nazis obviously have not been among them. If they had been planning a third world war they would have acted as General Ludendorff and Prince Max von Baden did in 1918. As soon as the war became hopeless they would have capitulated, in order to save as much of their strength as possible for another attempt. The Nazis have done just the opposite. Although the war has been hopeless for months they have fought on in a suicidal orgy until all sources of national power have undergone such physical destruction as no country has known for centuries. That is the difference between 1918 and today. Germany's capacity to wage war was temporarily exhausted in 1918, but its inherent war potential was not really affected. Given a period of recuperation and a good opportunity, it could begin the whole thing over again. Today even its war potential has been largely destroyed.

Viewed realistically, this means that the first of the three fundamental purposes of the Allies, the military, is no longer difficult of attainment. The problem now is not how much and what shall be demolished in the Reich but how much and what the Germans shall be allowed to rebuild. In other

words, a very small amount of supervision can insure the military impotence of the Reich for any desired length of time, certainly for a longer time than any political calculation can take into account. A much smaller occupation force will suffice than had been supposed necessary, and its task will be much less difficult than the more timid had feared. Moreover, a number of other measures that were justified only as insurance against future German aggression will be superfluous. Future German aggression has been ruled out by the Nazis' suicidal orgies. A few supplemental restrictions will be all that is needed to perpetuate this achievement of theirs—the only one that will outlive them.

The tremendous devastation in Germany will also affect the application of the fundamental economic principle proclaimed by the Allies. The hope of finding in the German ruins a great quantity of goods which the victim countries could use for their reconstruction must be largely written off. When an inventory is taken, it will be seen that the little that is left, if divided among the victims, would not be enough to help any one of them appreciably. There can be no objection to confiscating part of what the Germans will still possess intact—their standard of living does not need to be higher than that of the most unfortunate of their victims. But it will not be possible to squeeze out much. A bankrupt Germany can contribute little to the reconstruction of the liberated countries. Indeed, if the Germans are really going to be allowed to work up to a better life, the amount they can furnish will be still further limited.

The world will have to accustom itself to the idea that morality and economics are at variance in this case just as they are in the case of a defaulter who has spent the money he stole. The man can be locked up and justice thereby served. But that will not bring back the money. Germany can be made to suffer economically—such action would be only just. But if that is done, no large repayments can be obtained.

Existing conditions affect the third, or political, principle even more drastically than the other two. With things as they are, how can one hope to democratize Germany? How much support can a democracy expect if it must first reduce the people's living standard to the lowest level ever reached and then keep it at this level for years? I am inclined to think that a democracy could not get off to a worse start. Inevitably a political system is identified with the conditions prevailing under it. If rules were to be formulated on how to establish a democracy, the first should run: don't try it unless you can foresee that living conditions are going to improve—if ever so slightly.

History will perhaps decide that the Allies made their greatest mistake in Italy when they began to play with the idea of democracy just as conditions were necessarily going from bad to worse. The rudimentary democratic system they set up was utterly powerless to better conditions or to keep them from deteriorating further—and in the eyes of the people it bore the odium of these conditions. It would have been wiser to let the AMG rule quite frankly and to put off democracy until a silver streak showed along the horizon.

In Germany the Allies will be obliged to reduce the standard of living still further and to keep it very low. If they attempt the difficult task of establishing democracy while conditions are at their worst, they will totally discredit democracy.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## A Tragic Situation

**BLACK BOY.** By Richard Wright. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

RICHARD WRIGHT'S "Black Boy" is a remarkably fine book. Perhaps a Negro's autobiography must always first appear under the aspect of sociology—a fact that is in itself a sociological comment—and "Black Boy" has its importance as a "document," a precise and no doubt largely typical account of Negro life in Mississippi. That it is the account of a tragic situation goes without saying. Here is the Negro poverty in all its sordidness; here is the calculated spiritual imprisonment of one racial group by another; here, above all, is the personal humiliation of Negro by white, the complex cruelty of the dominant race practiced as a kind of personal, spiritual necessity, sometimes direct and brutal, sometimes sophisticated with a sensual, guilty, horrible kindness.

But if "Black Boy" were no more than a document of misery and oppression, it would not have the distinction which in fact it does have. Our literature is full of autobiographical or reportorial or fictional accounts of misery and oppression. I am sure that these books serve a good purpose; yet I find that I feel a little coolness toward the emotions they generate, for it seems to me that too often they serve the liberal reader as a means of "escape." With honest kinds of "escape" there can be no quarrel—to find a moment's rest in dreams of heroic or erotic fulfilment is as justifiable as sleeping. But the moral "escape" that can be offered by accounts of suffering and injustice is quite another thing. To sit in one's armchair and be harrowed can all too easily pass for a moral or political action. We vicariously suffer in slippers and become virtuous: it is pleasant to exercise moral indignation at small cost; or to fill up emotional vacancy with good strong feeling at a safe distance; or to feel consciously superior to the brutal oppressor; or to be morally entertained by poverty, seeing it as a new and painful kind of primitivism which tenderly fosters virtue, or, if not virtue, then at least "reality"; or to indulge in self-pity by projecting it—very pleasant, very flattering, a little corrupting. Mr. Wright's autobiography, so far as it is an account of misery and oppression, does not tempt its readers to such pleasures. This is the mark of the dignity and integrity of the book.

In other words, the sociological aspect of "Black Boy" is the field—I will not say *merely* the field—for a notable exercise of the author's moral and intellectual power. It is difficult to describe that power except, as I have tried to do, by speaking of its effect, by remarking that it does not lead us into easy and inexpensive emotions, although the emotions into which it does lead us are durable. If I try further to understand this, I can only surmise that it comes about because the author does not wholly identify himself with his painful experience, does not, therefore, make himself a mere object of the reader's consciousness, does not make himself that different kind of human being, a "sufferer." He is not an

object, he is a subject; he is the same kind of person as his reader, as complex, as free.

"Black Boy" is an angry book, as it ought to be—we would be surprised and unhappy if it were not. But the amount of anger that Mr. Wright feels is in proportion not only to the social situation he is dealing with; it is also in proportion to the author's desire to live a reasonable and effective life. For what a Negro suffers in the South—what, indeed, he might suffer in the North—calls for illimitable anger. But the full amount of anger that would be appropriate to the social situation alone would surely have the effect of quite destroying the person who felt it. And Mr. Wright, almost from infancy, seems to have refused to be destroyed. For example, by what, as he describes it, seems to have been a kind of blessed unawareness, even a benign stupidity, he simply could not understand the difference between black people and white. That his grandmother was so white as to be almost white may have had something to do with it. In any case, the young Richard had to be taught the difference, and it seems to have been at best a learned thing. This, to be sure, could scarcely have protected him from all psychic wounds and scars. But although he suffered, he seems never to have been passive. He seems thus to have been saved from the terrible ambivalences of the oppressed, from the self-indulgence, the self-pity, the ripe luxuriousness of sensitivity; and he does not, as the oppressed so often do, give himself or his oppressors a false glamour.

Mr. Wright's autobiography does not go beyond the time when he left the South at the age of nineteen. To me this is a disappointment, for Mr. Wright's life after his departure from the South is a great theme—the entrance of an aspiring and relatively ignorant young man into the full stream of national life is always a subject of the richest social and moral interest, and Mr. Wright's race makes that interest the richer. The chapters which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the title "I Tried to Be a Communist" are not included in "Black Boy"; they are not so interesting as they might be, although they have their point, but they suggest the kind of cultural and social experience I should like to see Mr. Wright explore. He has the directness and honesty to do it well. He has the objectivity which comes from refusing to be an object.

It is this objectivity that allows Mr. Wright to believe that oppression has done something more than merely segregate his people. He dares, that is, to take oppression seriously, to believe that it really does oppress, that its tendency is not so much to exempt the oppressed from the moral flaws of the dominant culture from which they are excluded as it is to give them other flaws of feeling and action. He himself suffered from the fierce puritanical religiosity of his own family. He can speak tenderly of the love that his mother gave him, but he can speak with sorrow and bitterness of the emotional bleakness in which he was reared.

After I had outlived the shocks of childhood, after the habit of reflection had been born in me, I used to mull over

## WAS YALTA ANOTHER MUNICH?

Chamberlain returned to a rejoicing world with a promise of "peace in our time." We know what happened. Did we repeat that mistake at Yalta? Will history lump our sacrifice of Poland and the Baltic States with the fate of Czecho-Slovakia? What happened to the Atlantic Charter? Was it re-affirmed, saved in part, indecently buried? Did we lay the foundation for a solid, lasting, principled peace, or did we plant the dragon's teeth of another and more terrible war? Was Yalta a compromise? Or was it once more—appeasement? . . . Eugene Lyons answers these questions in his searching, searing "Appeasement in Yalta," in the April *MERCURY*.



## CAN WE LIVE TO BE 135?

That age has actually been attained, and if some have done it, more can do it. Not by stretching old age, but more gratifying, by stretching the years of our prime. What kills us off today as mere children of 40 or 50 or 60? Is it worry, tobacco, alcohol, faulty diet, lack of exercise? What progress is being made in medical research toward this dramatic and attainable extension of life? . . . An eminent medical authority, Dr. Theodore G. Klumpp, tells us in "What We Know About Longevity."

## THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for April—OUT NOW

Where did the German planes and robot bombs come from after German industry had been so thoroughly bombed out? How will Franklin Roosevelt appear in the perspective of history? Do you know the terrific infant death toll from suffocation—the principal cause of accidental death of babies? What South American country is a model of democracy? Must a rattlesnake be coiled in order to strike? How permanent are the dreadful disfigurements caused by filariasis—the tropical disease that has caused such havoc among our Pacific forces? . . . These questions are arranged thus in startling juxtaposition to give some idea of the variety and scope of the April issue. There is a rare, exciting stimulus in a magazine that ranges thus among widely differing fields of interest . . . Here's the bill-of-fare. *Twelve Years of Roosevelt . . . Living in the Country . . . Washington Discovers Hollywood . . . My Children and the Progressive Schools . . . Germany's Underground Arsenal . . . Show-Window for Democracy . . . Art in a Squirrel Cage . . . The Saga of the Soo Canal . . . Molnar . . . The Tropical Disease, Filariasis . . . The English Character . . . Rattlesnakes: Facts and Fancies . . . Infants' Death by Suffocation . . . Our Gods Are Always Comic . . . and the regular departments . . . Poetry . . . The Library . . . The Check List and the Open Forum.*



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## Credit for Courage

THE *MERCURY* is flattered by the number of letters it receives commending its courage. "No other magazine," runs a typical letter, "would have the courage to publish an article like that." If it takes courage to print unpopular truths, regardless of whose ox is gored, then we suppose we're courageous. But let us give credit where it is really due. It belongs to the thinkers and writers who make THE *MERCURY* what it is. We can promise them that they will never have to "pull punches" in articles written for THE *AMERICAN MERCURY*.



*Frederic E. Spurr* PUBLISHER

the strange absence of real kindness in Negroes, how unstable was our tenderness, how lacking in genuine passion we were, how void of great hope, how timid our joy, how bare our traditions, how hollow our memories, how lacking we were in those intangible sentiments that bind man to man, and how shallow was even our despair. After I had learned other ways of life I used to brood upon the unconscious irony of those who felt that Negroes led so passionate an existence! I saw that what had been taken for our emotional strength was our negative confusions, our flights, our fears, our frenzy under pressure.

Whenever I thought of the essential bleakness of black life in America, I knew that Negroes had never been allowed to catch the full spirit of Western civilization, that they lived somehow in it but not of it. And when I brooded upon the cultural barrenness of black life, I wondered if clean, positive tenderness, love, honor, loyalty, and the capacity to remember were native with man. I asked myself if these human qualities were not fostered, won, struggled and suffered for, preserved in ritual from one generation to another.

I suppose that it is for saying this, or other things of a similar objectivity, that Mr. Wright has, as I have heard, come under the fire of his own people. And that, perhaps, is understandable. But if, like Mr. Wright, we believe that oppression is real, we must sadly praise his courage in seeing that it does not merely affect the body but also the soul. It is only a grim and ironic justice that the deterioration is as great in the oppressor as in the oppressed.

LIONEL TRILLING

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Farm Against City

"TWO BILLION ACRE FARM," by Robert West Howard (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), is a gusty, swift-moving, turbulent story of the growth of America and the struggle of American farmers to conquer a continent and to hold their own against a rising city civilization. It has the sweep as well as the staccato quality of Pare Lorentz's documentary film "The River," and perhaps its greatest value lies in the fact that its author sees America as a physical whole, a two-billion-acre farm, and thus brings a unifying concept to our thinking about agriculture and even perhaps about our political and economic life.

I know of few more fascinating accounts of how our early self-sufficing agriculture succumbed to a driving urban culture and a dominant money economy. Production for cash transformed American agriculture under the impetus of the expanding Industrial Revolution, the growing cities with their demand for food, and the wiles of distributors and middlemen seeking profit. The old securities, the old skills, were lost as farmers were driven into being "sellers in a buyers' market." As the nineteenth century advanced and rural people, once in the majority, became a minority in America, the city sat in the saddle. Engaged in meeting its demands, in building our vast nation, we failed to build a permanent agriculture, with the resulting evils of soil erosion and a growing race of landless tenants. Some men

grew rich, but many grew poor, and the usual cleavages of the money economy appeared.

Perhaps what makes Mr. Howard's book most vital is his account of the men who developed this production-for-cash agriculture and its attendant distributive system. Here are stories of Swift and Armour, of Eli Whitney, of Borden, of Pillsbury, and of Luther Burbank. One of the most interesting is about William Saunders, who believed that cooperation was the farmer's salvation and who founded the Grange. Saunders is Mr. Howard's hero, and I think one grasps the author's concept through his feeling for this man.

But I, too, am a farmer, and though I share wholeheartedly Mr. Howard's belief in the farmer's need for cooperation and for becoming less dependent on the city and the money economy, and though I share his feeling about the American Farm Bureau, agree with a good deal of what he says about the Extension Service, and think with him that if democracy is to survive we must have more decentralization, yet I am quite sure more people are concerned about the solving of our rural problem than Mr. Howard admits. There is a bitterness in this book which underrates many of the constructive forces at work, and which somewhat dulls the edge of an otherwise interesting and important story.

P. ALSTON WARING

### Ripe for Federation

FELIKS GROSS is a scholar and a fighter. Both capacities are reflected in "Crossroads of Two Continents" (Columbia University Press, \$2), which is at once a systematic analysis of the basis for a democratic East Central European federation and a plea for such a development. Reading this book, one wonders why it is that in matters of international relations and government people are so slow to recognize and accept even the most elementary truths and solutions.

The second part of this study, which is the best reference book to be had on its subject, contains many important documents. There is, among other things, the "Declaration of Common Aims of the Independent Mid-European Nations" signed at Philadelphia in 1918 by T. G. Masaryk and eleven other representatives from Middle Europe. The group declared that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that "there should be formed a league of nations of the world . . . for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace among nations." These men in Philadelphia had seen the truth, but millions of others had not, and as a consequence the nations of East Central Europe, together with many others, have gone through the ordeal of the Second World War, have suffered once again the destruction of their cities, tyranny, and oppression.

As the end of this war approaches, men of good-will, who have seen the truth, are struggling again for a better world. The author of this book is one of them. He knows, as many of us do, that there is today an unavoidable need for "a global system of cooperation, of international solidarity." But he believes, and rightly, that in view of the existing differences among the various nations, the first logical step to such an organization is the regional federation. These federations should not be created by diplomatic maneuvering or

imposed from above but should be the natural products of an "integral and democratic federalism" after equalization of the social and economic standards and strengthening of the democratic institutions within the various states.

The part of Europe which is today most in need of such a regional organization and in which the idea of a democratic federation is more ripe than anywhere else, is the eastern and central region. The special conditions and the history, nature, and extent of the federal movement in the countries of this area are analyzed in the first part of Mr. Gross's book. The author makes a really valuable contribution to the understanding of the problem and the need for its early solution by the peoples themselves, with the cooperation of the great powers.

BASIL J. VLAVIANOS

## Exploring Old New England

"IN NO WAY, PERHAPS, could the visitor who would explore New England do better than to travel the routes of some of the old coaching roads." In this day of gas rationing it will be difficult to follow this advice of George Francis Marlowe, architect, artist, and writer, but it is easy, and extremely pleasant, to read his "Coaching Roads of Old New England; Their Inns and Taverns and Their Stories" (Macmillan, \$3.50). Mr. Marlowe follows five of these old routes, discoursing in an informal manner about what remains and what used to be. The many drawings are a delightful addition to an unusual book.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

## Contemporary Educational Problems

AMONG THE WELTER OF BOOKS on education that have been streaming from the presses in the last few years V. T. Thayer's "American Education Under Fire" (Harper, \$2.50) is one of few which combine topical interest and grasp of philosophic fundamentals. Through a series of related essays it takes the reader directly to the heart of central issues of contemporary educational discussion. It is also well written, free both of deadly pedagogues that converts "students" into "educands" and of brilliant chatter that skirts basic problems without clarifying them. Dr. Thayer, who is educational director of the Ethical Culture schools, is an intelligent and sensitive advocate of progressive education. He defends it in this volume by positive statement and constructive programs as well as by vigorous criticism of alternative doctrines and practices.

Dr. Thayer's volume has the additional merit of showing that "progressive education" is not a label for a narrow set of principles but covers a broad movement within which there is considerable variation. He himself expresses the personalist wing. Although he recognizes the social components in the content and method of education, he never loses sight of the fact that it is the individual person, and his moral and intellectual integrity, that must be the educator's prime concern. In his discussion of whether members of fascist, Communist, and other totalitarian political parties should be allowed to teach in the public schools Dr. Thayer takes a position which is in substantial agreement with the declared policy of the Graduate School of the New School for Social Research: no one can teach honestly who permits

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himself to accept dictated truths in the field of science and scientific opinion. In the present temper of "liberal" thought this is extremely courageous. A questionable note is introduced in his contention that American education has helped to undermine respect for values by emphasizing the neutrality of scientific method toward life's ethical issues. I have never seen any evidence for this quaint notion. Before you can emphasize the neutrality of scientific method, you must at least give it curricular importance. As I read the evidence, science as subject matter is taught widely but the logic of scientific method hardly at all.

SIDNEY HOOK

**FICTION IN REVIEW**

INASMUCH as I had heard of Rumer Godden's "Take Three Tenses: A Fugue in Time" (Little, Brown, \$2) as an experimental novel, I was surprised, on taking it up, to discover that it had appeared in a condensed form in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Either, I reasoned, the women's-magazine field was bolder than I thought, or Miss Godden's book had been misrepresented. But by the time I had finished reading it I realized that neither assumption was entirely correct. It seems to me to be perfectly fair to call "Take Three Tenses" experimental: borrowing a method from music, it manages three tenses—three widely separated periods of time, that is—more or less simultaneously; and so far as I know, this is Miss Godden's innovation. The result is one chapter of bewilderment until we are oriented among the generations, and then a simple acceptance of what amounts to little more than a narrative trick. On the other hand, the story Miss Godden tells and her people are women's-magazine stock in trade. Whether Miss Godden is describing the beautiful and spirited Griselda and her unsatisfactory mid-nineteenth-century marriage to the gentleman called the Eye, or the love of Grizel and her flier in the latest generation, whether she is disclosing the tyranny of Griselda's daughter, Selina, or the weakness of Griselda's youngest son, Rolls, or following the ill-starred love of Rolls for his step-sister, Lark, there is scarcely a situation or emotion for which we haven't been prepared—sensitized or anaesthetized, according to our lights—by popular fiction and Hollywood.

Yet this isn't meant to deny all charm to "Take Three Tenses." Almost the contrary. I enjoyed it as I would enjoy an unselected but pleasant movie. For Miss Godden's characters make for only a soothing encounter—at worst they meet their fates with a reassuring British tranquillity; I like stories in which a house is an important member of the cast; and even the war-time servants of "Take Three Tenses" speak encouragingly of permanence and stability. In addition, Miss Godden not only handles her own words nicely but chooses excellent ones to quote—some of T. S. Eliot's, for instance.

And I can't help thinking, as I make the comparison between this novel and an evening at the neighborhood movie, what a pleasant job Hollywood could make of it if it matched Miss Godden's own light gift with a gifted director. Handled improperly, Miss Godden's fugue in time could of course lend itself beautifully to either pretension or confusion. But handled right it could be fun for the camera.

DIANA TRILLING

## Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

**T**WENTY years ago the great success of "The Show-off" and "Craig's Wife" made George Kelly famous. Several unsuccessful works followed one after another, and "The Deep Mrs. Sykes" (Booth Theater) is his first play in eight years. Only to the older generation of theatergoers does his name mean much, and many of the morning-after reviews were grudging or worse. Yet I am not, I know, alone either in finding the new piece impressive or in realizing a certain important fact: Mr. Kelly no longer wins easy success because he no longer cares to win success of any kind on terms other than his own. The simple theatricalism which helped make "Craig's Wife" enormously popular has been conspicuously lacking in every play since, and the public has been offered instead the honest, careful, rather bleak dramatic studies of a man bent on anatomizing to the best of his ability human egotism and vulgarity as he sees them exhibited in the characters whom he has selected as his victims. Mr. Kelly's temperament is not, I should imagine, a very rich one. Even his acerbity is dry, and the admirable persons whom he draws to contrast with the egotists and vulgarians upon whom he lavishes his attention are usually stoically disdainful rather than warmly appealing. But his workmanship is fine as well as honest, and the effect of "The Deep Mrs. Sykes"—much the best of all the plays in this his second manner—is to me impressive and absorbing, even though the whole is sober and almost somber.

Several reviewers complained that the story is too slight. It would be, I think, more accurate to say that very little action takes place on the stage or, for that matter, is supposed to occur during the course of the play. What one is offered instead is the gradual unfolding and exploration of a situation which exists when the curtain rises and an analysis of the characters who have created it. In some respects the method is therefore rather more like that of the psychological novel than like that of the conventional play, and in this particular instance it is justified so far as I am concerned by the fact that from the rise to the fall of the curtain I was more completely absorbed than I often am in the contemporary theater.

The scene, though never specified, is apparently a wealthy suburb of Philadelphia; the central character is a cold, complacent woman whose maddening faith in the infallibility of her "feminine intuition" is only a device by which she justifies to herself her habit of assuming the worst about everyone. She "knows" that her husband is the mysterious admirer who has been sending lilacs to a somewhat spectacular neighbor, and she continues to the end to nurse this "knowledge" with a secret, superior smile, even though the unhappy alcoholic wife of the doctor is equally—and just as wrongly—sure that the doctor is the guilty one, even though she has been told who the lover really is. Unlike *Craig's Wife* she is overtaken by no calamity which punishes her. She ends as she begins; but she pays and always has paid the penalty of being herself, a despicable woman whom her husband goes on despising as he has despised her for twenty years.

Obviously in such a play everything depends upon the dialogue, the acting, and the direction. Mr. Kelly himself is responsible for the last, as well as for the selection of the actors, and he has seen to it that the two women upon whom the attention chiefly rests are superbly played—Mrs. Sykes with quiet, superior self-absorption by Catherine Willard and the more spectacular role of the unhappy alcoholic with a really terrible intensity by Jean Dixon, who has the most obviously big scene of the play when she exposes herself in a drunken tirade, and who makes that scene unforgettably tragic. But it is, above all, in the dialogue—usually written in a low key though curiously and incisively convincing—that Mr. Kelly's skill shows itself most impressively. Perhaps it is too quiet, too far from either the wisecrack or the purple passage, to please most tastes, but two specimen sentences—inaccurately quoted from memory—may serve to illustrate a certain calm deadliness. When the doctor's wife, tipsy as usual, is asked why she is sure the mysterious admirer must be somebody's husband, she replies, irritated at so stupid a question, "Why, it's got to be. There is nothing interesting about two people being lovers unless there is some reason why they shouldn't be." And when, near the end, Mr. Sykes is asked by his son why Mrs. Sykes was so sure the former was the guilty man, he merely says quietly, "What do you suppose a woman's intuition is for?" The author of those lines must, I imagine, find La Rochefoucauld congenial reading.

Mr. Kelly is too much a moralist, even too conventional a moralist, to be a cynic, and I must say that the little sermon preached at the end by Mr. Sykes, who urges his son to stay with the wife he no longer loves even as Mr. Sykes has stayed with his own wife, seems to me to make out a very weak case for the sacredness of a union ick-some to one of the parties, and it is difficult to see who has profited from the preservation of the marriage between the speaker and his despicable mate. But that does not keep the play from being both impressive and absorbing.

## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

**P**RACTICALLY YOURS" is an interestingly nasty Colbert-MacMurray comedy about a war hero on leave, a girl who gets the mistaken impression that he loves her, and some of their misadventures with her boss, her white-collar suitor, the newsreels, the radio, bond selling, a commercial photographer, and a war wife played straight. In a roughly typical scene the leads watch what has been done to them on the screen in the darkness of a newsreel theater, the hero cannot keep his disgust to himself, and an inflamed civilian turns and busts him in the jaw. In another they are aboard a rush-hour subway car when, by nightmarish chance, his emergency life-raft inflates. It is one measure of the movie quality of these and many more scenes and bits of business and detail in the picture that—though few of them are done as well as they might be—they are much better on the screen than they can be made to sound in words. Taken as a whole, the picture doesn't amount to much; the same cynicism which is responsible for most of its good points has helped take care that it won't. But lurking in a great many odd corners of the show there is a really remarkable amount and variety of coldly perceptible hatred.

"Without Love" is a satiny translation of a Philip Barry play; I like it all right and have very little to say for or against it. Unlike Mr. Barry, I don't find the expression "by gum" charming on lips which use it for charm's sake, and enjoy even less the heroine's recalling, of her dying husband, that he "grinned that grin of his." But a good deal of the dialogue is happy to hear and happier in its skill; Katherine Hep-

burn and Spencer Tracy are exactly right for their jobs; it is good to see Lucille Ball doing so well with a kind of role new to her; and I have a hard time braking myself against the idea that Keenan Wynn is the best actor in Hollywood, rather than just a very good one indeed.

I am of that majority opinion about Tallulah Bankhead which will forgive her anything, and likes her so well that that seldom comes into question; but in spite of her randy impersonation of Catherine the Great, I did not much enjoy "A Royal Scandal." Possibly I am too owlish a democrat to be sufficiently thrilled by the thought that queens and the women in the windows are centaurs under the skin; and probably I take too seriously the fact that bawdiness, especially "sophisticated" bawdi-

ness, bores and annoys me beyond mailable description unless it is handled with enough style or energy to absolve it, through heart or magic, of its infantilism. But so far as I know, it's just that nothing was one-tenth well enough done, and that all the laughs are played for at their cheapest, far down the ramp. I suspect that if I saw Ernst Lubitsch's original version of this story, "Forbidden Paradise," again, I might think a good deal of his pantomime just as tiresomely prurient at its roots; but I am almost certain it would stand up even so as a much more delicate and forceful and amusing version. I wish this twenty-year-old show were revived, both for its own sake as I remember it, and because between the two versions I believe you could get a pretty good measure of the difference between talking and silent pictures. I realize, of course, that talking pictures can be better than "A Royal Scandal," and as good as anything silent, and conceivably even better; but in order even to try to be so, they have to know the value of pantomime, and they have to know when to shut up.

Very late in the 20th day after any proper one, I want to add to Manny Farber's, and Orson Welles's, my own respect for the Monogram melodrama "When Strangers Marry." The story has locomotor ataxia at several of its joints, and the intensity of the telling slackens off toward the end; but taking it as a whole I have seldom, for years now, seen one hour so energetically and sensibly used in a film. Bits of it, indeed, gave me a heart-lifted sense of delight in real performance and perception and ambition which I have rarely known in any film context since my own mind, and that of moving-picture making, were both sufficiently young. Thanks to that, I can no longer feel by any means so hopeless as I have, lately, that it is possible to make pictures in Hollywood that are worth making. When I think even no farther than of the people who made this, and of the Val Lewton contingent, and of the various journeymen who put so much venom into "Practically Yours," I know there are enough people out there of real ability to turn the whole place upside down. I doubt they will ever do it, partly because I doubt it could be done without a good deal of gunfire, and that on no parochial scale. But quite a few of them mean business, and some of them are wedging out small ways, at least, of doing it.

## Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

ACADEMICISM shows itself nowhere more nakedly than in painting and sculpture, being much more immediately depressing there than in literature. One brief glance at the recent annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design was enough to fill the visitor with gloom. Van Wyck Brooks's resentment of advanced literature's lack of "affirmation" would find greater justification if it were directed to backward art. These painters of purple and emerald landscapes, of glazed figurines and wax flowers, these niggers, these picklers of nudes and bakers of mud pies plumb depths of negation and pessimism T. S. Eliot or Joyce, much less Picasso, could never remotely reach. But it is in the very nature of academicism to be pessimistic, for it believes history to be a repetitious and monotonous decline from a former golden age. The avant-garde, on the other hand, believes that history is creative, always evolving novelty out of itself. And where there is novelty there is hope.

The hope shining from Piet Mondrian's white canvases with their criss-crossed bands of black has little to do with his platonizing theories except in so far as they express an almost naive faith in the future. Rationalized décor—rectilinear lines and bright, clear colors—means the conviviality and concord of an urban tomorrow stripped of the Gothic brambles and rural particularities that retarded life in the past. Mondrian's pictures are an attempt to create conditions of existence and stabilize life itself. They are not "interesting" the way Titians are; you are supposed to go on with life in their presence. Aside from the fact that he was a pioneer who pushed the implications of modern art to their last consequences, Mondrian was one of the greatest painters of our time. Unfortunately, the memorial show at the Museum of Modern Art (through May 13) includes too few of his works to give a really adequate notion of the scale of his art and the heights it reached in his best periods. (I realize that Mondrian's paintings need lots of empty wall around them, but then the show should have received more gallery space.) It is also unfortunate that the white areas in many of his pictures have by now become discolored or dirty. The artist himself should have foreseen that; and while his art is inseparable from the

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qualities induced by canvas and oil, he might have done more wisely and equally beautifully had he used tempera on board or gesso panel. Perhaps the fact that he made many changes and over-paintings during execution kept him away from the relative inflexibility of tempera. In any case it suffices that he put together pictures that are completely at rest—solid, unshakable—and at the same time tense and dramatic.

Along with the memorial exhibition a sixty-four-page book containing six of Mondrian's essays on art has appeared, edited by Robert Motherwell and Harry Holtzman (Wittenborn and Company, \$2.25). (The assistance of Charmion von Wiegand, who practically put one of the essays into English, is for some reason or other not acknowledged.) Acquaintance with Mondrian's theories may expand one's idea but will hardly deepen one's experience of his work. They are real feats of speculative imagination but seem to have been more a rationalization of his practice than a spur to it. Theories were perhaps felt necessary to justify such revolutionary innovations. But Mondrian committed the unforgivable error of asserting that one mode of art, that of pure, abstract relations, would be absolutely superior to all others in the future.

The late Kandinsky, Mondrian's only true compeer, whose life work is reviewed in a splendid exhibition at the Museum of Non-Objective Painting (through April 15), fell somewhat short of Mondrian in practice but maintained a better concept of what was going on. His chief mistake was to draw too close an analogy between painting and music. And while he did not give "non-objective" art the absolute primacy, he did hold that only through the non-objective could "absolute" works of art be approximated. Like Mondrian he spoke of "liberation"—from the past, from nature—and was optimistic, anticipating a future of inner certainty and the "growing realization of the spiritual." (As far as I can make out, Kandinsky's "spiritual" means simply intensity and seriousness and has no religious connotations.)

Kandinsky was more a landscape painter at heart than anything else. Even before developing his abstract "lyrical" style he seems, according to the evidence, to have proved himself the best of all the *Blau Reiter* artists in Germany. His parti-colored expressionist landscapes are better than we, who have been brought up on the School of Paris, may rightly realize.

Jackson Pollock's second one-man

show at Art of This Century (through April 14) establishes him, in my opinion, as the strongest painter of his generation and perhaps the greatest one to appear since Miró. The only optimism in his smoky, turbulent painting comes from his own manifest faith in the efficacy, for him personally, of art. There has been a certain amount of self-deception in School of Paris art since the exit of cubism. In Pollock there is absolutely none, and he is not afraid to look ugly—all profoundly original art looks ugly at first. Those who find his oils overpowering are advised to approach him through his gouaches, which in trying less to wring every possible ounce of intensity from every square inch of surface achieve greater clarity and are less suffocatingly packed than the oils. Among the latter, however, are two—both called *Totem Lessons*—for which I cannot find strong enough words of praise. Pollock's single fault is not that he crowds his canvases too evenly but that he sometimes juxtaposes colors and values so abruptly that gaping holes are created.

The ninth annual exhibition of the American Abstract Artists at Riverside Museum (through April 15) suffers from a lack, not of optimism, but of strong personalities. The rules laid down by the epigones of cubism are a little too carefully observed. Some of the animation that comes with surrealism is needed. Three women painters, however, show a good deal of promise: Nell Blaine—whose large white picture struck me as the best in the show—Fannie Hillsmith, and Eleanor de Laitre. There is one colorist present, Giorgio Cavallon, who may come to more than anyone else once he controls his design.

The large European Artists in America show at the Whitney Museum (through April 11) represents international, *ipso facto* School of Paris, art. All the works were executed in this country except those of a single artist. The mood is one of resigned optimism—everybody is glad to be here and alive—coupled with that kind of liveliness, not necessarily identical with vitality, which skilled performers create in their effort to attract attention. The exhibition abounds in finished performances, but very little in it goes deep. More than half the painters on hand show surrealist or neo-romantic affects—which is another way of being lively. Surprisingly enough, the sculpture section makes a better impression, on the whole, than the painting. Lipchitz's granite Return of the Child deserves to be called



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great, while Max Ernst shows himself to be an immeasurably better sculptor than painter—there is almost no organic relation between his abstract sculpture and his diabetic, prematurely worm-eaten pictures. Also present are a good Mondrian and a hopeful picture called *Unfolding Stratum*, by Herbert Bayer. Léger's oils are stronger than they have usually been of late; Léger always knows how to put a picture together, but he repeats his design to the point of stereotype—and his little touches of shading create volumes that are overinflated with respect to every other element.

## Dance

B. H.  
HAGGIN

OF THE two additional works of Balanchine which the Monte Carlo Russe has presented at New York's City Center "Mozartiana" is a little classic ballet which offers still another example of his fresh and individual use of traditional materials to fill out the traditional suite form, and which delights eye and mind with its orchestration of movement so well contrived for the Mozart-Tchaikovsky music, the lovely Berard set and costumes, the capacities and personalities of the dancers—with a subtly intricate opening solo for Lazovsky, some charmingly gay things for Danilova and Franklin to do at their first appearance, an adagio in grand style for Danilova as the climax, a delicious little cadenza for her in the finale. And Balanchine—who for each of his ballets had made out of the elements of the classic *pas de deux* something new, wonderful in the way those elements are transformed and linked in a continuous statement with meaning in the context of the ballet—now has used them to create for Danilova a "Pas de Deux" which stands by itself with the effect of a homage to the style and to her art in its execution. The first yearning phrases of a superb piece of Tchaikovsky ballet music bring her in on her points, led by Franklin, with an arm rising slowly above her head to create a regal pose and then to continue in the circlings that make her sustained movement across the stage breath-taking. And one is held spell-bound by the splendors that follow, in which there is maintained, in all the variation of pace and character, a continuity of impetus, movement, and emotion that builds up a single dance

statement, grand and impassioned, and achieving in its few minutes an overwhelming intensity and impact.

The Monte Carlo management has celebrated the twenty-fifth year of Balanchine's career as a choreographer; but it might well have celebrated the first year of his association with the company. For in that year he has enriched its repertory with five beautiful works, one of them, "Dances Concertantes," outstanding in its originality and power; and not only in the perfect performances of these works but in the perfected performances of some older ones there is evidence of his work with the dancers, whom he has taught to execute classic movements with the precision, clarity, and grace that make them effective. Balanchine's own "Serenade" is an older piece in which order reveals again the beauty formerly obscured by confusion. Very much older is "Coppelia," which in its freshened state and with Danilova's enchanting performance is a delight. And the treatment is being applied with as good results to modern-style works: in the performance I saw of "Rodeo" everything seemed to have been set once more in right relation to everything else, presumably by Agnes de Mille herself—which made it a very effective and satisfying performance even without Franklin's brilliance in the lead; and Bliss was otherwise very good in the part.

But the job of rehabilitation is not yet completed. The management still offers works like "Red Poppy," "Snow Maiden," "Scheherazade"; it still offers performances like the ones of "Bluebird" and "Le Beau Danube" that I saw. Krassovska is a technically accomplished dancer with great personal sweetness; she is excellent in ingenue parts like the daughter in "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" and was charming in Danilova's role in "Gaité Parisienne"; but she hadn't the sharp, glittering brilliance that "Bluebird" requires and that could have stood up against the high-powered exhibitionism of Danielian. In "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," where his matchstick torso is concealed by the costume and he is restrained by the choreography (or possibly by the choreographer), he is a good dancer. But not in classic parts. And not in "Le Beau Danube."

In a note in the program the Monte Carlo management has declared itself "an organization free from any commercial influences, [viewing] our mission only as a service to the great public." That being so, I should like to point out one service which I think

it ought to perform for that public. The audiences at the City Center have appeared to enjoy "Dances Concertantes" and "Mozartiana"; but they also have enjoyed "Red Poppy" and "Scheherazade" and "Frankie and Johnny"; and I think that where it is dealing with an uncritical public which enjoys good and bad equally the Monte Carlo management will best serve that public by giving it only good ballets to enjoy, and in this way cultivating in it a taste for the good which will develop into the good taste that will enable it to discriminate between good and bad on its own. So with performance. The audiences at the City Center have applauded the good performances, but also the bad; they have applauded the "Pas de Deux" of Danilova and Franklin, but also the "Bluebird" of Krassovska and Danielian; and indeed they have on occasion applauded bad more thunderously than good: in a "Pas de Deux Classique" I saw last fall there was Danilova making one movement after another that took one's breath away with its assured, unobtrusively achieved perfection and grace, there was Danielian hurling himself around with ostentatious violence, and there was the audience applauding Danilova moderately now and then after something obviously difficult, but roaring its answer to Danielian's every exhibitionistic appeal for applause, and doing the same thing at their individual curtain calls. And here again I think the management should give its audiences only good performances to enjoy, and in this way cultivate in them the taste and discrimination they now lack. Until it can secure Youskevitch again for classic roles it should impose on Danielian at least the external appearance of Youskevitch's quiet assurance and modesty; it should impose a similar restraint on him in "Le Beau Danube"; and if he cannot be restrained he should be replaced.

## CONTRIBUTORS

J. KINGSLEY MARTIN is editor of the London *New Statesman and Nation*.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary.

B. SHIVA RAO, Indian correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian*, is now in New York.

P. ALSTON WARING is a Pennsylvania farmer and co-author of a book on the small farm called "Roots in the Earth."

# Letters to the Editors

## FORUM ON PEACE-TIME CONSCRIPTION

*[The number of letters we have received from readers on the problem of peace-time conscription indicates widespread interest in the subject. We have selected a few for publication here and will follow with more next week.]*

### Too Cynical

Dear Sirs: Mr. Bolté's article in *The Nation* for March 21 is entitled *Conscription Between Wars*. If there is a prize for the most undiplomatic title of the year, Mr. Bolté gets it. But he subjects us to more than the "realistic" cynicism of a title. After justly demolishing the sentimental arguments of many of the proponents of conscription, he submits that it is not the answer to the requirements of a United Nations police force; rather such conscript forces are to be utilized for the purpose of fighting our present allies.

Perhaps conscription itself would not "show the world our lack of faith in international cooperation," but Mr. Bolté's article certainly does, for though he puts the rationale for conscription into the mouths of the "Combined Chiefs of Staff," he adopts that rationale as the basis for his argument.

Conscription is not to be a part of the new collectivism; it is to be an alternative to its failure. It is to provide an army for fighting England or Russia—or both. The commercial aggression, unilateral diplomacy, and economic depression which are to cause such a war are endowed by Mr. Bolté with an inevitability which presupposes World War III. If his article indicates the line of argument which is about to be taken by conscription's liberal advocates, I suggest that they withhold their fire at least until the ratification of a United Nations charter by both ourselves and our allies.

It is hardly diplomatic, even if it be "realistic," to inform your allies and proposed co-workers in the greatest international experiment yet essayed that you are preparing a mighty army for the sole purpose of fighting them. It is even less diplomatic to make such a statement in a manner which indicates skepticism concerning the international experiment and in a tone foreboding failure and inevitable war. Nor is it wise for the very apostles of internationalism

to confess such little faith in the world organization of which they must be the champions in the yet far-from-won battle with isolationism.

We have bitterly reproached the last generation which succumbed to the cynical realism of the Lodges and the apostles of normalcy. Yet Mr. Bolté's "realism" is but the precursor of a new ultra-nationalism, militant and chauvinistic. If men of his stamp turn cynic, we shall not need another "little band of wilful men" to set us on the road to the next world war.

LINCOLN LAUTERSTEIN, Vice-Chairman,  
American Veterans' Committee  
New York, March 24

### Too Optimistic

Dear Sirs: Whether or not the army contemplates keeping in peace time the number of regulars, guardsmen, and reserves Dr. Nollen names (your issue of February 24), it has made no such statement. The army and the navy have announced that they believe it will be in the national interest after this war to select each year all fit young men at whatever age from eighteen to twenty-one or twenty-two will least interfere with each individual's education and career, train them, and fit them to take part, if need be, in national defense. The number each year will be about 850,000. They will receive one year's training and will not be liable, as the true conscripts of other nations are, to overseas, garrison, strike, or any other duty save training. They will never be recalled for any other service unless within six years (according to H. R. 515, the May bill) Congress declares a national emergency. Instructors will be largely reservists, not regulars. The peace-time equipment of these 850,000 men, plus 600,000 regulars and guardsmen, if that be the correct figure, would clearly be a relatively small fraction of what our present forces of ten million require in combat.

Dr. Nollen overelaborates what our army and navy authorities propose for our future defense. He oversimplifies the complex problem of assuring that defense by saying that to win safety from attack through international cooperation we must render ourselves de-

fenseless. But surely, to win safety from crime through the courts we would not demobilize the police forces! Dr. Nollen should reconsider his optimistic words. I too was an optimist in 1919, when, as a reporter, I covered the Paris "peace" conference. Surely we were strong then, and the world had learned its lesson—no more wars!

The proposal of peace-time universal military training is not out of harmony with the Dumbarton Oaks scheme, which provides for the use of military power to enforce peace and establishes a military branch of the United Nations. It is an important part of an important project to preserve by realistic measures the peace and security of the United States and of the world.

THOMAS M. JOHNSON  
New York, March 3

### Arms and the Peace

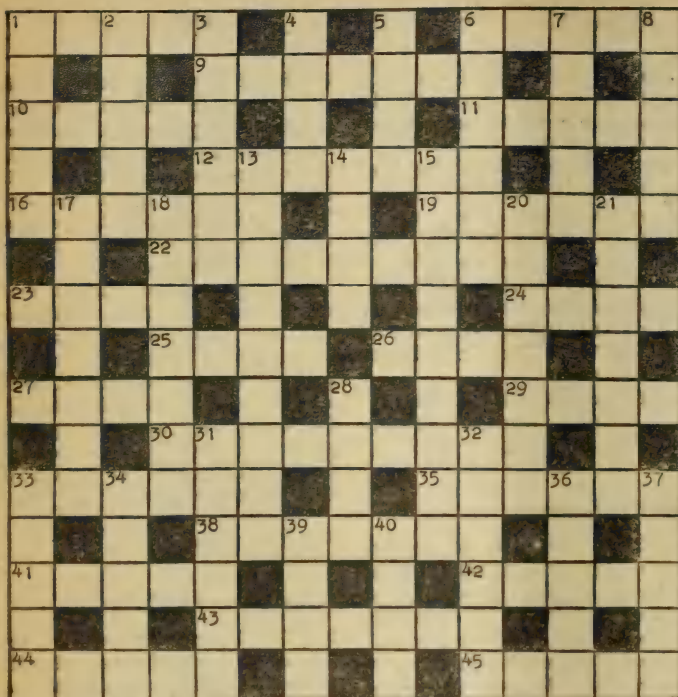
Dear Sirs: If the Big Three merely return to a camouflaged status quo, with the powers juggling for position for the next war, then I would say that disarmament of Germany and Japan does not mean a thing; in order to have allies in the next conflict either Russia or Britain will see to it, as the latter did last time, that one or both of them are rearmed contrary to all peace treaties.

If we do not use our influence and power now to eliminate this threat, reactionary intrigue in our own government and in the British Foreign Office will maintain such conditions; our peace-time army will not be an army of, by, and for the people but a force that may some day be rather inimical to their true interests. Until world conditions have undergone the test of practical experience I see no hurry to make any decision about our future army. We have a reserve of men trained for this war and an overwhelming navy and air force, and nobody for the next decade or so will be in any position to challenge us to armed combat. I rather feel that we should concentrate all our influence on a peaceful settlement of world affairs and the crushing by our influence of any Nazi-fascist tendency that may show its face anywhere.

HERBERT VAN KAAN  
New York, March 21

# Crossword Puzzle No. 110

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Second nature
- 6 Cessation (hyphen, 3-2)
- 9 Train
- 10 Machine-gun named after its inventor
- 11 Rob 'em in the old card game
- 12 Pat is given the bird and made an example of
- 16 Letters pronounced through the nose
- 19 They make things run smoothly
- 22 Rightness of changing a cruet diet
- 23 Sam and I in old Thailand
- 24 Man cannot make a worm, yet he creates these by the dozen!
- 25 Alight
- 26 Object of worship
- 27 No fool of a herbalist
- 29 This islet will come back to ye
- 30 Anything but stinking of money, by the sound of it
- 33 Fogg's partner in the Bardell vs. Pickwick case
- 35 Behead these gangways and they still sound the same
- 39 Maroons
- 41 Air raid signal that should put you on it
- 42 Altar (anag.) (two words, 3 and 2)
- 43 A letter from an apostle
- 44 In pigeon English, Greek
- 45 Terns in tears

## DOWN

- 1 They hanged him on the gallows prepared for Mordecai
- 2 Cartons
- 3 Solomon built one for Jehovah
- 4 Petition for clothes?

- 5 Horse hair
- 6 Lied on (anag.)
- 7 "Where MacGregor sits, there is the head of the ----"
- 8 Their heavenly lays make us heirs of truth and pure delight
- 13 Here the secondary spelling is also superior
- 14 Three, if disorderly, might cause a riot
- 15 He trusted in God, but kept his powder dry
- 17 In a moat (anag.)
- 18 Short of certain limbs
- 20 Short of certain other limbs
- 21 Badge of the House of Lancaster (two words, 3 and 4)
- 28 A first-class smoker
- 31 Corset it might be a London character
- 32 Nurse
- 33 One of Nature's secrets
- 34 It exists only in the imagination
- 36 Live and — this
- 37 They cover the holes in your socks
- 39 A material and moral wreck
- 40 They may have a screw loose somewhere

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 109

ACROSS:—1 FACETIOUS; 6 LEWES; 9 WEEK-END; 10 SEVERAL; 11 RIO; 12 INCHES; 13 WENT; 15 SEA SCOUT; 16 FISTIC; 18 ONAGER; 20 OPENINGS; 23 EXES; 24 MARIAN; 25 PUG; 28 EXTRACT; 29 IN-TRUST; 30 SERGE; 31 DOTTERELS.

DOWN:—1 FEWER; 2 CREMONA; 3 THE BIRCHES; 4 OLD SCOUT; 5 SISTER; 6 LOVE; 7 WARMEST; 8 SOLSTICES; 14 MIGNONETTE; 15 SMOKELESS; 17 OPTIMIST; 19 ABETTER; 21 NEPTUNE; 22 WANTED; 26 GATES; 27 PATE.

## A Citizens' Army?

*Dear Sirs:* Irving Lipkowitz bases his argument for a citizens' army (March 3) on assumptions which he does not prove. He assumes that either a citizen or a professional army is a post-war necessity in this country. He indicates that "the citizen army is a better bulwark against fascism and militarism than just 'no conscription'"; that such a training program will prevent the growth of a powerful professional military group; that the reservist citizen will be more eager to avoid another war and better prepared to do so; that those who oppose a conscript citizen army without plans for a volunteer army are in fact advocates of a professional army.

I can't take all this on faith as Mr. Lipkowitz asks me to. And isn't the phrase "citizens' army" a beautiful euphemism to avoid the unpleasant connotations of compulsory labor? More important, however, the central question remains untouched: Is a peace-time conscript army a military need?

VINCENT H. WHITNEY

Middletown, Conn., March 6

## Conscription vs. Peace

*Dear Sirs:* Most of Dr. Nollen's argument was sound, but it failed to mention that in a very few years expenditures for a proposed "citizen army" would equal or exceed all other normal costs of the federal government. On his return from Yalta the President said that he looked for the lightning in some measure of the burden of armaments. Will it be effected by adding billions to the budget for conscription? Mr. Lipkowitz implies that "fully implemented enforcement machinery" to keep a "durable peace" means conscription; common sense tells me that the bigger the trained armies the more unmanageable the enforcement machinery will become, and the less likely to be successful.

"Our congenital distaste for military matters must be disciplined," says Mr. Lipkowitz. What nonsense! Must we be taught to seek out and enjoy bubonic plague? In order to have an international machinery to maintain peace, there is no more need to make everyone a soldier than there is to teach everyone the use of a night stick in order to maintain a municipal police force. The argument for peace-time conscription involves a determination to smash our hatred of war and things military and is an insidious threat to future world peace.

ASA M. HUGHES

Landsdale, Pa., March 3

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## *The Shape of Things*

ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS MISTAKES THAT could possibly be made would be to expect a policy of moderation from the new Japanese government. It is headed, to be sure, by a man known as a "moderate" but the composition of the Cabinet as a whole shows that it has been built to meet a desperate emergency and to meet it with as much strength as the nation can muster. Russia's denunciation of the neutrality agreement, Japan's multiplying defeats on land and sea—culminating in the destruction of the great battleship Yamato—and the imminence of German collapse clearly necessitated a government of national unity including representatives of the army and navy, Elder Statesmen, big business, and members of the Imperial court. Even the sacred person of the Emperor is being employed more directly than ever before to rally the courage of the nation for a final effort to stave off total defeat. This does not mean that the "moderate" Suzuki may not try to find ways to appeal to the war weariness among the Allies that will follow the end of the struggle in Europe; peace moves will undoubtedly be made, as they have periodically been made by Hitler. And the presence in the government of industrialists and other "solid elements" with whom America found it possible to do business up to the moment of Pearl Harbor will be used as bait. But Americans have learned their lesson on many a green Pacific island, and they are not likely to be taken in by Japanese imperialists dressed up in business clothes.

✱

THE RESIGNATION OF PIERRE MENDES-FRANCE AS Minister of National Economy in France means a rightward shift for De Gaulle's government. For some time the conflict between the nationalization plans urged by Mendès-France and the conservative economic policies of René Pleven, Minister of Finance, has been the major issue in French politics. The Socialists have led the progressive fight. The Communists have tended to support De Gaulle's cautious moderation. But the French civilians after years of struggle and suffering within and alongside the Resistance have shown no signs of abandoning their hope for a new order, no inclination to go along with the right. So strong, in fact, has been the ground swell of popular protest that the Communists have recently reconsidered their line and joined with the Socialists in publishing a detailed program for the immediate nationalization of key industries and large banks—a direct challenge of Pleven's fiscal policies. The program provides for the security of small businesses. It proposes to compensate shareholders by paying them the average yield on their former shares during their lifetime and while their children are minors. Only the property of traitors will be

confiscated. Mendès-France's statement, issued when he left the Ministry, was similarly strong and precise. It shows that the left opposition, while not wanting yet to create difficulties for De Gaulle, is rapidly crystallizing its attitude and its forces. Mendès-France himself may well emerge as one of its leaders; his stature has increased as a result of his firm stand and his impressive warning.

✱

**OUR RECOGNITION OF ARGENTINA PLACES THE** Farrell-Perón government in an excellent position to insist on its inclusion in the San Francisco conference. But if the State Department appeasers have not entirely lost their sense of reality they will understand that the presence of the leading South American fascist state at San Francisco would not only strike a moral blow against the prospects of a strong peace organization, but that it might become the immediate cause of basic differences among the major Allies. Russia does not want Argentina represented, rightly fearing that it would initiate a series of devious intrigues to include Franco's participation as well. Most of the delegations do not look forward to sitting down with representatives of either the present fascist Argentine or Spanish regimes. Those who are serious in wishing to create an organization for world peace should not be forced to suffer the indignity of working with the Buenos Aires administration, whose goal, as that of every fascist state, is and must be—war.

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**'ADMIRAL KING'S PLEA THAT WE MAINTAIN A** large post-war navy and keep the Pacific bases as a protection against aggression raises a number of interesting questions which he seems to have neglected to answer. In asking that we keep our Pacific bases, was he advocating abrogation of our pledge to free the Philippines in 1946? Was he suggesting that we take New Georgia and New Britain from Australia, Guadalcanal and the Gilbert Islands from Great Britain, and Dutch New Guinea from the Netherlands? Or was he referring merely to the islands seized from Japan? Did he mean to propose that every island be made into a fortress capable of resisting enemy attack, or that we merely add a few additional bases to those we had before the war? And against what enemy are these bases supposed to protect us? Are we going to permit Japan sufficient industrial power to rebuild its navy? Do we fear the Russian or Chinese navy? Or does Admiral King anticipate revival of British imperialism? And finally, how are we to reconcile this vast expansion of American sea power with the principles of collective security underlying the Dumbarton Oaks plan? Won't it look to other countries as if we were trying to carry water on both shoulders?

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**THE SECOND ANNUAL HOLD-THE-LINE REPORT** to the President wisely stresses the necessity of maintaining price and wage controls for some time after the war, lest we repeat the disastrous "boom-and-bust" period which followed immediately after World War I. The stabilization agencies, as their heads point out, must fight a war on two fronts: against "a runaway price rise" after VE-Day and also against "the deflationary tendencies which may appear in the transition period." But it will be impossible to maintain

a stabilized economy unless a better job is done by the four signers of the report, by Chester Bowles as Administrator of OPA, by Marvin Jones as head of the War Food Administration, by William H. Davis as Director of the Office of Economic Stabilization, and by George W. Taylor as chairman of the National War Labor Board. Our Washington letter this week throws some light on what is happening in the field of price control, and a continuance of these methods will make it hard to hold the country in line. Laggard handling of labor appeals, unwillingness to eliminate substandard wages, discriminatory action against small and marginal producers in agriculture and industry, flabbiness in forcing the textile industry to turn out more low-price clothing, elimination of regulatory officials unsatisfactory to private lobbies—these must be corrected or ended if the line is to be held. A little less complacency about over-all index figures and a little more self-criticism regarding the weak spots in the program would also be helpful.

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**AFTER THE WAR, NEARLY 1,000,000 NEGRO** veterans, of whom 750,000 are from the South, will be eligible for loans and other benefits under the G. I. Bill of Rights. If properly administered, that is, if fairly administered, the G. I. Bill of Rights can go a long way toward correcting the injustice and discrimination which Negro soldiers have too frequently experienced in the army. While it is perhaps too late to abolish segregation in the services, it is not too late to see that the Negro veteran gets his full rights under this legislation. These rights are of such substantial character that they can radically transform the status of 1,000,000 Negroes and their dependents: they entitle veterans to vocational and other educational opportunities, to decent homes, to loans for farms (70 per cent of the 750,000 Negroes from the South now in the army are from farming areas), and to other benefits. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, Administrator of Veteran Affairs and of Retraining and Reemployment, meant what he said when he assured the National Urban League recently that he would enforce a policy of "four freedoms" for Negro war veterans—"freedom from discrimination in the administration of the law, freedom from inequality in education, freedom from inequality in expenditures for health, hospitalization, and rehabilitation, and freedom from obstacles and prejudices which prevent equal work opportunity and equal pay." If such a policy is to be enforced, a large measure of centralized control must be established. For if control of administration is vested in local officials, these "four freedoms" are likely to become as insubstantial as a mouthful of air.

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**COOPS NOT FIT FOR CHICKENS WERE ONCE** considered adequate for sharecroppers—and may be again unless the liquidation of Farm Security Administration projects ordered by Congress is immediately stopped. Five hundred farm-labor families in southeastern Missouri face eviction from the FSA Delmo Homes project, which is to be sold at auction. Tenants earn an average of \$2.50 a day and obviously cannot afford to buy their homes, which will probably go at bargain prices—to the planters. If that happens, the farm laborers will be forced back to the share-cropper serf-

dom which the federal housing program helped them escape. Decent housing has given them increased bargaining power and a measure of independence from the planters, which they are determined to keep. As one tenant said, "The landlord used to dig us out and make us work for 75 cents a day—or get out. I lived in a pigsty and was kicked around. They bounced us out in '39. I'm never agoin' back. I'd go East, North, West, but never back to the shacks." That is the feeling of all the tenants; they were among the 1,500 share-cropper families who were thrown out of their plantation shacks six years ago when the planters decided to save money by hiring day laborers. Under the leadership of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, the workers moved to the roads and staged a highway demonstration that aroused nation-wide support. As the result of a housing investigation, the FSA built 580 homes in this section at an approximate cost of \$1,000 each; the houses rent for \$6.50 a month. The planters have long hated the FSA communities and through the Farm Bureau and Representative Orville Zimmerman they finally persuaded Congress to pass a bill directing their liquidation. A tenants' delegation has just persuaded Senator Briggs of Missouri to sponsor an amendment to the 1946 Agricultural Appropriation Bill directing the FSA to sell homes to individual workers' families. Congressman Cannon says he will back the amendment, and FSA officials have agreed to delay liquidation proceedings pending Congress's decision. The effort to pass the amendment should be supported by liberals; unless it succeeds, rural federal-aided housing will prove to have been designed ultimately for the profit of private investors and landlords. Surely this was not the purpose for which the FSA, the USHA, and the present public war-housing agency were created.

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THE *READER'S DIGEST*, WHICH LIKES TO CALL itself non-partisan, has briefed, in its April issue, Friedrich A. Hayek's "The Road to Serfdom," which is described as "one of the most important books of our generation." A helpful note informs us that "newsstand supplies of the *Reader's Digest* are soon exhausted, but through the courtesy of the Book of the Month Club reprints have been made available"; and the second item in the *Digest*, a chaser, so to speak, for Hayek, is a condensation of an article by Ralph Robey in *Newsweek*. Its title is What Is Being Planned for You. It is introduced by the alarming question: "What becomes of the enterprise which has created a great nation when *this* program gets going?" And whereas Hayek's contribution is a mild-mannered polemic against planning in general, Robey's is a wild-eyed attack on what he calls the "ultimate program" of the Administration. There is one flaw in this beautifully synchronized attack on planning. The "ultimate program" may well appeal to the reader more than Hayek's polemic or Robey's rage. And that would be a good joke on Hayek, Robey, the *Reader's Digest*, and the Book of the Month Club. What we are now watching for is an announcement by the *Digest* that this non-partisan organ will print a condensation of a book which states the case for planning, say, "Full Employment in a Free Society," by William J. Beveridge—also considered "one of the most important books of our generation."

## Peace Weather: Barometer Rising

THIS past week has provided the American people with a useful lesson in political dynamics. It began in an atmosphere of suspicion and gloom. Moscow's demand that the Warsaw government be given a seat at San Francisco, turned down in London and Washington; Moscow's demand for three seats in the future United Nations Assembly, acceded to by Churchill and Roosevelt at Yalta and then kept secret until it leaked into the press—these events set off a general barrage of criticism and pessimistic prediction. Goebbels himself could not have invented more ugly rumors of inter-Allied dissension than appeared in the Allied press. The postponement of the San Francisco conference was widely expected. It was strongly advocated by such diverse writers as Walter Lippmann and the editor of the *Yorkshire Post*. The left press in England went to even greater extremes of gloom. The *London Tribune*, for example, predicting failure at San Francisco, said grimly, "The shadow of the next war looms up even before the thunder of the present one has died away. Surely mankind has never faced a more terrible prospect."

But all this was last week. This week things have changed—at least in this country. Nobody now suggests putting off the conference. A general tone of optimism pervades the press. What has happened? Moscow still claims three votes in the Assembly, as far as anybody knows, and the Warsaw government is not reorganized. Not a single problem has been solved nor an impasse broken. But Russia has denounced its neutrality pact with Japan—and the sky has cleared. Already the prospect of agreement among the Big Three seems brighter: Stalin is a pretty good fellow again, and Russia a desirable ally instead of a looming menace. For the ordinary American finds it almost impossible to worry about the extent of Moscow's influence in Poland or the number of Russian votes in the Assembly when he suddenly sees a chance that the Pacific war may be ended many months sooner than appeared possible a week ago. The probability that Russia will help lick Japan is worth a dozen minor concessions in Europe to the man in the street and to his favorite newspaper: it is significant that even the rabid anti-Russian press has welcomed the Moscow decision without serious qualifications. Indeed, the *New York Daily News* goes so far as to offer Stalin Manchuria "and other parts of China, too," as long as he comes in and helps himself!

It is obvious, of course, that the almost excessive good cheer created by Russia's brilliantly timed announcement will not last indefinitely unless it is sustained by concrete accomplishments. But optimism and good-will are effective political agents and can do much to dispel differences that multiply in an atmosphere of suspicion. Today the San Francisco conference stands a far better chance of success than it did last week. And even the problems of Poland and the distribution of votes seem more likely to be settled. Last Friday Secretary Stettinius told a New York audience that he had reason to hope the job of reorganizing the Warsaw govern-

ment would be finished in time to permit a Polish delegation to come to San Francisco. The almost incredible announcement by the Polish London government that the top men in their "shadow" government in Poland had "vanished" after going to keep an appointment with a high Soviet officer near Warsaw, revealed for the first time that talks were going on between the Russians and underground Polish leaders. Out of these talks may emerge the agreement Mr. Stettinius hinted at. Or it may be reached in Moscow by the committee appointed at Yalta. In any case, hope of a settlement has replaced the suspicion that greeted Russia's earlier demand for representation of the Warsaw government.

Even the Assembly vote jam may be broken. When the President announced the other day that the United States had decided not to ask for three votes to match Russia's, a rumor was circulated in the press to the effect that Russia might also voluntarily forswear the extra votes it had been promised. No substantiation appeared to exist; but the mere fact that this country had made a gesture of self-denial tended to create a better prospect.

Atmosphere is an intangible element in political affairs, but a potent one. Between Russia and the Western world a chronic atmosphere of distrust, dating back all the way to the October revolution, has been more responsible than any actual clash of interests for the misunderstandings that periodically rise up to threaten the Great Alliance. Many of Moscow's most arbitrary acts have stemmed directly from this distrust. It accounts too for the readiness in this country to expect the worst whenever a difference of opinion with Russia develops. It is a factor that can never for a moment be ignored in judging political relations with the Soviet Union. Good diplomacy implies a most intense effort on both sides to dispel this atmosphere for good. Moscow's decision to end its pact with Japan, announced at exactly the right moment, was a diplomatic move of incalculable value; it is up to everybody who understands the need of continued close relations with Russia to prevent its effect from evaporating in the critical days ahead of us.

## The Georgia Rate Case

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court agreeing to hear the Georgia railway case is of major importance. The background of the suit brought by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia is fairly well known. The industrialization of the South and West has been stunted by a freight-rate structure which discriminates against those sections in favor of the North. From an economic point of view, the South and the West are "colonial" areas: that is, they are primarily the source of raw materials for the industrial North, which in turn supplies them with manufactured goods. Freight rates act as a kind of tariff in reverse to preserve this relationship. A brilliant report prepared by J. H. Alldredge for the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1937 showed that the nearer a product comes to the final stage of production the greater is the discrimination in rates against the Southern manufacturer. "For example," William H. Joubert told the Florida Academy of Sciences last year, "rates on raw cotton from the South

to the North are the same, mile for mile. . . . On bleached cotton fabrics the South-to-North rate is 11 per cent higher than the rate wholly within Northern territory; and on oil cloth, a more highly processed cotton product, the disparity is 54 per cent."

This is more than a sectional issue. The establishment of a less unfair rate structure is of importance to the North as well as the South. The problem is not to take industries from the North and shift them to the South and West; that is the narrow, the shortsighted, the mercantilist view. The real problem is that, without industrialization, the buying power and living standards of millions in the South and West will continue to be too low for a full-employment economy. This was touched upon in Wallace's famous railroad speech at Dallas, and it is this which gives national significance to Governor Arnall's suit against the railroads serving Georgia. The Georgian's political boldness, his able argument before the Supreme Court, and the favorable decision he has won have given him new prominence in Washington, where he is already spoken of as a progressive Southern candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1948.

The Supreme Court split five to four in the Georgia decision; it is amusing to note that the split happened to be geographical. The five justices holding for Georgia were from the West and South (if Murphy of Michigan is included). The four dissenters were all Northern judges. The real issue, as so often happens in high-court cases, was touched on only inferentially. It is that the Interstate Commerce Commission has outlived its usefulness. Rates are made by the railroads themselves through the kind of rate-making bureaus long ago held to be in violation of the anti-trust laws. Review of these rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission may be obtained, but only by a process of lengthy and costly litigation. The ICC itself has undergone an evolution typical of administrative agencies; the forces to be regulated have gotten control of the agency set up to regulate them. The ICC is today more a boon to the railroads than a safeguard for shippers.

The question before the court was whether the state of Georgia could by-pass the ICC and appeal directly to the Supreme Court for relief under those clauses of the Constitution which give the court original jurisdiction over certain types of cases to which a state is a party. Justice Douglas, supported by Justices Black, Reed, Murphy, and Rutledge, said Georgia could do so. The Chief Justice, speaking for himself and Justices Roberts, Frankfurter, and Jackson, said it could not. In strict terms of precedent, the minority had the better of the legal argument. The suit is a very odd specimen from a conventional legal point of view, and the original complaint itself was somewhat blundering and naive. There are impressive reasons for fearing judicial interference with administrative agencies, and the "correct" remedy is certainly through the ICC and by anti-trust action. A case against the rate-making activities of the Western railroads was filed by the Department of Justice last summer in Nebraska. But it seems to us there are both adequate legal rationalizations and weighty considerations of constitutional statesmanship in the majority's favor. The younger members of the court do not intend to be stultified by strict legal decorum, and Georgia will be heard.

## Franco's Fixer

WE ARE not honored, but deeply interested, to introduce to *Nation* readers Señor Manuel Aznar, the new Spanish minister to Washington. Franco has chosen him as the man best fitted to fool the Americans. A brief glance at Aznar's career will show that the choice is a perfect one. The only other man in Spain who might compete with him for such a delicate assignment is his own chief, Lequerica. But even though the Franco regime considers Washington the most important of diplomatic posts, it could not be expected that the Foreign Minister would leave Madrid now when he may momentarily be expecting the visit of his colleague Herr von Ribbentrop, disguised as an officer of the Luftwaffe, A. W. O. L.

Manuel Aznar was born in Echalar, Navarre, fifty-three years ago; he received his education at Duesto, the famous Jesuit college in the Basque country. Under the monarchy Duesto was the training school for some of the shrewdest politicians of the Spanish extreme right. From the thousands of sons of aristocratic and middle-class families who went to Duesto the Jesuits selected the cleverest, married them off to rich heiresses if they lacked money, helped to establish them as successful lawyers, and distributed them in the Parliament and Cabinet.

Though intelligent and audacious enough, young Aznar evidently struck his teachers as too unreliable to become one of the Duesto's protégés. He had, therefore, to rely upon his own resources. After he left college, he went off to Bilbao to make his way as a journalist. His first job was on the newspaper *Euzkadi*, a nationalist Basque daily, where he made such rapid progress that he soon became its editor. But the ambitious Aznar could not remain content for long in this provincial town, and when Madrid offered him an opportunity to practice journalism on a first-class, national scale, he jumped at it. Once in Madrid he promptly turned against his Basque friends and attacked the very policies he had so warmly advocated in *Euzkadi*.

He moved to *El Sol*, a new Madrid paper which made its first appearance in the last years of World War I. *El Sol* was a revolutionary departure in Spanish journalism, for it introduced a startling modern tone and gathered around it some of the most brilliant writers of Spanish intellectual circles. We are certain that in Washington Aznar will boast of having been a leading force in *El Sol's* campaigns in favor of the Allies, of the League of Nations, and of a democratic Spain.

Aznar was determined to become chief editor of *El Sol*, and even in these early days he revealed an indisputable talent for intrigue and double-crossing. He practiced the art of flattery in its subtlest and most insidious forms. He agreed with those who could be useful to him; he knifed his rivals with skill and unconcern. Undoubtedly Aznar has documented himself thoroughly on the foibles and interests of every influential man in the American capital. If he gets a chance he will surely discuss recent Spanish poetry with Archibald MacLeish and Latin America with Nelson Rockefeller, and he has probably tucked away in his diplomatic pouch some

rare old Spanish stamps for President Roosevelt's collection.

His intrigues in Madrid were bound to make him thoroughly unpopular, and when one of his business ventures, a printing concern, went bankrupt, he found it advisable to leave for Cuba. There he became involved with a very strange woman, the Duchess of Alcala, and his liaison received so much publicity that he was forced to leave Cuba with her and establish himself in Mexico. But after a suitable lapse of time he returned to Havana in the hope that his facile pen might be useful to Machado. He placed himself unconditionally at the service of the Cuban dictator, from whom he received ample remuneration.

The Franco rebellion caught him in Madrid. Obviously the Spanish capital was not the safest place for a man who had betrayed all his liberal friends and had long since lost the respect of those who were organizing the defense of the capital. But in those days the Giral government was too deeply involved in the immediate task of limiting the area of the rebellion to exercise very close control over minor government appointments. Taking advantage of this situation, Aznar succeeded in selling the local Madrid authorities, who were not very well informed about world affairs, the idea that his international connections made him the ideal negotiator to smooth out differences created by the war between the Spanish government and certain foreign concerns with financial interests in Spain. He got the job and obtained his papers to leave Loyalist territory for France. But instead of returning with the reply of the foreign companies he dallied in France to see how things would shape up. When the big rebel drive against Madrid started and the Republic appeared doomed, Aznar started for Spain. But on the way he made a "mistake" in his route, and instead of returning to Madrid to help in the defense of the capital he landed in Burgos! Franco immediately clapped him in jail, but a short time later the rebel leader decided that, with most of the best Spanish writers on the side of the Republic, he could well utilize the flexible talents of Manuel Aznar. Aznar promptly became Franco's leading propagandist and is today the one truly able journalist of the fascist regime. He has written innumerable articles for *Arriba* and *Alcázar*, both Falangist papers, several of which have received the dubious honor of being reprinted in the German press.

Aznar was of course one of the first men in the Franco camp to perceive that Germany was losing this war, and at once he started a subtle campaign to win American support. That his activities have borne some fruit is indicated by the fact that Karl von Weigand of the Hearst press recently described him in glowing terms as "a great admirer of America."

In the interest of democratic self-preservation alone the United States should have barred the entry, under diplomatic cover, of this notorious Falangist agent; in the complicated social milieu of Washington a man of his daring and suppleness can, to say the least, play a disturbing role. Now that Aznar's arrival is imminent, we can only hope that the day may not be far off when a change of policy toward Spain will relieve the American people of the presence of such "friends" of the United States.

# No Shortage of Hogs

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, April 6*

**W**HATEVER the truth about the meat situation, this country suffers from no shortage of hogs, especially in the food and textile industries. Relief for liberated Europe, as I indicated in last week's letter, is not held up by the UNRRA's minor political troubles but by the difficulty of mobilizing these industries to feed and clothe our allies. Food and textiles escaped effective mobilization for war and essential civilian needs. It is unlikely that after V-E Day they can be mobilized effectively for relief to Europe. But whatever little we can do will help. Something can be accomplished if labor unions and other progressive organizations bring the essential facts to public notice and press Congress, the War Production Board, the War Food Administration, and the Office of Price Administration to act.

So far the WPB, the WFA, and the OPA have failed to provide even the home market during the war with adequate food and clothing at a fair price. All three are dominated by business men from the industries they are supposed to control. It would be untrue and unfair to enter a blanket indictment of all of them; many have shown considerable public spirit and willingness to rise above business considerations and personal interest. But the best of them have been much too weak in dealing with their old friends and associates. "They rape awful easy." Nor would it be true to say that there are not genuine grievances in these industries, and perhaps some few producers who cannot make both ends meet. But behind most of the squeals with which food and textile representatives have recently filled the halls of Congress is mere porcine resentment because somebody else is getting a little more swill.

I have before me as I write a release from the American Wool Council. The council objects to M-388, a belated and inadequate WPB order designed—ever so gently—to force the textile industry to produce a little more low-cost clothing. The council says M-388 is not an emergency measure at all but a "warmed-over" plan rejected in 1943. The council helpfully reveals for the first time that Richard N. Johnson, chief of the consumer-goods division of the WPB, prepared a plan in 1943 to ease the shortage of low-cost clothing. The plan was of course rejected. It would have cut into profits by channeling mill output into lower-cost fabrics and end-products into lower-price items. The Wool Council is exposing itself, not M-388. For if the textile crowd hadn't objected to the kind of supervision envisaged in the Johnson plan, the present emergency would not have arisen. The fact is that present textile problems were foreseen by Robert R. Guthrie of the WPB shortly after Pearl Harbor. Guthrie was then in charge of textiles, and he was fired by Donald M. Nelson for his courage. Some of the very dollar-a-year men to whom Guthrie boldly objected; though himself a business man, are still in the textile division, some fumbling, some sabotaging, the public interest.

The hearings before the reactionary Smith committee on food and textiles have been unintentionally illuminating. One bit of testimony graphically indicates the attitude of mind with which we have to deal. One textile manufacturer who makes quality fabrics was asked whether it was not true that "physically the looms in the plant could be used for the manufacture of low-priced clothing." "A loom," he answered, "whether it is in our mill or in anyone else's mill, will still weave cloth, but the structure of a business must be taken into consideration." It is the "structure" of the business rather than of human beings that is the first consideration. In the depression of the early '30's these manufacturers found it possible to turn out lower-price, lower-quality goods. They do not want to give up their lush war-time market for higher-price garments. Just how lush that market is may be seen from the fact that last year's textile earnings before taxes ran close to \$400,000,000, as compared to an annual average of \$28,000,000 from 1936 to 1939.

In addition to their abnormal war profits, both food and textiles last year enjoyed special "windfall" profits. Under the Bankhead amendment to protect "parity" prices on cotton, and under some very queer accounting methods, the mills last year averaged a profit of about three cents a pound on the cotton they used; in other words, they were allowed parity prices on cotton but bought it for three cents a pound less. The net windfall from this source, after all adjustments, is estimated at \$60,000,000 during 1944. The profits of the meat packers last year were seven times as great as their annual average profits from 1936 to 1939. Of their \$162,000,000 in profits last year, a large portion is due to a "windfall" like that in cotton. They were given a rollback subsidy on the basis of a price of \$15 a hundred for hogs, but the actual market price averaged about \$12.50. During the current clamor, because of seasonal tightness in the livestock market, they have been granted additional increases: a subsidy of an extra \$1 per hundred pounds on beef, elimination of the discount of 75 cents a hundred pounds formerly granted the army on carload-lot purchases of pork products. The new increases will guarantee profits of about \$150,000,000 a year even if the price of livestock remains at current levels. While the big packers were getting these increases, the small, non-processing slaughterers were cut back by the OPA. These independents had been given an 80-cents-a-hundred differential on beef; this was cut to 30 cents.

The top executives of the OPA seem to be engaged in a terrific battle to hold down the cost of living, but these recent increases and current undercover compromises on the textile pricing program lead one to suspect that the hand is quicker than the eye. The new meat increases were made without submitting them to lower-level officials in operating divisions and without any real cost reports from the packers. I suspect that this is not unconnected with the resignation of one of the ablest and most devoted public servants the New

Deal brought to Washington—Richard Gilbert, chief economic adviser to the OPA. Gilbert, who formerly taught economics at Harvard and the Fletcher School, has been a key official in price regulation since the Defense Commission was established in May, 1940. He was the target of attack by William P. Jacobs, capital lobbyist for textile interests, and his resignation was requested by OPA Administrator Chester Bowles. Another able and hard-working New Dealer, Thomas I. Emerson, who was deputy administrator for enforcement, recently resigned in disgust and went to the Office of Economic Stabilization. These resignations are indicative.

"What actually is going on among textile manufacturers," James B. Carey of the C. I. O. told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee last year, "is exactly equivalent to a strike which, if engaged in by labor, would be loudly and properly condemned during war time. These manufacturers cut their output of the low-cost, less profitable items, demand higher price ceilings, finally get the higher ceilings, and still refuse to produce what is needed." It will take a lot of public pressure to hold them back from all-out production of higher-cost items after V-E Day. The situation in food is more serious and more sinister. As recently as last December War Food Administrator Marvin Jones told the White House there was no need for rationing. Jones did resist pressure to cut food-production goals for this year as sharply as the farm-and-food bloc wanted, but the consumer-conscious

and well-informed C. I. O. *Automobile Worker* charges that much of the present food stringency "was planned by the War Food's production plans of two years ago." As I indicated last week, the big food interests want to end the war with bare shelves—and high prices.

Donald Montgomery, formerly of the Department of Agriculture, now the driving force of the C. I. O. Cost of Living Committee, last week sent a letter to Senator Elmer Thomas and Congressman Clinton Anderson, challenging Congress to investigate War Food Administration policy. Montgomery is prepared to prove that WFA policy "has been dictated more by a desire to protect the monetary value of food stocks . . . and the profits of food industries . . . than to protect the food needs of the people." The WFA has sought to distract popular resentment from itself by spreading the impression that food is short because of exports for relief. That was the effect of the action taken by Byrnes in naming the new food-export control committee under Leo T. Crowley. This was represented in Congress as a bold step to protect American supplies from being sent abroad. The truth is that pitifully little of our food has gone abroad except to our own armed forces, and that we can have plenty both for ourselves and for liberated Europe any time we muster the gumption to make the farm bloc and the food processors behave. Many will die in liberated Europe this winter of cold and hunger if we fail.

## The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE disintegration of the German armies in the west continues apace. The Allies took 300,000 prisoners in the first fortnight of the massive clean-up operation east of the Rhine, 180,000 of these in the first six days of April. During the latter period the enemy lost about 25,000 in killed and wounded. This proportion of seven men surrendering for every man knocked physically out of action is a significant index of the scope of the German breakdown; it shows clearly that organized resistance on a large scale is rapidly drawing to an end, and that a period of small-scale, desperate resistance by uncoordinated units is about to set in.

For the dual purpose of doing honor to the Allied fighting team and of preventing the post-war rise of Nazi mythology about another "stab in the back," it cannot be emphasized too often that the Germans in the west have been defeated by superb generalship, superior fighting skill, and extraordinary logistic achievements. Our numerical superiority in the air, in artillery, and in ground troops has not been marked enough by itself to bring about the terrible German débâcle of the past two months between the Roer and the Weser. A half-million prisoners are taken in such a period and under such conditions only when the attacking generals have planned brilliantly, employ surprise, change pace and direction quickly, and have enough confidence in their troops and supply columns to order bold flanking movements, encirclements, and long advances. These attributes have been

displayed on every Allied army front in the past weeks.

Some of the best recent footwork has shown up on the northern front since the Twenty-first Army Group has been freed from the onerous task of reducing the big Ruhr pocket, where the Germans still fight hard among the slag heaps and industrial ruins. British and Canadian columns have fanned out into Holland and the Westphalian plain—toward the German North Sea ports—with a disregard for the absolute security of their flanks not always typical of Marshal Montgomery. To my total lack of surprise, the British Seventh Armored Division, of which I once had the honor of being a member, has been leading the race to Bremen. As always in its long and distinguished history, these original Desert Rats are paced by the Eleventh Hussars, which I should guess is the best armored-car regiment in the world. Something of the quality of this division may be judged from the history of the Alamein break-through. That break-through came at the northern hinge of the front, next to the sea, at a time when the Seventh was just back of the line in the south, where General Montgomery had specifically ordered it "not to be destroyed." The division moved forty miles north on the day of the break-through, crossing laterally the forward movement of the entire Eighth Army, and next day was racing down the coast road toward Tobruk in advance of everyone. It led the way half across Africa; the Eleventh Hussars were first into Tobruk, Benghazi, Tripoli;

and when the division was shifted to the First Army front to spearhead the surprise attack which crumbled the Germans before Tunis, the Hussars beat everyone to the City Hall. I suspect that the Hussars will get a reconnaissance patrol first into Berlin, if they have to go A. W. O. L. from their own army and join Patton's to do it.

This thrust toward Bremen may be intended to nip possible German schemes for a stand in northern Germany which would match the widely advertised stand in the south. Saturday's Allied bombing pattern shows a suggestive concentration in this northern area—rail junctions, airfields, and ordnance stores inside the quadrilateral bounded by Bremen, Kiel, Rostock, and Neustrelitz. Montgomery may well continue through or past Bremen to Hamburg and the lower Elbe, getting in position to swing on Berlin from the northwest. Judging from the heavy week-end counter-attacks east of Kassel, the enemy now fears Patton's direct advance on Leipzig most. It is difficult to find coherence in the present German defense plans, but they seem to call for a concentration of effort to prevent Patton from linking with the Russians about Dresden, which would prevent the troops holding the Oder from getting away to the south. Thus Montgomery may find the going easier than the Americans.

The continued toughness of German resistance still farther south, protecting Stuttgart and Nürnberg, provides additional evidence. The violent battle for Vienna is directly linked with the fighting in the west: if the Russians clear Vienna quickly, they could drive up the Danube valley toward a junction with Patch's Seventh Army in the Regensburg region, throwing another barrier across the German retreat to the "national redoubt." In both east and west, then, the fighting in the south is of greater long-term importance than that in the north.

Further supporting evidence of the importance of the south comes from Veritas, the excellent military writer for the *Sunday Times* of London, who quotes a Swiss description of the Nazis' preparations for defense in the Berchtesgaden region: "The fact that the small mountain lakes which abound in the district and the shafts of former salt mines . . . have been so cleverly utilized, that almost impassable mountain ridges have been incorporated into a system of fortifications, and that machine-gun nests, flak positions, and solid bunkers have been built in the passes, lends support to the belief that this romantic dream is meant to be taken seriously, and that German thoroughness has here once more been employed with a fantastic goal in view. . . . Gigantic depots of war materials, ammunition chambers, and repair workshops have been installed in the caves of the Königsee. . . . Factories have been built for producing war materials. . . . Subterranean airfields and hangars have been built . . . grain and potatoes have been accumulated."

As Veritas says, all this is military nonsense, which can delay but not compromise total Allied victory. The reason is strictly political: to create chaos and disorder in the wrecked towns of Germany, so as to make the Allied task as difficult as possible and to add to the Nazi mythology another chapter—"at least they were efficient; they gave us bread and houses." Hence the political reasons for forestalling a protracted German stand in the south are even more compelling than the military reasons.

## 10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

MORE THAN A WEEK has passed since Hitler's unilateral action on German rearmament was first announced to a panicky world. Much has occurred during this period. England, France, Austria, and Czechoslovakia have taken steps to strengthen their defenses against the menace of a rearmed Germany. Mussolini has increased his standing army until it is almost as large as that proposed by Hitler. The Soviet Union has announced that if war must come it is ready to meet the steel of the German invader. France and Italy have protested against the violation—of the Versailles treaty. . . . But apart from an encouraging evidence of unity of action, the powers appear as uncertain how best to meet Hitler's bold challenge as they were on the day of its announcement. . . . War, if it is to come within the next year, will be the result of a series of diplomatic blunders rather than the outcome of the deliberate will of any nation.—*April 3, 1935.*

THE EFFECT of the war scare on Washington has been to spur the formulation of a new doctrine of neutrality. Army and navy sentiment at present favors the complete abandonment of the freedom of the seas and the withdrawal of all protection of war-time trade under the American flag. This is isolationism carried to its logical finality.—*April 3, 1935.*

THE COURTS, the cops, and all the agencies of government are supposedly neutral during strike activities. But it is at best the neutrality of a Pilate of Judea. The police will stay out of the picture only if the armed guards and thugs of the company concerned can carry on the terror for themselves. By some most curious misapprehension "strike violence" in the public mind is associated with the acts of the workers. But even the most casual inquiry will show that in the vast majority of cases violence is begun by the employer and carried out by him to the bitter end.—HEYWOOD BROWN, *April 3, 1935.*

ALMOST UNNOTICED in the flurry of excitement over Europe, the Abyssinian crisis has drifted from bad to worse. With one eye on Germany and the other on Abyssinia, Mussolini has mobilized an army of nearly 600,000 men in addition to the two divisions recently dispatched to Africa. . . . Emperor Haile Selassie has moved 100,000 of his troops into a position to check the threatened Italian advance.—*April 17, 1935.*

NOT SINCE LAUSANNE has an international conference ended upon a note of general optimism such as was in evidence at Stresa. This was perhaps due more to surprise that any progress could be made than to specific achievements. . . . On the chief problem facing Europe at present—the discovery of a technique for enforcing collective security—the conference made no final decisions.—*April 24, 1935.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: William Faulkner, "Pylon"; F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Taps at Reveille"; Hugh S. Johnson, "The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth"; Marianne Moore, "Selected Poems," with an introduction by T. S. Eliot.

# England and the Pacific War

BY JOE FROMM

THE official announcement of British naval participation in the pre-invasion bombardment of the Ryukyu Islands is encouraging news, for a group of top-ranking officers in the American navy have been trying to exclude the British from the Pacific. It is an open secret in diplomatic circles that one of the United States delegates to the Quebec conference last September proposed that the Pacific campaign be almost wholly an American undertaking and that the British navy be confined to the Indian Ocean or at most be assigned a decidedly minor role in the Pacific. The American naval delegate was, happily, ruled out of order, and President Roosevelt assured Prime Minister Churchill that "we will continue side by side across the Pacific until Japan surrenders."

The fairly important part played by a task force of the British Pacific fleet in the assault on the Ryukyus suggests that the policy enunciated at Quebec has prevailed. But there is ample evidence that a substantial number of American officers still disapprove. Their spokesmen insist that the objections of this dissident group are based entirely on technical considerations. Hanson W. Baldwin, the *New York Times* military commentator, has argued, for example, that Pearl Harbor "already is overcrowded and would be faced with a major problem if it suddenly had to maintain another great naval task force composed of ships differing in gun calibers and characteristics from our own and manned by crews who speak a different type of naval language and have different customs, routines, and procedures." The success of the Ryukyu operation should effectively answer this argument, but the Associated Press dispatch reporting the bombardment made a cryptic statement that was somewhat disquieting. Bearing a Guam date line and obviously reflecting the views of naval officials there, the dispatch contained this sentence: "Disregarding the question whether British and American ships are technically able to operate side by side, British carriers are fully prepared to operate as a completely independent task force." Clearly the technical difficulty of joint operations is an argument that continues to influence naval planning in the Pacific.

However, the real explanation of the agitation for an exclusively American war in the Pacific can probably be found in the deep-seated Anglophobia that seems to be one of the less admirable traditions of the American navy. Hanson Baldwin himself, after emphasizing the technical difficulties of combined naval operations, concedes that the same people who shouted a short time ago that the British would never help us in the Pacific are now whispering, "The British will insist on coming in at the kill in the Pacific for prestige and political reasons." And less than a week after the British were compelled to beg for a larger role in the Pacific war, Lieutenant Commander C. Ray Robinson, former legal adviser to Admiral Halsey, made the categorical statement, "I'm

certain that we will get nothing from the British except what we have been getting."

This anti-British attitude might, of course, seriously impair the teamwork of the two navies. It is certainly being exploited by the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst press and other American chauvinists to foment discord between the Allies and to serve their own imperialist ends. For months the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst papers have been screaming that the British are letting America hold the bag in the Pacific, that they refuse to bear their share of the burden in the war against Japan. A few weeks before the Quebec conference the *Chicago Tribune* said editorially: "The British, many of whose possessions we have reconquered from the Japs, have contributed so little to the fighting in the Pacific that it would be a mockery for their chief of state to sit in on a mid-Pacific war conference. Apparently they do not intend to become active in the Japanese war for some time." And it still followed this line after the disclosure that the British, far from stinting on their obligations, actually were demanding a greater share in the Pacific war.

To substantiate the argument that the United States is winning the war in the Pacific single-handed, the formerly isolationist press indulges in outright distortion of the facts. "The Japanese war is almost exclusively an American show," said the *Tribune*, whereas actually the Australians did a very substantial share of the fighting in the "island-hopping" campaign. In analyzing the New Guinea campaign Colonel McCormick did not once mention the Australian troops. Yet the Australians fought the battle of the Owen Stanley Mountains with the aid of a single American regiment, all land fighting at Milne Bay was done by Australians, and for every American who fought in the Buna-Gona battle there were three Australians. Furthermore, when American forces invaded Leyte, the task of cleaning out 90,000 Japanese left isolated in the islands to the east was handed over to the Australians. In view of the heroic joint fight waged by Australian and American forces in the Pacific, it seems almost indecent to exaggerate the achievements of either nation.

Having created the illusion that America is defeating Japan single-handed and that the British are unwilling to do their share of the fighting, the imperialists find it an easy step to the cry, "Will Britain continue to own and rule islands bought with American blood, vital to American defense?" This is not a parody of their words. It is an exact quotation from Hearst's *Chicago Herald and American*. It may not be honest journalism, but it is smart imperialism. Everything fits neatly into the imperialist scheme: keep the British out of the Pacific, then accuse them of bad faith for failing to do their share of the fighting, cry that American blood is being spilled to reconquer British possessions, and

finally demand that America keep the islands as defense bases. This cunning campaign was advanced to its final stage when ex-Representative Melvin Maas demanded that the United States annex the Pacific islands now under Australian administration.

Admiral Ernest J. King, commander-in-chief of the United States fleet, himself contributed incalculable support to this gang of empire-seekers when he declared that the United States must keep the bases in the Pacific from which the Japanese have been ousted. In saying that we must do this to be safe from future aggression, King paralleled the line pursued by the McCormick-Hearst-Patterson press.

Of course, Britain's desire for a larger share in the Pacific war is inspired by more than an unselfish wish to share the cost of victory over Japan. Britain has an empire at stake in the Far East and realizes that it must play a major role in the Pacific war if it is to establish its imperialist claims. To those who are willing to examine the facts objectively it seems plain that the age of imperialism is passing, that the peoples of India, Burma, Malaya, French Indo-China, the

Dutch and Japanese colonies, and all the other subject lands are emerging from the war with a new spirit of independence. But while the final political settlement in the East is of utmost importance, neither politics nor personal animosities nor intolerance should be permitted to delay the victory over Japan. The only relevant question is this: Will British fleet cooperation hasten the victory and reduce the cost in American lives? The answer obviously is in the affirmative.

The fact that a British task force has been permitted to take part in one action in the Pacific will not wipe out the navy's prejudice against the British or deprive our native imperialists of their chief source of ammunition. High policy calls for full British naval participation in the war against the Japanese, but high policy could be circumvented at a lower level. If this should happen, that is, if anti-British elements in the American navy were allowed to influence tactical planning or jeopardize relations between American and British naval units, our navy would inadvertently be playing into the hands of chauvinists who value American lives less than the profits of an American empire.

## *Fair Employment State by State*

BY WILL MASLOW

**S**PURRED by the example of New York, a dozen Northern states are now seriously considering bills for state Fair Employment Practice Commissions. The chances for the enactment of strong, comprehensive measures seem excellent in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey; good in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Not since the Civil War has there been so much local interest in preventing racial or religious discrimination in employment: forty-nine different bills have been introduced in twenty states this year.

The impetus for this legislation comes from no central source, although the C. I. O., the American Jewish Congress, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are circulating and pushing "model" bills. In six states—Kansas, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, California, New Jersey, and West Virginia—state FEPC bills were introduced by Negro members of the legislature. In almost every state they have been indorsed by Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and Negro leaders, by state A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, and by influential civic organizations.

The absence of a central organizing source is revealed in the multiplicity of bills. In Massachusetts seven different bills have been introduced; in Pennsylvania, five; in Rhode Island, five; in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Ohio, three each. The resultant confusion has threatened to block action. In Massachusetts, however, the various sponsoring groups have withdrawn their competing measures and joined in supporting a new bill modeled upon the New York law. In Pennsylvania the most dramatic feature of the recent legislative hearing was the public withdrawal of three of the bills by their legislative sponsors in favor of the Brown bill.

Except in New York, all the bills started off inauspiciously. Only one governor, Dewey of New York, urged such legislation in his annual message. Governor Warren of California in his report to the legislature merely suggested the creation of a commission to investigate the necessity for an anti-discrimination law. Governor Lausche of Ohio asked for a non-salaried committee without coercive powers to develop an anti-discrimination program. The other governors were silent.

But after New York showed the way, interest in the bills revived among its neighbors, and hearings before legislative committees were held in nine states. A tremendous backing for these hearings developed, and anti-discrimination bills became top legislative business. Soon Governors Tobin of Massachusetts, Edge of New Jersey, and Martin of Pennsylvania were indorsing them.

Besides New York, Indiana has already enacted an anti-discrimination statute. But while the New York law has enforcement powers, the Indiana law limits the State Commissioner of Labor to the investigation and study of discrimination in employment and to recommending remedial legislation. Only \$30,000 has been appropriated for the next two years for the Commissioner's investigations. The Indiana measure, with its emphasis upon persuasion, education, publicity, and other non-coercive techniques, follows closely the Taft bill (S. 459) now pending in the United States Senate.

Anti-discrimination bills fall into two general categories—those creating a state Fair Employment Practice Commission and those which confer additional powers upon an existing state agency. Most of the proposed commissions are to consist of five full-time salaried members, although some

bills provide only for a full-time chairman, with other members paid on a *per diem* basis. Where no separate agency is created, the new duties are imposed upon the state Commissioner of Labor, the state Industrial Commissioner, the state Labor Relations Board, or the state Commissioner of Education.

With few exceptions the various bills forbid discrimination in employment and union membership because of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry. Some are applicable, in addition, to employment agencies and agencies of state government. Generally the bills prohibit not only unequal treatment in hire, discharge, promotion, wages, or any other condition of employment but also discriminatory help-wanted "ads" or employment application forms. Unions are forbidden to deny full membership rights or otherwise to discriminate against any member. Many state bills copy the New York law in forbidding any person to coerce an employer into violating the law or to aid in its violation.

The enforcement procedure, substantially the same in most of the bills, is based upon the National Labor Relations Act. Provision is made for the filing of charges, their investigation and screening, with a public hearing for those which seem valid but cannot be adjusted by informal methods. The state agency is empowered after such hearing to make findings of fact and to issue cease-and-desist orders whenever it finds a violation. Such orders may enjoin future violations and also direct affirmative relief, such as back pay for those discriminated against, reinstatement, or even hiring. These administrative orders are enforceable by the state courts, violation of whose decrees is made a contempt of court. Some bills also provide an alternative criminal penalty.

Most of the bills follow the New York law in exempting employers of five persons or fewer, and social, fraternal, charitable, educational, and religious associations; some exclude, in addition, small farmers.

Noteworthy is the emphasis placed in many of these bills on educational programs as a complement to prosecution. The New York law empowers the Commission Against Discrimination to create an advisory agency to prepare an educational program which may be recommended to the appropriate state agency. Many of the other bills direct the commission itself, in cooperation with appropriate state authorities, to adopt an educational program to teach racial tolerance. The Brown bill in Pennsylvania even empowers the state commission to accept private contributions of money for this purpose.

Segregation either in employment or in union membership is specifically forbidden in many of the bills. Thus the Conroy bill in Connecticut declares that "segregation shall be deemed to be discrimination." The California bill prohibits unions from providing "second-class or segregated membership," and the Illinois bill outlaws "auxiliary unions based solely upon race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry." A similar provision was contained in the Kansas bill.

Advanced thinking is exhibited in the provisions for judicial review of the orders of the proposed state commissions. Most of the bills adopt the federal "substantial-evidence" rule—namely, that the findings of the regulatory commission as to the facts are to be conclusive with the reviewing

courts if supported by substantial evidence. One variant is the administration-backed bill in New Jersey, which makes the findings conclusive unless "it clearly appears that there was no evidence . . . to support the same reasonably." The rival Howell bill in New Jersey goes even farther, making the findings of fact conclusive "in the absence of fraud." The Wrenn bill in Rhode Island makes the orders of the commission final unless the respondent appeals.

No state law can of course be effective without an adequate appropriation. In New York it is reported that \$250,000 will be allocated to the new Commission Against Discrimination. The bills in other states are much less generous, providing appropriations of \$100,000 in Illinois and Ohio, \$50,000 in New Jersey, \$25,000 in Rhode Island, and only \$10,000 in Wisconsin.

In only one Southern state, Texas, has an anti-discrimination bill been introduced, and there the protection of the measure was in effect limited to persons of Mexican or Latin American origin. The employment provisions of the bill were struck out in committee, leaving only those sections forbidding discrimination against customers in places of public accommodation. Bills in the border states of Maryland, Kansas, and West Virginia have been killed.

In the state of Washington a bill was passed in the House and killed in the Senate. In California the bill was reported adversely in committee by a close vote, but a movement has developed to bring it out on the floor. Bills have been introduced in Colorado, New Mexico, and Minnesota, in addition to the states already named.

Organized opposition has been confined to chambers of commerce and employer associations. These bodies, while advocating the ideal of equality of opportunity, have urged a preliminary state-wide referendum, or that no action be taken until the New York law has been tried out, or that a legislative commission be created to study the problem, or that state action is unnecessary because of the imminence of federal legislation.

Proponents have steadfastly resisted all dilatory tactics. They have contended that federal legislation is by no means certain and in any event will be limited to matters affecting interstate commerce. They have also pointed to the example of the New York legislature, which after adopting the Ives-Quinn law, memorialized Congress to enact a federal law. Whenever it has been urged that prejudice could not be wiped out by legislation, anti-bias groups have retorted that they were attacking not prejudice, which is an attitude of mind, but discrimination, which affects pay envelopes. The advocates of State FEPC's are fighting hard, for most legislatures will recess shortly, not to reconvene until the next biennial session in January, 1947. They realize that the outlook for legislative intervention against discriminatory employment practices is better now than ever before, and they are urging swift, concerted action.

In Congress the Norton bill, reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor, is waiting for a special order of business from the Rules Committee which will bring the bill up for debate in the House. Senate hearings have been completed on the Chavez bill, sponsored by a bi-partisan group of seven Senators, with not one witness testifying in opposition.

# Italy's Children

BY GENE REA

*Naples, March 1*

**T**OMORROW'S Europe will be built by the children of today. And the conditions under which children are now living in the devastated countries of this war-torn continent do not augur a too happy future. The war has done a thorough job of disrupting civilian life; the children have been its most tragic victims.

In Italy hundreds of thousands of children were caught in the backwash of war. You see them wandering about everywhere, on the roads and in the cities and the fields. The Italian government has attempted to register them, and the Allied Military Government, the Control Commission, and the Vatican have also tried to do something about them, but not much has been accomplished. Many children eluded the police, liking to go their own way rather than to be confined to an institution. Others joined bands of adults, often not of their own families, and traveled with them. Hundreds of youngsters were "adopted" by our soldiers as mascots and went to the front with them. As a result only about 50,000 children were rounded up by the church and the Italian government and placed in orphanages, though it is estimated that there are 300,000 whose parents were killed in the war or cannot be found.

Two boys recently wandered into Ponte Corvo, a town where formerly twelve thousand persons lived, now razed to the ground. They were perhaps eight and ten years old, mere skeletons and shivering in their rags. A nun who saw them took them to the Institute of Child Care and started an inquiry to find their people. No one knew them, and they remembered nothing of their home. The doctor who examined them said they had probably been wandering for months. Their minds were a blank. There are literally tens of thousands of such cases in Italy today.

Even the orphanages are so short of supplies that the children more often than not have no shoes to wear, few clothes, and hardly decent sleeping quarters. One orphanage in the Rome area now taking care of sixty-nine children uses beds made of burlap bags stuffed with straw from the fields. Blankets are patched pieces of old cloth. For breakfast the children have warm water flavored with a small quantity of milk or tea and a very thin slice of bread brought to them by the nuns or Red Cross sisters. They remain in bed until ten and then are given some elementary school lessons. Lunch is frequently skipped, and dinner consists of a mixed soup and another thin slice of bread. Then the children are put to bed again.

Orphanages in the Abruzzi area, in the Neapolitan campagna, and in other outlying districts are worse off than those with easier access to the main terminals. But though physical conditions are bad, the children intrusted to the care of nuns or the Red Cross benefit from some kind of discipline and have a feeling of home.

The school system has not been functioning for four years.

Children who should have started their education at six or seven years haven't seen a book at ten. If they are not orphans, their parents are destitute; and the children have become beggars, thieves, shoe-shine boys, or procurers. Girls as well as boys start smoking when they are about seven or eight years old.

Late one evening a social worker noticed three ten-year-old girls, made up with lipstick and rouge, brazenly asking soldiers for cigarettes along Rome's Via Vittorio Veneto. She spoke to one and tried to find out whether she had any parents and what she was doing on the streets at such a late hour. The girl puffed smoke into the woman's face, told her to mind her own business, and asked her if she wanted a date with an American soldier. Her companions laughed, and the woman had to walk on.

Of all Italian cities Naples has seen the greatest rise in juvenile delinquency. When the Allies began using it as their main operating base, the children started a crime wave that has still to be checked. They have become the most skilful pickpockets in the world. Hundreds of cases are reported daily to the police, and thousands of others go unreported. They brush against you, apparently with their hands in their pockets, ask for a cigarette of a caramella, and then disappear. When you look for your wallet, it is gone. At street corners where trucks and other vehicles must stop for traffic, one or two of them will attract the attention of the driver, while the others ransack the truck. Tires have been taken from cars while the occupants sat nonchalantly in their seats.

When law and order are once more established in Italy, this crime wave can probably be controlled, but law and order will not be able to rebuild the starved bodies of these youngsters or eradicate the germs in their blood streams. Malaria, tuberculosis, and typhus are spreading havoc in their weakened bodies, despite the heroic efforts of the Allied medical corps, aided by the Vatican and the Italian government, whose health measures are unfortunately entirely inadequate. In the Liri Valley, which has a population of about half a million, malaria used to be almost unknown; 75 per cent of the people are now suffering from it. A blood test of two thousand children showed malaria in 99 per cent. An emergency distribution of atabrine tablets by the Allies lowered the number of deaths but could not reduce the incidence of the infection.

The highest death rate for children under one year of age throughout Italy was recorded in Naples. Allied official figures differ from those of the Italians. The Allies give the rate as 45 per cent; the Italians as 65 per cent. The main causes of death were malnutrition, tuberculosis, and pneumonia.

With transportation virtually at a standstill, the smaller communities can get almost no medical supplies, whatever the emergency. Few of them have hospitals. When hospitals

exist, most of the equipment is gone and there is no heat. In Rome, which is comparatively untouched by the war, there are hospitals where, when a patient dies, another patient is put in the same bed five minutes later, without the sheets being changed or the bed disinfected.

Doctors have been advised to care for the children first because the future of the nation depends on them. But there is a terrible dearth of doctors in Italy, as in every war-devastated country of Europe. Some communes are lucky to have a doctor living thirty or forty miles away. There may be only one doctor for ten or twenty thousand people, spread over a wide area. As a result, children and adults go without proper examinations and medical care.

In the Liri Valley and northward, where the war raged in all its fury, human beings live like animals. In the fall children go through the fields trying to dig up a few vegetable roots that have been left in the soil. Or they pick up the chestnuts and walnuts and bring them home to live on during the winter months. In the spring and summer they work in the fields from dawn to sundown. Many of them, less cautious than their elders, are blown to bits by unexploded mines.

Attempts have been made to reopen the schools. But a trip through Italy shows that only a small percentage of them are able to function, and that in these only a handful of chil-

dren attend classes. The schools have no heat, few books, and inefficient teachers. The children lack shoes and clothes and have been made dull and listless by malnutrition and disease. Their impoverished parents are unable to buy the necessary school materials. Moreover, youngsters who were ten or eleven years old when the war started have "grown out" of being school children. They consider themselves young men and women. Those who are ten or eleven now are reluctant to start learning the same lessons as children four years younger. Many who are mere children in years are in reality men and women, with the full responsibilities of adults. They seek their own food and shelter and are often the main support of aged or destitute parents.

It will take more than a generation to rebuild Italy. It will take decades to reduce the death rate to normal and to wipe out the contagious diseases. If Italy must depend on itself alone to rehabilitate its people, several generations will be lost. The children of Italy look to the outside world for help—to America especially. The world cannot allow the children of Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, the Low Countries, and all Central Europe to become a lost generation. We have spent billions of dollars on destruction; we must spend other billions on rehabilitation. If we allow the children of Europe to grow up in the conditions now prevailing, their sufferings will breed hatred and war.

## Pan-Arabia Deserta

BY HAL LEHRMAN

*Cairo, March 24*

MUSSA EL ALAMI, delegate from Palestine, just stroked his mustache and listened to the guttural Arabic oratory as the microphones halted here and there around the green-baize table. When the ceremonial signing began, nobody handed him a pen. They had tucked his business away in a little protocol behind the twenty-two articles of the covenant of the Pan-Arab League. But that protocol was the hottest page of the document, and Mussa was the real star of the show. For last Thursday, when the ink had dried on the signatures of Egypt, Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon, under the brilliant candelabra of Cairo's Zaafaran Palace, Palestine stood acclaimed as juridically independent in the eyes of thirty million Arabs. Palestine might still be termed a mandate on the dusty ledgers of Geneva, but here it was an Arab state amid Arab equals. Henceforth the delegate of Arab Palestine would sit in the inner councils of the new-born union and speak with full authority for the Holy Land, all of it.

That is the real meaning of the protocol. Discarding legalistic wording, it is a bold stroke in a document which is generally hedging. The next move is up to the other powers, London and Washington particularly. Allah has spoken.

It is significant that among the delegates who made speeches about the majesty of Arab unity, Nuri Said, the former Premier of Iraq, was nowhere to be seen. Long be-

fore even the preliminary pan-Arab talks in Alexandria last fall, Nuri Said had gone into the desert barnstorming for a vast Arab union in which "Greater Syria" would speak with a single voice for Arab Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria, and the Lebanon. This had been the Syria as it existed under the Ottomans, Nuri contended; it should be united again and allied in strength with the Hashimite throne of Bagdad.

Benignly approved in Commons by Anthony Eden, the idea of unity gained ground. But there were obstacles. First the tiny Christian Lebanon, fearful of disappearing in a Moslem sea, threatened to walk out of the preliminary talks last October. A clause in the Alexandria protocols thereupon specifically guaranteed the Lebanon's territorial integrity. Much more important, in distant central Arabia sat mighty Ibn Saud. The Hashimites, whom he had driven with his own hand out of the Hedjaz, still reigned in Iraq and Trans-Jordan. Certainly he was not going to abet the aggrandizement of an enemy house. Not until three months after everybody else had done so, and after many solemn assurances, did Saudi Arabia and its satellite Yemen accept the Alexandria protocols. Out of these protocols, after a long series of meetings, drafts, and redrafts, came this week's pan-Arab constitution. It does not provide for anything so substantial as a Greater Syria. To be sure, the idea is not dead; in fact, rumors say that Nuri Said will head the next Iraqi Cabinet. But for the moment the urge for unity, real

as it undoubtedly is, is not great enough to overcome the inter-Arab rivalries—religious, political, and dynastic—that stand in the way.

Various high personages confessed to me that the key to the document was a compromise. Ambitions and fears alike had to be quenched until a minimum accord could be reached. In its political structure the pact is as weak a vehicle for militant action as can be imagined. It can be modified by a two-thirds' vote, but any member who doesn't like the change can depart forthwith. Action against aggression must have unanimous approval. War between members is forbidden, and an arbitral decision must be accepted, but search high and low and you will not find a whisper of sanctions, their definition or their enforcement.

Neither does the pan-Arab constitution establish the principle of a common foreign policy or even of a common front against imperialism. The covenant carefully states that although a separate pact may be concluded among the members, no pact, present or future, with an outside power can bind the other members. It is quiet recognition that Saudi Arabia is flirting with the Americans; that Egypt, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan are trying to get rid of their obligations to one foreign power and the Lebanon and Syria to another. Each will do its own dickering.

Nevertheless, the Pan-Arab League can hardly be dismissed with a shrug. Its economic and social potentials are undoubtedly big. Our Anglo-American Middle East Supply Center did an excellent job out here inspirationally as well as tangibly. Collaboration among previously uncooperative governments under the guidance of the League Commission now has a model and an organism.

Students and critics of imperialism might well look into the reasons for Britain's apparent insouciance in the face of a growing menace. Of course one's research is limited, since the amiable higher authorities here have the final word and scissors on the subject. But if it is permissible to conjecture—hard facts are perhaps beyond reach because they are concealed in the inner thoughts of persons far away—there emerge certain basic hypotheses.

The first theory is that the powers are not encouraging the Pan-Arab League at all but are working frantically under cover to stymie it. That does not jibe with all the evidence at hand to the contrary. Others say the whole deal is a plot to sabotage Zionism by making it impossible to reach any solution in Palestine except one favorable to the Arabs. That may be, but it would seem to be risking an enormous amount of pain for a minor pleasure. The third school—and here we begin to approach something resembling sound politics—suggests that Britain is making the most of a trend which it would be more dangerous to obstruct than to encourage. According to this reasoning, the Foreign Office has long since decided that the good old days of divide and rule are past. Opposition to Arab union would stimulate it more than mild support. So we will unite and rule, or at least try to, making the best of a poor bargain. The corollary to this is that a strong pan-Arab bloc would discipline itself, pushing recalcitrant member states into line without the need for thankless British intervention.

But there is still another hypothesis, one favored by the cynical set. It goes much farther than the last, which it dis-

misses as wishy-washy and very un-Whitehall. It argues that Britain is heart and soul behind Arab unity, desperately behind it—in a table-stakes game to save its position in the Middle East between Russia and the United States. The Arab world disunited might be easily picked off piece by piece by the Soviets or bought out in a similar fashion by the Americans. The latter fate, it is true, holds no special terrors for the local Arab magnates now in power, but the other possibility would be a catastrophe for them. And neither prospect looks attractive to Britain.

## In the Wind

AN AMG MAN IN AACHEN, questioning civilians about their political beliefs, was assured that they were unanimously anti-Nazi and always had been. "That's strange," he said. "I thought the Nazis had quite a bit of popular support." "Nonsense!" replied the German spokesman. "That's just pluto-democratic Jewish propaganda."

THE MARYLAND HOUSE OF DELEGATES has passed a bill making it illegal to use obscene language over the telephone or to use the telephone for the purpose of making immoral engagements. The bill doesn't say how it is to be enforced.

WANT AD IN the *Minneapolis Tribune* of March 22: "Do you want to contribute to the health and happiness of those who eat downtown? If so, apply for a job in the dishwashing room at Richard's Treat."

A DETROIT REAL-ESTATE FIRM, Horner Warren and Company, ran the following advertisement in Detroit newspapers of March 23: "There's a war on. The last war in your lifetime. Last opportunity to pick up good income property at a price to double your money in the coming post-war boom. Get all the facts and figures from Mr. Bedford."

IN AN EDITORIAL whining about the OPA, the *Marshalltown, Iowa, Times-Republican* of March 27 summed up its argument thus: "One wonders where the salvaged tin to win the war is coming from if the point system makes the purchase of canned goods almost prohibitive."

THE LEGISLATURE OF SASKATCHEWAN has advanced to the second reading a bill amending the Vital Statistics Act to end the practice of putting the word "illegitimate" on the birth certificates of children born out of wedlock.

THE HOLLYWOOD REPORTER of March 13 announces that plans have been approved for a post-war theater in Palm Springs, California, which will contain five hundred rocking chairs with head rests. What, no hot towels?

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## *Censors in the Saddle*

BY ERIC SEVAREID

**A**MONG the miserable legacies this war will leave in many parts of the world is a system of censorship which has become such an intricate, cunning mechanism, such a deeply ingrained habit of the official mind that free journalists are now confronted with the most exhausting obstacle course the profession has known in decades.

At the moment Kent Cooper, Harold Stassen, Archibald MacLeish, and others are trying to persuade the world's statesmen to build into the future international edifice a corner stone labeled "guaranty of a free press and free communication of news between nations." I do not believe I am unduly impressed with the importance of my own profession if I say that unless this stone is placed in the foundations, the whole structure may crumble. In the last two or three years I have seen, at close range, overweening censorship become the direct cause of serious breakdowns in people's trust in their leaders and in trust between nations. In the brief space here available let me take you on a short tour of the international obstacle course. I will leave out actual army censorship, despite the fantastically wide interpretations of "military security" made by so many uniformed censors and despite the many sycophantic public-relations officers surrounding individual generals who make it so hard for honest reporters—obliged to live with them and procure food, lodging, and transport from them—to tell a realistic story of the generals, their outfits, and the fighting itself.

At the time Madame Chiang Kai-shek was mesmerizing the American Congress and public I went to China at the behest, in part, of some important gentlemen in Washington who said, "For heaven's sake try to tell the public the true story of China at war. Unless we can get the truth out, bit by bit, there's bound to come a great shock to the public; they will feel bitter; they will feel they have been lied to, and that will make it much harder to help organize China for the coming war on its soil."

I stopped off in New Delhi on the way. British and American military censors would pass no copy describing the amazing social life that went on in this headquarters town—"because we would be criticized." Full reporting of India's political problem was out of the question. To try it meant distressing personal quarrels with petulant civil officials who fumed and bridled over every line of one's copy. I found they took their politics very personally in India. One Brigadier Jehu, the press chief, since sacked by Mountbatten, saw that no invitations to press conferences or cocktail parties went out to pro-Nehru correspondents. American military offices turned over to the British all American dispatches which dealt with British or Indian affairs in any degree. The American public has lost all interest in the affairs of India—which is what officialdom was aiming for—partly because nobody has been able to tell the whole truth about India.

I knew from my experience in London that the people of

the British Isles had always had a generous, full account of America's part in the war. In India, however, it was deliberately played down. American victories became "Allied" victories in the headlines, and events such as a Harlem race riot received top billing. Reuter's enjoyed a virtual monopoly as the news service for India, and the situation was so bad that Elmer Davis, I am told, finally had to protest to Halifax. I'm talking only about British India, mind you, not about Britain. The London censorship has always been as fair and free as any in the world. And in all fairness, I must add that the purely military censorship in India, since Mountbatten's arrival, is vastly improved.

Then I discovered that the hand of the New Delhi censor was on my shoulder even after leaving India. By arrangement with the American military in Chungking any copy by any American reporter which dealt with far-off India had to be given to British officers in Chungking for approval. If you went back to New Delhi and wrote about China, your stuff had to be passed by the Chinese commissioner there.

I hardly need tell you that the Chinese censorship in Chungking is quite ruthless. Most of our people, including Ambassador Gauss and General Stilwell, were desperately anxious to have the truth of their heartbreaking problems told the public at home. But not even they could beat the system. A surprise to me, however, was the list of "censorship topics" concocted by Colonel Mason Wright, the P. R. O., and Lieutenant Colonel "Young Joe" Stilwell, and presented to all war correspondents upon arrival in Chungking. It included "anything tending to embarrass us in the sight of our allies"—a standard monstrosity in many war theaters—and, so help me, "anything critical of War Department policy." In so many words.

I returned to Washington feeling that there at least I could get my articles passed. I stopped in Cairo and discovered the neat little system of interlocking agreements between governments working without a hitch. Whether you wrote about Egypt or Yugoslavia or Greece or Syria, your material would be passed around to all the interested officials for everyone to get in his whack with the blue pencil. Naturally the full story about the "mutiny" of left-wing Greek soldiers in Egypt did not get out. The detailed story of British plans for Greece was not related, day by day, step by step, during that period; so of course the world was confused and bewildered when the lid blew off in Athens last fall. General Wilson, despite Kent Cooper's protest, refused for a long time to let reporters visit Yugoslavia; so of course the world was surprised at the disappearance of Mihailovich and the emergence of Tito as the dominant figure.

In Washington I presented for censorship a long, carefully documented account of China at war, written, I thought, with full sympathy for a nation I much admired. The War Department refused to pass it. I spent two weeks pulling

wires, among Senators, officers, and State Department people. For despite Mr. Hull's previous protestations that his department imposed no political censorship, it had, while I was in the East, specifically requested the Pentagon people to deliver up to it any dispatches by returning war correspondents which dealt with China. I went to Mike McDermott, the department press chief, and said, "Look, some day there is likely to be a big military setback in China, a blow-up, and if that happens, the War Department is going to let you down and in its own interest reveal the true war picture in China." He thought I was right, but nothing resulted. Many of the Far Eastern Division's staff agreed that the article should be printed, in the public interest. Dr. Stanley Hornbeck, who had not seen China for many years, was against letting out the truth. So was Joseph Ballantine, who put the second stop on my piece. Eventually I had the promise of an Assistant Secretary of War that he would urge Stimson to pass the story, the promise of two influential friends that they would intervene with Stettinius. So I sailed for the Mediterranean again, confident that the story would be passed. It was—so mutilated by the censors it was unfit for print.

You know what happened in China later: the sudden serious loss of our eastern air bases to the Japanese army; the Stilwell affair, which with unnecessary crudeness smashed public illusions about China, turning uncritical affection into exaggerated contempt—exactly what we had tried to prevent. (I don't mean my article alone would have prevented this, but I think it would have helped.)

The list of censorship atrocities on the grand scale is long and is getting longer. The murder of Lord Moyne in Cairo was a political murder. Yet the Cairo censors refused to let correspondents reproduce the courtroom speeches of the two defendants, dismissing them as "mere political bombast," of no interest to the world. If Cairo is the bad spot it so obviously is, no one can put all the blame on the British.

Last summer, the American commander there, General Giles, called in the correspondents. His comments went about like this: "My military censors are going to examine everything you write about this theater, whether it concerns politics or anything else. There will be nothing critical of this theater sent out of here by you gentlemen. If any of you thinks he may be inclined to write anything critical, he may as well leave now. And don't go complaining to the War Department. I don't intend to have any interference in my theater." One or two of the stunned reporters tried to send private cables to their home offices explaining their position. The cables were stopped. They tried to explain it in air-mail letters. The letters were sequestered.

Readers of *The Nation* know what happened in Greece last fall: how the British government fought down the flood tide of protest in England—and America—by the now standardized twin processes of restricting the freedom of reporters on the spot to visit the "wrong" people and at the same time issuing as news carefully selected items from official sources. Much earlier, in August, Churchill ordered the B. B. C. Overseas Service to eliminate "any credit of any kind" to the E. L. A. S. or the E. A. M. The London liberal press, to its eternal credit, exposed the whole bag of tricks.

Eventually the truth gets out, but its late arrival always produces these shocks to the public conscience, these terrible strains to the frail web of international cooperation. There are more dangers now on the horizon. The Allies are going to occupy Germany. What they do in their respective spheres will indicate to the world whether they have in fact agreed on a policy for Germany; whether they intend actually to clean out the fascists or just to sweep them under the rug as they almost got away with doing in Italy. It will furnish a host of vital portents for future peace or future war. Yet at this writing the Allies have not, separately or collectively, given public assurance that there will be no political censorship

on Allied correspondents during the occupation period. The American officials are themselves wrangling over the question, though, in all morality, there should not be a moment's doubt about it.

Perhaps the greatest threat to international harmony at present comes from Russian-occupied Poland. Surely, the peace structure can never be stable unless there is full confidence between Russia and the Western democracies. We have made a fair start. We are taking the Russians at their word. But no democratic people will rest content with that. They want proof—proof from eyewitnesses they trust—that the words of Yalta on free elections for Poland, the integrity of Poland, mean to the Russians precisely what they mean to the rest of us. Up to the present there has been no indication that the Russians intend to allow free journalists to work in Poland. Indeed, the public is shocked to learn that the question of free inquiry and free reporting in transitional Poland was not even discussed at Yalta.

No matter how elaborate the international



*A Guest from Spain*

Drawing by Rivero Gil

PEACE: Do you think you are one of the Big Ones? Or do you want to eat at all the tables?

structure, distrust will eat away its foundations unless every member of the timid new family of nations rests easy in the knowledge that he knows exactly what the others are doing, at home and in the lands they dominate. Ignorance breeds prejudice and distrust. From distrust comes fear, and from fear, in the modern world, nothing can come save war.

## The Argentines Speak Up

ALTHOUGH the Argentine regime's maneuvers may fool some officials abroad, the Argentine people refuse to be taken in. *Pueblo Argentino*, published by a group of distinguished Argentine exiles in Montevideo, carries an important document in its March 10 issue. It is the text of a public statement signed by two thousand members of the Unión Cívica Radical (U. C. R.), which was Argentina's most powerful political party before political parties were dissolved. The statement runs in part as follows:

We do not wish that the silence imposed on us by the suppression of freedom of speech and of association be interpreted as acquiescence in actions and situations that contradict the letter and spirit of republican institutions. . . . According to its leaders, the revolution of June 4, 1943, was to have as one of its major objectives the restoration of constitutional liberties. . . . More than a year later public opinion views with growing alarm the inauguration of a political system foreign to the national spirit, the destruction of individual guaranties, and the dominant influence of a minority whose ideologies are contrary to the democratic sentiment of the Argentine people. As members of the U. C. R. we consider it our duty to express our determination to promote the true functioning of the constitution, for whose restoration all Argentines are eager—all Argentines who wish right to prevail over force in their country and who know that this cannot be accomplished so long as a special class rules the common destiny. With patriotic fervor we dedicate ourselves as citizens to the task of recovering the sovereignty of the people and government by law. . . .

The U. C. R. was made up of moderately liberal elements and always favored a middle-of-the-road course. Many of the men who signed this statement hold or have held important government posts. Although their declaration may appear over-cautious, it must be remembered that it represents the point of view of neither the left nor the liberals but rather of enlightened conservatives. It is particularly interesting for that reason, and also because the regime has previously claimed U. C. R. support and would like to be able to do so now when Argentina is seeking to enter the fold of the United Nations.

Organized Latin American labor has expressed strong objections to the presence of Argentina at the San Francisco meeting. Criticizing the policy of appeasement toward the Farrell-Perón government adopted at the last moment by the Inter-American Conference at Mexico City, the president of the Latin American Federation of Labor (C. T. A. L.), Vicente Lombardo Toledano, has declared that "Latin American labor deeply deplores the invitation which the conference

decided to send to the fascist Argentine government. This offer will tend not only to incorporate the fascist Argentine regime into the pan-American bloc but to allow its entry into the United Nations." The Argentina resolution, the Mexican labor leader continued, "made a most painful impression on Latin American labor. . . . It is a grave violation of the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations declaration, the decisions of Teheran and Yalta, and even of the bulk of the resolutions approved at the Inter-American Conference itself. It is in direct contradiction to the foreign policy of the great majority of American countries, especially to the foreign policy pursued by Mexico and the United States."

## Russian Realism

A RECENT broadcast by the Kossuth radio, reported to the OWI by FCC monitors, offered land to Hungarian soldiers leaving the Szalasi forces to join the Hungarian National Army. The broadcast announced: "Hungarian soldiers in Szalasi's armies, any further struggle on your part is hopeless. Do you want land? If you do, you can have it. By turning against Szalasi and his German masters you can share in the benefits of the land reform. If you leave the traitor Szalasi and hide in villages or come over to the territory of liberated Hungary, you will receive a fifteen-yoke estate (approximately twenty acres). If you come over to the Red Army arms in hand, in order to fight against the Germans in the ranks of the new Hungarian National Army, you will receive a twenty-five-yoke estate."

This kind of Russian political warfare is based on the realistic assumption that a peasant will not forget who it was that gave him land. On March 17, two months after the armistice was signed, the provisional Hungarian government announced a sweeping land reform. Every vestige of Hungary's feudal land system is to be eliminated. All estates of more than about 140 acres are to be expropriated and distributed in 20-to-35-acre parcels, first to the armed forces and the landless peasants. All land belonging to "traitors, Szalasi followers, Nazis, other fascist leaders, members of the Volksbund, war criminals, and enemies of the people" is to be confiscated.

The *Herald Tribune* of April 3 reports a Russian radio broadcast of a statement by the Soviet-appointed mayor of the German town of Landsberg on the Warthe. A former member of the German labor movement who had been arrested twice by the Nazis for his political views, the new mayor, Paul Schulz by name, urged all Germans to "follow our example and liberate yourselves from Hitler." He described the aid given by the Russians in rehabilitating the captured town. Under Soviet direction, he said, the water-works had been repaired and factories reopened to supply the 25,000 inhabitants. "Fifteen bakeries are working for the benefit of the population. New household and bread-ration cards have been issued. The labor office, the housing office, and an office for the care of refugees are busy promoting reconstruction work. Streets have been cleared up. A hospital, two maternity wards, and a children's home have been established." The military commandant of the town, Schulz emphasized, was helping the population in every way.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

*Washington, April 2*

THESE ARE NOTES by another way. The contrast between perpendicular, "longitudinal" New York and widespread Washington is constant. It was greatly intensified by the experience of being plunged from March into May within four hours. Washington has had a run-away season. The cherry blossoms in the Tidal Basin fell a week ago, and government people are already wilting a bit at the prospect of a summer six months long. A case for once of too early and too much. But for the moment city and countryside are enveloped in an untarnished radiance of new green infused with the white of dogwood, the pink white of flowering crab, the lilac of lilac, and the Mexican magenta of the Judas tree. Indeed, the white light, the tropical but as yet unheavy heat, the flowers, and even the showers increase the superficial resemblances between Washington and Mexico City.

I think Washington must always seem a little foreign anyway, even to us natives, if only because it is so specialized: it is government made manifest and all pervading in massive tangible stone. And whatever the Republicans say, as a people we are not yet conscious, from moment to moment, of government.

Somewhere behind the screen of pastel smokes is an unfinished war and an unconstructed peace. But it is very hard to keep one's mind on such things in the face of nature's parti-colored propaganda, which is based on the pathetic fallacy in reverse.

There is capitol architecture—and capital language. Conversations in this town are bewilderingly profuse in capital letters strung together. I wouldn't be surprised if a seasoned government employee could get through a whole evening without once reverting to the lower case. If you don't know the difference between a CAF-3 and a P-8 (I may have them wrong) you have yet to learn the ABC's—which probably stand for some Agency having to do with Civilians. There's jargon too, of course. The other day a person reporting for a new job was told that she was entitled to a semi-executive desk.

It's just as well to be reminded now and again, however, that bureaucracy is not peculiar to government. Business and industry and education have known it a long time. Nor is the term synonymous with inefficiency. Yet I expect the feeling is still widespread that the only people who work for government are those who can't make their way, that is, money, alone. I recall the scorn with which an old-timer in the West referred to the head of a state institution. "Why," she said, "he's nothing but a public servant."

On the basis of a few days' experience of seeing and trying to see some of the new people in Congress, I must conclude that this category of public servants has plenty to

do. A conscientious member of Congress who is on five committees cannot be said to be idling away his time and our money, though he would be more efficient if he had more help, expert help, of the sort he can't possibly afford. A staff member of Time, Inc., gets a much better break.

I don't mean to imply that what they say about Congress isn't true. A body of 435 people elected by that many communities on the basis of appeals as diverse as a flair for oratory, noiseless machine support, and a genuine political program is bound to include a large number of time wasters, exhibitionists, barbarians, reactionaries, and buffoons. It's easy to be cynical about representative government—until one considers the alternative. In the proper perspective, the annoying day-by-day inefficiency of Congress seems far preferable to the awful "efficiency" of dictatorship.

A bill has been introduced to make the proceedings of the Senate and House available for broadcasting. One's first reaction is to be bored in advance—but the people of the Tennessee Valley, for instance, would not be bored by the debate on a bill to hamstring TVA. It's quite possible that the level of House and Senate debate might be raised if it were subject to the constant scrutiny of public opinion. I hadn't known that in New Zealand one may listen to one's legislature from 2:30 to 11 each day of the sessions and that it's a very popular "program."

One of the tests of a successful trip to Washington is the number of unverifiable rumors one brings back. My repertory is rather slim, I'm afraid, but some of them seem worth noting. The McCormicks and the Pews and others of that "socially conscious" stripe are said to be renting villas in the environs of San Francisco and planning to entertain lavishly when the international set arrives. . . . It is reported that every important newspaperman in Washington has been asked—and has refused—to handle publicity, at a large salary, for the big new Republican National Committee. . . . The Marine Corps is conceded to have the most efficient press agents. There are also, the resentful comment goes, soldiers and sailors in the South Pacific. The stories of Okinawa would indicate that they too now have landed and have the situation in hand.

P. S.: But the New York *Times* of April 3 sports a photograph captioned: Okinawa: The Marines Have Landed.

So much for gossip. I can testify personally, on the other hand, that there is a fine crop of chives on the Capitol grounds.

A LETTER FROM LINCOLN KIRSTEIN adds further information on Jean Bruller (Vercors), who seems to have become a habitué of this column.

"I was shocked," writes Mr. Kirstein, "by how much I differ with you on Vercors," and then he continues:

In 1940 Bruller was with his regiment in the Vercors district (between Isere and Durance). When he was demobilized after the armistice of June 22 he went to

his native town in Brie province, and worked as a carpenter and cabinet-maker. He started to write in 1940-41, composing a couple of pages an evening, with difficulty.

In 1941 Jacques Decour and the writer Politzer founded the clandestine review *Pensee Libre*—they were both subsequently shot. They asked the writer Pierre Delesclure to find them a collaborator. (I mean aid. How these words get worn out!) Delesclure was a friend of Bruller's, and an admirer of the work he had seen him do, and hence recommended him. Bruller wrote "The Silence of the Sea" on order for them. The proofs of the *Pensee Libre* were seized by the Gestapo. The review was silenced; so Bruller published the book himself in small format and from it sprang the Editions de Minuit. He is now in Paris, but is about to return to his village in Brie. He is, I think, a serious writer and has to be read in French.

## Writers of Brazil

**BRAZILIAN LITERATURE.** By Erico Veríssimo. The Macmillan Company. \$2.

**E**RICO VERÍSSIMO disarms his critics at the outset by describing his book as a "very sketchy history of Brazilian literature, and undoubtedly a defective one." Such is the sincerity of the chapters which follow that one is bound to see in these words something more substantial than the coy gesture of a writer who lacks the experience of a literary historian. We have here the case of the most popular living novelist of a country describing informally the development of letters and thought in his native land. Mr. Veríssimo accomplishes his task in an engaging, unruffled manner, without making exaggerated claims for the significance of Brazilian literature and yet presenting its growth in such a way as to dispose the reader toward examining some of the landmarks for himself. Since this has evidently been his primary purpose in preparing the twelve lectures which now appear in book form, one can only regret that he did not spend more time on those essential figures and works which give Brazilian literature its peculiar character, and less on the seemingly endless enumeration of books and authors which cannot possibly mean anything to the reader who has only a conventional sentence or two to identify them. Too often one suspects the author's concern to be that he should not leave out the name of any colleague who might later challenge the objectivity of his taste or his lack of sportsmanship within the profession. Mr. Veríssimo's confession, "And here I close this chapter with the vague sensation that I have just finished copying a telephone directory . . ." reflects fairly well what must be the feeling of the uninitiated reader concerning the book as a whole.

American readers are indebted to Mr. Veríssimo for having taken sufficient pains to learn English so well that the idiomatic and racy quality of his style makes of his present book a veritable tour de force. And yet his pleasure in handling expertly an instrument relatively new to him is genuine and contagious, without the slightest trace of ostentatious virtuosity. One might ask of the author an equal concern for the selection and organization of his material, so that certain pivotal figures might come through more sharply. This is especially true of men with a definite interest for American readers, such as Nabuco, Oliveira Lima, and Ruy

Barbosa. An excess of extraneous detail in the closing chapters makes difficult the projection of men like Gilberto Freyre, Mário de Andrade, and Manuel Bandeira on a scale commensurate with their importance in determining the emergence of a literature of social significance in a language increasingly expressive of the complexity of present-day Brazil. Few will disagree with Mr. Veríssimo's belief that "the thirties brought to Brazilian literature its coming of age." This fact makes it doubly disappointing that his treatment of the period reveals a certain hesitancy to come to grips with the inner implications of the very literature of which he is a representative part.

Mr. Veríssimo's book is welcome as an unpretentious but thoroughly readable first guide in a field having few introductory studies available in English. Whatever its shortcomings as a history of Brazilian literature, it cannot fail to make friends for Brazil through the introduction it gives one to the author himself, despite the fact that he does not once mention his own achievements as a creative writer. To interpret for a foreign audience the literature of one's countrymen, without false modesty and yet without any trace of pompous salesmanship, requires a mature talent and a communicative spirit. As his novels might lead one to expect, Mr. Veríssimo meets this challenge in an effortless and convincing manner.

WILLIAM BERRIEN

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### "Report on the Russians"

**LAST SUMMER** W. L. White accompanied Eric Johnston to Russia, and he has described the six weeks' trip in his "Report on the Russians" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50). He saw, understood, and recorded a great deal. He did not speak the language and knew little about Russia. But this handicap has never prevented foreign travelers from reporting on Russia after fleeting visits, and few came equipped with White's keen eye and excellent pen.

Mr. White went to Russia admiring free enterprise and hating suppression of freedom. He found plenty of the latter, and it deeply repelled him. His observations on this score are amazingly shrewd and correct for a foreigner. They could have been even more impressive had he not lost his sense of proportion and dwelt on the negative.

He visited factories and found some of them dirty. In this Mr. White saw indisputable proof of the failure of the non-competitive system. Later he finds "clean, well-lighted factories," but he does not alter his previous conclusions. He goes to Leningrad and devotes a couple of short, cold paragraphs to an epic of courage that had stirred the world. Though he finds the Russian way of solving the racial problem excellent as compared to our own, Mr. White disposes of it in a few lines. In 309 pages there is only one casual remark about Soviet children, but many pages and an extremely rich vocabulary are devoted to describing badly cut clothes, sallow complexions, poor window displays, and the vitamin-lacking diet. This is a most distasteful way of judging any nation in the fourth year of a horrible war on its own soil.

# SPRING BOOKS

**N**EXT WEEK'S 48-page Spring Book Number will bring *Nation* readers rich and varied commentary on literature and the arts, at home and abroad.

MARGARET MARSHALL, in *Notes by the Way*, will discuss, among other things, the current confusion between "folk" and folks.

RANDALL JARRELL will contribute another of his distinguished war poems, entitled, "Siege-fried." . . . In an essay, "The Face in the Mountain," James Grossman makes a new approach to literary likenesses.

"THE FRENCH REVOLUTION" by J. M. Thompson will be reviewed by Albert Guérard. Keith Hutchison will analyze Alvin H. Hansen's important new book on an important subject, "America's Role in the World Economy."

IN AN INTERESTING analysis F. W. Dupee will discuss and compare "The Masque of Reason" by Robert Frost and "The Winter Sea" by Allen Tate. . . . Diana Trilling's *Fiction in Review* will deal with William Maxwell's "The Folded Leaf" and other new novels.

BRIEFER COMMENTS by Joseph Wood Krutch, Louise Bogan, Carey McWilliams, and others, and *The Nation's* regular columns on the arts by B. H. Haggin, James Agee, and Clement Greenberg.

## NEXT WEEK

in

## THE *Nation*

Mr. White reports truthfully what he sees. He does not tell any lies except when he quotes stories, like that of the Moscow "panic," from unreliable sources. It is not lack of truth which distorts Mr. White's report but lack of balance and of sympathy.

He shows more warmth toward the end of his trip. Is it because, as he says, the farther away from Moscow the less dictatorial regimentation there is? Isn't it rather because as Mr. White saw more of the Russians he not only let his eyes wander and his pen register but also allowed his mind to reopen and his heart to speak, as he has so ably done in his previous books? Had he left his prejudices behind and done this from the beginning, White's might have been the truthful report on war-time Russia which we so badly need. Even so, with all its shortcomings and prejudices, Mr. White's report is a fuller, truer, and less one-sided picture of Russia than the rapturous accounts of Soviet apologists who refuse to see the slightest spot on the lily-white Soviet escutcheon.

MARKOOSHA FISCHER

### Unconquerable Corner

SOON AFTER THE ALLIES took southern Italy in 1943, two Yugoslavs wearing bits of German and Italian uniforms sailed across the Adriatic to Bari. They had been ordered by Marshal Tito to place a number of wounded partisans under the care of the Allies at Bari, and if possible to return with a little coal and some food. To their surprise and consternation the two Yugoslavs were whisked from office to office until they found themselves at General Eisenhower's headquarters in Algiers. Marshal Tito had not ordered such an extensive journey, and his disciplinary technique included the firing squad. They were worried.

Things worked out all right, however, because the two Yugoslavs fell in with Major Louis Huot, the American officer who later wrote "Guns for Tito" (Fischer, \$2.75). He whisked them back to Bari and within two days had wangled for them a thousand tons of coal, food, and medical supplies. Shortly afterward he had a steady stream of ships smuggling war materials across the German-patrolled Adriatic to Tito's partisans.

The first trip across was made by Major Huot in a borrowed British speed boat disguised as a fishing smack; it sailed directly into the gunfire of the Yugoslavs, who did

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not realize that it was friendly. Later Major Huot was escorted through German-occupied territory to Tito's headquarters in the mountains of the interior. He came out believing Tito to be a great man, and marveling at the toughness of his warriors, both male and female. His account of the opening of the supply line to Yugoslavia is a brief, exciting foretaste of the great stories which some day will come out of the unconquerable corner of Europe.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

## VERSE CHRONICLE

### Imagists and Ex-Imagists

IT IS very irritating to reviewers that poets insist on publishing their books as individuals instead of according to some convenient pattern of schools or age groups. As it is, the reviewer has to think up his own pattern for any collection of new books of verse, dividing the poets into, say, lovers of turbines and lovers of begonias, or those who have heard of the war and those who have not. This week's chronicle will deal with three poets who, although they once shared vaguely similar methods, are mainly alike in that they have recently published books of poetry.

The poetry of William Carlos Williams is no longer as exciting as it was once. His "Della Primavera Trasportata al Morale," composed around 1930, is equally charged with humorous gusto and lyrical delicacy, and remains for me his best poem. Since then his work has resolved itself into a monotony of springtime ecstasies, suburban glimpses, and sketchy anecdotes, with here and there a brief quaver of true song. "The Wedge" (Cummington Press, \$3.50) is typical. Here the shorter poems are the best, several of them being, for Williams, unusually moody:

We cannot go to the country  
for the country will bring us  
no peace  
What can the small violets tell us  
that grow on furry stems in  
the long grass among lance-shaped  
leaves?

It is largely the war which has brought on this melancholy, and the melancholy comes off better in the short poems. If I understand it, the fairly long Burning the Christmas Greens is an exercise in symbolism: we grow tired of peace and so resort periodically to war just as, after Christmas is over, we are weary of all the good-will and hasten to burn the wreaths and boughs. Now apart from the possible triviality of this view of war, the poem is weak because the symbol and the thing symbolized are not adequately related. In his attachment to imagist discipline ("No ideas but in things") Williams concentrates so much on describing the *thing* (the fire of greens) that the *idea* is left to smuggle its way into the poem by virtue of hints and asides. Furthermore, and again as a matter of principle, Williams strips his language quite bare of the literary resonance, the power of allusiveness, which might assist in the fusion of thought and symbol.

Why Williams, always sensitive and a craftsman, does not succeed better in his more ambitious pieces is not entirely

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clear. Perhaps the temperament and method are both too acutely limited. The philosophy by which he tries to reconcile nature and industrial civilization, the flower and the factory, and so to domesticate poetry in the present world, is not as deep as it is wide: it is the hearty and uncomplicated naturalism of the camera. And it reflects itself in a rather hard-and-fast technique. Cleanth Brooks has said of the imagists in general that their method consisted largely in "pointing at objects" because they worked at that level of modernism where the prime issue was the poeticality or non-poeticality of certain phenomena. Excepting the short poems, which are increasingly free of this obsession, Brooks's remark still applies to Williams. Not only does he continue to set up a tyranny of objects under which ideas must lead a rather furtive existence, but he still prizes the arbitrary juxtapositions of the doctrinaire modernist:

Like a cylindrical tank fresh silvered  
upended on the sidewalk to advertise  
some plumber's shop, a profusion  
of pink roses bending ragged in the rain—  
speaks to me of all gentleness and its  
enduring.

But Williams has survived far better as an imagist than have many of the poets who once shared his faith, for example, Kenneth Rexroth and H. D. In my mind H. D.\* is fatally associated with a high-school teacher who used to mystify me by chanting "Whirl up your pointed pines" as if it were the Confiteor; though doubtless it is not as silly a poem as it then appeared. Silent in England for many years, H. D. has lately brought out a volume, "The Walls Do Not Fall" (Oxford, \$2), which the publishers describe as "rooted in the very midst of . . . the Blitz." It is earnest poetry, with as many ideas now as images. H. D. has discovered ancient Egypt as a source of metaphors and peace as Yeats once discovered Byzantium:

here am I, Amen-Ra,  
Amen, Aries, the Ram;  
time, time for you to begin a new spiral,  
see—I toss you into the star-whirlpool . . .

And she has also, perhaps through the Beveridge Plan, discovered her lack of social purpose:

we are these people,  
wistful, ironical, wilful,  
who have no part in  
new-world reconstruction,  
in the confederacy of labor,  
the practical issues of art  
and the cataloguing of utilities . . .

Kenneth Rexroth is too young to have been an imagist *pur sang*, but if I am right he was once associated with Williams in a roughly kindred movement called "objectivist." Like H. D. he has found the pressure of ideas too strong for the old technique. The title poem of his book, "The Phoenix and the Tortoise" (New Directions, \$2.50), is a lengthy philosophical discourse, more doggerel than poetry, into which he has distilled a great deal of thought and reading.

Marx. Kropotkin. Adams. Acton  
Spengler. Toynbee. Tarn building empires

From a few coins found in the cellar . . .  
History . . . the price we pay for man's  
First disobedience . . . John of Patmos,  
The philosopher of history.

Rexroth's is an exuberant personality, but the poem will not do. It is like those long, single-spaced, unparagraphed letters on yellow scratch paper which one sometimes gets from an excitable acquaintance on vacation with a lot of deep books. A little restraint, please. Rexroth's shorter poems are better, though still disintegrated by self-indulgence and self-consciousness; their lush landscapes and passionate scenes are in debt to the prose of D. H. Lawrence. Rexroth's translations from ancient epigrammatists are excellent.

F. W. DUPEE

## FICTION IN REVIEW

ONE need not be a particularly accomplished Jamesian to recognize the dominant influence in Rosamond Lehmann's "The Ballard and the Source" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2.75). Miss Lehmann's new novel is a psychological mystery of the type that Henry James delighted in, and from the precocious children who see and hear such a large part of the story, through the careful architecture of the narrative and its emphasis on psychological motive, to its atmosphere of well-bred horror "The Ballard and the Source" reveals its distinguished ancestry. Even the names of the characters suggest the connection: there is not only the girl Maisie, as an obvious instance, but also such names as Mrs. Jardine and Mr. Charles Herbert, which ring an unmistakable note of familiarity. On the other hand, there is a factitious quality to Miss Lehmann's mystery, a growing sense of mystification for its own sake or the sake only of making a good dramatic yarn, which unfortunately reminds us less of Henry James than of a superior "Rebecca."

But it is as much a part of the subtlety and delicate complication of "The Ballard and the Source" as of its mystification that it is very difficult to summarize. To say that Miss Lehmann is telling the story of a beautiful Edwardian lady the affirmation of whose will against the conventions of her society destroys her daughter's life and works its disastrous effects into the generation of her grandchildren is to make but a crude approximation of even the outline of the book; for the circles of circumstance generated by Mrs. Jardine's conduct in very young-womanhood suggest an endless widening, like the circles started by a pebble on the smooth surface of a lake. In addition, any synopsis of "The Ballard and the Source" must be inadequate to the richly modulated character of Mrs. Jardine; and it is this character—its moral color and substance—with which Miss Lehmann is chiefly and best concerned. Even at the end of the novel, when all the clues to Mrs. Jardine are in and the consequences of her behavior have been shown in their full melodrama, we are warned against a simple judgment on so much complexity. Like the child Rebecca Landon, Rosamond Lehmann's author-person, the reader is left with the heavy burden of Mrs. Jardine's ambivalent morality; even in Mrs. Jardine's lies we have been taught to see a certain truth.

Among present-day novels, that is, "The Ballad and the Source" is unusually ambitious on the moral-psychological level. Miss Lehmann, running against the current of our time, refuses to be satisfied with absolute notions of right and wrong. She also avoids the great cliché of recent fiction, the substitution of psychopathology for moral and psychological understanding—and this quite despite the psychopathological nature of the novel's climax.

In method, too, "The Ballad and the Source" is ambitious in a way that is uncommon in contemporary fiction. Miss Lehmann divides her novel into several parts, in each of which the character and history of Mrs. Jardine are presented in a fresh light; and the development of the story is handled in long narrative dialogues between Rebecca and some other person in a position to know what happened, often Mrs. Jardine herself. By the use of such devices she rejects both the internality which is so popular with present-day novelists and the straightaway factuality of traditional fiction, in favor of the artificiality, if you will, of the "constructed" tale.

And yet when one has taken into account the moral and technical imagination of Miss Lehmann's novel, and also its high literacy, one wonders why the book as a whole swings so much less than its intended weight—and I suppose it is because moral imagination is not enough; it must always be supported with moral passion. I think that what finally exposes "The Ballad and the Source" to the accusation of factitiousness is the impression Miss Lehmann conveys of caring more about the outcome of a story than about the

outcome of life itself. Whatever the high degree of consciousness with which Henry James went about the business of constructing his tales, this was an error of which he was of course incapable. The obsessive identification he made between art and life—his conviction, indeed, that art *was* life—saved James from such an act of inverse condescension. It also made him inimitable even by a writer who, like Miss Lehmann, brings to her study of him such considerable gifts of insight and taste.

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## Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

IT IS not often that a first play—indeed, it is not often that *any* play—gets such a reception as "The Glass Menagerie" (Playhouse Theater) got from audience and from press alike. After the final curtain had descended, the unfamiliar cry of "Author! Author!" rang through the auditorium, and next morning the reviewers staged what is commonly called a dance in the streets. Undoubtedly some of this enthusiasm was for the acting and the production, especially for the performance of Laurette Taylor, who got everything that was to be had from the character of the pitiful and terrible old woman who is the central figure. But undoubtedly the enthusiasm was also and in almost equal measure for the playwright, a young man named Tennessee Williams previously known chiefly to prize committees and to the editors of avant-garde magazines.

In his first Broadway play Mr. Williams has chosen to set forth a powerful and arresting, if somewhat abruptly truncated, situation in an elaborate and highly fanciful manner. The action begins with a pretentious and inflated speech delivered in front of a blank wall by Eddie Dowling, who is several times in the course of the play to step out of his role to act as a usually unnecessary "narrator." Then the lights behind the wall go on and we see into the dismal interior of a slum flat in St. Louis presided over by an ex-Southern belle long ago deserted by her irresponsible husband and now striving desperately to arrange some sort of future for her crippled, neurotic daughter and her restless son, about whose neck the two female millstones are hanging. In her dreams this mother, now shabby and old and fat, still relives the days when she led the cotillion at the Governor's Ball and entertained seventeen callers at one time. All her vocabulary, all her standards, all her plans are in the terms of that dead past, "Gentlemen callers," "widows well provided for," and "young men of character and promise" are the figures of the mythology from which she cannot escape. She is vulgar, nagging, and unreasonable. But she is also desperate, pathetic, and gallantly hopeless in a fight against overwhelming odds—altogether, at least as Miss Taylor plays her, unforgettable as well as almost unbearable. She finally

induces her son to entice a "gentleman caller" from the warehouse where he works; the gentleman caller charms the sickly daughter, and then, at the end of his first and only visit, announces his approaching marriage to someone else. The son leaves the house forever to join the merchant marine. His mother runs out after him to denounce his desertion and to show that she nevertheless is strong enough to go on with the fight. Then the lights go out, and the narrator steps again to the front of the stage. That, he announces, is the end of all the author has to tell. The imagination of the audience must supply for itself the rest of the story.

I have already said that the central character is unforgettable, and I must add my opinion that the fact is due at least as much to the writing as it is to the acting. Moreover, nothing which I am about to say should be taken as denying the fact that "The Glass Menagerie" is a remarkable play and its author a man of extraordinary talent. But there is no use failing to mention that his weaknesses are as patent as his gifts, or that very good writing and very bad writing have seldom been as conspicuous in the script of one play. It has a hard, substantial core of shrewd observation and deft, economical characterization. But this hard core is enveloped in a fuzzy haze of pretentious, sentimental, pseudo-poetic verbiage which I can compare only to the gauze screens of various degrees of filmy opacity which are annoyingly raised and lowered during the course of the physical action in order to suggest memory, the pathos of distance, and I know not what else. How a man capable of writing as firm as is some of that in this play can on other occasions abandon himself to such descriptive passages as that in which a young man is described—in Oscar Wilde's worst style—as "like white china" is a mystery. Moreover, the incongruity is almost as conspicuous between personages as it is between passages. The insubstantial, unconvincing wisp of a Little Nell whom Julie Haydon is compelled to interpret simply does not belong in the same world as the one her mother so solidly inhabits.

The limitations of a good writer are sometimes best passed over in silence. One accepts them, and one can do nothing else. But when defects are of a corrigible sort, when they seem the result of a sort of self-indulgence which is likely to grow and grow if encouraged or even tolerated, then they ought to be reprehended in some downright

manner. And the defects of Mr. Williams's manner are defects of that sort. Probably he admires most in himself what is least admirable there. At the moment no doubt many agree with him. But they will not continue to do so for long. He is one of those writers who had best heed the advice: whenever you have written a line you like especially well, strike it out.

## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

**THE ENCHANTED COTTAGE** is the famous old Pinero valentine—brought up to date and from England to New England—about a homely spinster and a disfigured veteran who, because they are in love, look beautiful to each other until people who are not involved in their illusion rudely shatter—I believe one should say—their frail dream world. When I saw Richard Barthelmess and May McAvoy play it, in the early fourteenth century, I was so transfixed by it that for some weeks afterward, behind locked doors, I alternated my imitations of Mr. Barthelmess's work, with his cane and his wrung shoulder, with sculptural replicas of Miss McAvoy's hooked nose and protruding teeth. I can recommend the new Robert Young-Dorothy McGuire version to susceptible adolescents of any age, but I doubt that I can give it—or could now give the old one—a fair review, for everything about it embarrasses me too painfully for clear thought: its solemnly whimsical good intentions, its slushy philosophy and still slushier dramaturgy, the little kernels of truth which it turns into so much molasses-dipped popcorn, and the impressive variety of whimpers, snorts, eyedabs, and frantically salvaged sobs which it tickled, pleaded, pressed, shanghaied, kicked, clubbed, and above all blackmailed out of me. I have no objection to tears when they are honest ones honestly extracted—quite the contrary; and very possibly some of these were of that sort, but if so I will never know. I had too constantly to be preoccupied with the feeling that my spiritual pockets were being picked by people with sad sweet smiles who, worse still, believed in both the smiles and the thieving.

As well as I could see, however, through fears generated chiefly by help-

less assailants, the movie was done quite well for the delicately vulgar sort of thing it is, especially by Robert Young and Dorothy McGuire. I can hardly imagine, for that matter, being seriously offended by Mr. Young; whatever he does, he is honest and sympathetic beyond offensiveness. Although I am happy to have to respect Miss McGuire's sensitiveness and proficiency, I can't help feeling sorry to see her use such coarse, all but village-idiot bids for pity-please as the worst she uses to communicate the heroine in her humbler phase. It is possible to get any amount of popular acclaim as an artist, in the kingdom of the blind, by relaxing to a level of acting once admired in character roles in little-theater productions; but it is deplorable and very dangerous as well, and Miss McGuire surely knows, can do, and wants, better.

I have always felt that one of the most profound and moving of relationships is that which can develop between a teacher and pupil, provided that both are alive; so I think less well of "The Corn Is Green"—which does that once over lightly, with exotic and proletarian trimmings—than I might have if I had come to it unprejudiced. I did come to it unprejudiced in another sense, for I never saw Ethel Barrymore play it. Trustworthy people tell me that she would have left me with my tongue hanging out, and by my own experience of Miss Barrymore I can find no reason to doubt it. Bette Davis left me with my tongue in my head, and I hope I can make it a civil one. I like and respect Miss Davis as a most unusually sincere and hard-working actress, and I have seen her play extremely well; but I did not find much in this performance to bring one beyond liking, respect, and, I am afraid, a kind of sympathy which no healthily functioning artist needs. It seems to me she is quite limited, which may be no sin but is a pity, and that she is limiting herself beyond her rights by becoming more and more set, official, and first-ladyish in mannerism and spirit, which is perhaps a sin as well as a pity. In any case, very little about her performance seemed to me to come to life, in spite of a lot of experienced striving which often kept in touch with life as if through a thick sheet of glass. To be sure, the role is not a deeply perceived or well-written one, and the whole play seems stolid and weak. I have a feeling that Miss Davis must have a great deal of trouble finding films which seem appropriate, feasible, and worth doing, and I wish that I,

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or anyone else, could be of use to her in that. For very few people in her position in films mean, or could do, so well. But I doubt that anything could help much unless she were willing to discard much that goes with the position—unless, indeed, she realized the absolute necessity of doing so.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

ON THE maps, provided by critics and teachers, on which I had to depend in my youthful exploration of the world of music Berlioz was marked off as a desert: I first read about the *Fantastic Symphony*, for example, in the *New York Times* review of Mengelberg's first concert with the National Symphony in 1921, in which Richard Aldrich deplored the waste of effort on a hopelessly arid and banal work. The truth about Berlioz—as about a number of other musical matters—was something I had to discover through my own experience of the music; and one experience—a performance of "Harold in Italy" by Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic around 1930—had the effect of revelation: I found myself following Berlioz's mind in the finale with new understanding and delight; and I was now ready to appreciate fully the marvels in "Romeo and Juliet" and—I find now—the earlier movements of "Harold in Italy."

Those marvels are the product of a great melodic gift, a subtle harmonic sense, a magician's ear for the orchestra, which operate in completely individual ways in the service of an individual mind and imagination. The Berlioz melody is an exfoliating progression, with unexpected turns and exquisite inflections which pivot on, and are enriched by, equally unexpected and exquisite moves in the underlying harmony, and with further enrichment by the instrumental colors. You can hear all this in the second movement of "Harold"—in the developing series of statements by the strings, each moving unpredictably to its conclusion in a sustained note that is echoed by a magical note of the horn and wonderful murmurings of the other winds. And in the third movement, where, after preliminary pastoral pipings, the English horn begins a serenade with two simple phrases which leave you unprepared for the ravishing subtleties of melodic turn of phrase and harmonic and instru-

mental coloring that follow. As for the finale, there the Berlioz mind runs riot in an extreme dynamic and rhythmic activation of the material—by sharp contrasts of loud and soft and sudden crescendos and decrescendos in the brilliant sonorities; by antiphonal tossing of them between choirs of the orchestra; and above all by abrupt shifts in their rhythmic impetus through irregularities of accent, grouping, and so on.

Victor's new recording of Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony and William Primrose as viola soloist (Set 989; \$5.50) has enabled me to document my dissatisfaction with the performance when I heard it in Carnegie Hall last November. The work did not have the effect I remembered and expected; and I was aware of one thing that lessened its effectiveness: its sections fell apart into detached episodes, instead of cohering in a unified utterance. And I can see now that the performance is the product of a man with an ear for sonority but no feeling for pace—either for the single tempo that will give a passage of music its right character and meaning, or for the several tempos that will give the sections of a piece of music coherence.

If it had been Koussevitzky's performance of the finale that I had heard in 1930 I doubt that the effect would have been revelation; for at his slow pace the music hasn't the lightness and élan it should have, but is stodgy and heavy. In the third movement Berlioz gives a metronome number for the *Allegro assai* of the introductory section, and another metronome number for the *Allegretto* of the serenade to implement his direction that the dotted quarter-note of the *Allegretto* shall equal the dotted half-note of the *Allegro assai*—or in other words that one measure of the *Allegretto* shall take the time of two measures of the *Allegro assai*. But Koussevitzky slows down the *Allegretto*, altering its relation to the *Allegro assai*, and changing what Berlioz intended as a fairly animated serenade into a rather lugubrious lament. Later in the movement there is a repetition of the *Allegro assai* leading again to the *Allegretto*; and this time Berlioz further integrates the two by continuing the sharply rhythmized accompaniment-figure of the *Allegro assai* into the half-as-fast *Allegretto* as a background for the serenade. Clearly the accompaniment-figure must continue unaltered in speed and character, and Berlioz's directions for the two tempos must be obeyed literally; but Koussevitzky again slows down the *Allegretto*, and with it

the accompaniment-figure of the *Allegro assai*. And there is another example of this involving two movements: when the viola solo of the introduction of the first movement recurs in the course of the second movement it should move at the same pace—as it does if one takes Berlioz's tempos for the movements; but with Koussevitzky's altered tempos it comes out enormously slower in the second movement.

The sound of the performance in Carnegie Hall was phenomenally beautiful; but the recording was made in Symphony Hall, which is over-brilliant even when filled; and though the press-release about the recording said a curtain had been hung to eliminate the echoing of the empty hall, the brilliance of the fast and loud passages comes off the records blurred and noisy from reverberation such as I do not recall in any previous Boston Symphony recording (some of the noise, however, is caused by Koussevitzky's disregard of some of the *pp*'s that Berlioz opposes to the *ff*'s). But the slow and quiet portions of the work are beautifully reproduced. In my review copy there are a few buzzes and two sides with wavering pitch (in addition to a few notes which Primrose does not hit accurately).

With its defects of performance and recording the set will not give you all the beauty that is in the work; but it will give you enough to make it a set you should not fail to acquire. Given the sound of the serenade or the finale, you may be able to imagine it in its correct tempo.

## CONTRIBUTORS

JOE FROMM served in the American Field Service in Africa and Italy. He is now a free-lance writer.

GENE REA, a war correspondent in Italy for Overseas Press, was born in Naples, the eighteenth of twenty-four children, but educated in this country.

HAL LEHRMAN, *The Nation's* correspondent in the Mediterranean area, was formerly head of the OWI office in Istanbul.

ERIC SEVAREID is a war correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

WILLIAM BERRIEN is professor of Romance languages and literatures at Harvard University.

MARKOOSHA FISCHER, a native of Russia, became an American citizen in 1939. She is the author of "My Lives in Russia."

# Letters to the Editors

## FORUM ON PEACE-TIME CONSCRIPTION

[Other letters on this subject were printed last week.]

### Conscription vs. Democracy

Dear Sirs: Compulsory military training, as a permanent policy, is indefensible. We must of course maintain a fairly large army for the occupation of enemy territory for some years after the war, but this cannot be done by short-term trainees. We must also have a vigorous navy and air force to help implement the Dumbarton Oaks agreements. The thing we do *not* need is the only thing that compulsory military training could give us—a permanent mass army.

Even if the outline of a third world war were already visible, what good would compulsory military training do us at this point? What good would it have done at the time of Pearl Harbor to have a trained army of ten million unless we also had the arms? There will always be time to give men a year of training before their weapons are ready—unless we are to fight with obsolete weapons or maintain war production almost at present levels. Both are unthinkable. What we shall need is a relatively small, alert, well-paid force of expert planners, researchers, and technicians, to provide a foundation and framework for the quick building of a great citizen army if we ever need one.

But, it is argued, compulsory military training is good in itself—it provides valuable experience for those who undergo it. Ask anyone now in the armed forces whether he has been taught anything except one specific job aimed at one specific goal—winning this particular war. Do we want the army, after all, to teach men anything else? Can it, under a system of compulsory military training, permanently improve health more than a well-planned civilian program? Can it provide better training for a technical civilian job than a civilian technical school? Can it educate men for democratic citizenship better than a civilian system of education? Even to ask these questions is absurd.

And what will army life teach our peace-time conscripts? It will teach them to obey orders—with a minimum of exertion and intelligence; to use leisure time—in the most unrewarding ways; it will teach some of them how to avoid suffering in body or conscience—while

casting aside the moral restraints that civilian life imposes; and it will try to teach them not to think for themselves, not to be free individuals in a democratic community.

In war these evils are part of the price that we must and can afford to pay. In peace time they offer no return.

ELLSWORTH BARNARD

Alfred, N. Y., March 5

### Conscription vs. Cooperation

Dear Sirs: I especially liked Dr. Nollen's emphasis of the fact that to get full results from cooperation one must give full support to it, a thing we could not do if we were to establish compulsory military training. It would be as if a man were to sit praising the police and the courts, while he kept his hand on the gun in his pocket, ready to shoot the first person who molested him.

G. STUART LOCKE

Newtonville, Mass., February 27

### Calling Mr. Bolte

Dear Sirs: I should like to take issue with Charles Bolté's argument for conscription on two counts. He writes: "It would be folly . . . to overlook the possibility that . . . we might export unemployment, causing world-wide economic chaos, always an incentive to war; or that either England or Russia might . . . seek to strengthen Germany against the other, which would inevitably draw us in when the conflict came. . . ." In that case should American liberals support war?

We support the present war because we consider Hitler and his slavery a worse alternative. I, for one, still believe that we are fighting for a better world. If I did not, I would oppose the war. But I do not care to promise my support, however insignificant, or to urge preparation for future wars which may be fought for imperialism or power politics. Certainly I cannot understand the point of view of a liberal who urges us to start preparing immediately to fight for the interests of the American airline companies.

My second objection is a question to Mr. Bolté. If the American people start immediately after the peace to rearm,

shall we not invite England and Russia to enter into an armaments race against us? I can see no other reason to arm except to be ready to take on tremendous opponents. It is obvious this would foster distrust among the Allies and very likely interfere with our united efforts to enforce peace. But worse—I know of no instance in history where an armaments race did not result in war.

EDITH UDELL

New York, March 21

Dear Sirs: Mr. Bolté accepts the principle that the United States is the most probable aggressor against the welfare of the human race—and for strictly business motives. His arguments will surely persuade most liberals that now, as always before, "realism" and "pessimism" are synonyms in the militarist's vocabulary. Are we so sunk in this pessimism, so certain of disaster, that rather than prepare for peace through general disarmament we will spend billions in setting the stage for war? Anyone who genuinely embraced Bolté's fatalism should follow its logic and commit suicide.

ALTON R. HODGKINS

New Orleans, La., March 27

Dear Sirs: Mr. Bolté's article favoring peace-time conscription contains so many true and acute observations that one is the more astonished at the weak and even absurd character of his chief argument.

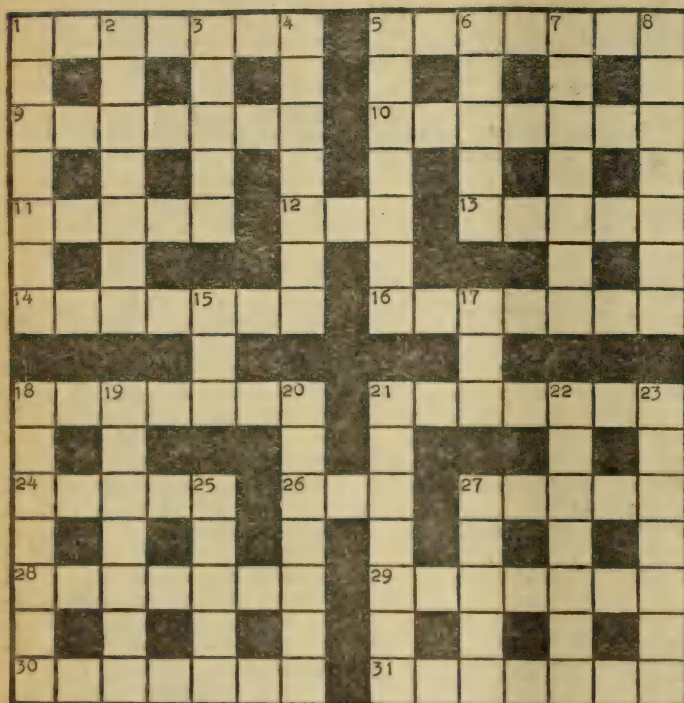
He says we must have trained conscript reserves in practically unlimited number because "our relatively small professional army might be decimated in the first week of any future war." Just exactly what would become of these reserves with the whole standing force wiped out in one week? Then there is the choice bit about putting every American boy in the future through the army because one of Mr. Bolté's correspondents assures him that "any G. I. will tell you that to really hate the army you have to be in it a while." The army will presumably be out with new slogans soon: "We guarantee to make you hate the army—but hard"; or "For the love of peace, enlist!"

A. J. MUSTE,

Fellowship of Reconciliation  
New York, March 29

# Crossword Puzzle No. 111

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Shylock's beautiful daughter
- 5 Conspirator
- 9 Author of "A Message to Garcia"
- 10 College graduate
- 11 Wide-awake solvers don't do this
- 12 Yale
- 13 A matter, sub rosa, that is painfully touching
- 14 Delicate degrees of difference
- 16 Mournful ballads
- 18 Better known to you, perhaps, as tusseh-silk
- 21 Undoubtedly the shortest month for bill payers
- 24 Provide in a crate
- 26 A dwarf
- 27 This place sounds something like!
- 28 Obliteration
- 29 Get to know again
- 30 The one "who done it" perhaps
- 31 "----- with coy submission, modest pride, And sweet, reluctant, amorous delay" (*Paradise Lost*)

## DOWN

- 1 When this Samuel's mother called him a puppy, he inquired if she knew what a puppy's mother was called
- 2 A term used in this list of clues (two words, 3 and 4)
- 3 Living likeness
- 4 Place of abode
- 5 A four-legged animal with feathers
- 6 Continue somewhere late

- 7 Periodical wind of the Indian Ocean
- 8 Insurrections
- 15 Bird cry
- 17 "Nature's sole mistake"
- 18 Marked cards
- 19 Sparta's turned to petty despots, it seems
- 20 It would take a lot of faith to move this one
- 21 He once spoke disrespectfully of the Equator
- 22 A brassard
- 23 Pined
- 25 "The blood more stirs To ----- a lion than to start a hare!" (*Henry IV*)
- 27 Rescue—even if L is knocked out of it

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 110

ACROSS:—1 HABIT; 6 LET-UP; 9 EDUCATE; 10 MAXIM; 11 OMBRE; 12 PATERN; 14 NASALS; 19 OILERS; 22 RECTITUDE; 23 SIAM; 24 GODS; 25 LAND; 26 IDOL; 27 SAGE; 29 FYOT; 30 SCENTLESS; 33 DODSON; 35 AISLES; 38 STRANDS; 41 ALBERT; 42 TRA LA; 43 EPISTLE; 44 HOMER; 45 RENTS.

DOWN:—1 HAMAN; 2 BOXES; 3 TEMPLE; 4 SUIT; 5 MANE; 6 LEONID; 7 TABLE; 8 POETS; 13 ASCENDENT; 14 TRIO; 15 ROUNDHEAD; 17 ANIMATO; 18 ARMLESS; 20 LEGLESS; 21 RED ROSE; 28 ETNA; 31 COSTER; 32 SISTER; 33 DEATH; 34 DREAM; 36 LEARN; 37 SPATS; 39 RUIN; 40 NUTS.

## "Another Law"

Dear Sirs: While I completely agree with Dr. Nollen's article so far as it goes, I believe it should clarify what is meant in the final paragraph by the "important moral implications" of the problem. Indeed, I find that word "moral" inadequate to characterize the change of center which must come into human hearts if the United Nations Conference in San Francisco is to lay the foundations of a new and better life for all the world. The only way to bring forth new life is to plant a seed that has life in it. That is an act of faith, not "primarily political and economic," but religious.

Some weeks ago Reinhold Niebuhr considered, in an address in this neighborhood, the awful possibility that despite our desire for a better world for all nations we may nevertheless fail to set up such a world for the reason intimated by St. Paul when he said, "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind." This other law, which is the self in man, is not a law in the sense that obedience to it is required, but is an innate leaning with the power of compulsion. If we bring that nature to the peace conference, who would expect it to achieve a peace? Or a cooperative world? Mr. Niebuhr has a searching eye for human motives; there is reason to fear he could be right.

RUTH GEORGE

Claremont, Cal., March 4

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## End of an Era

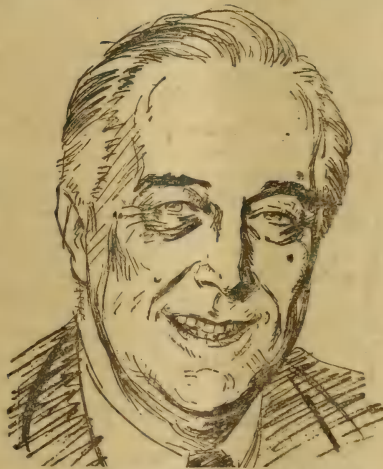
BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE shock of the President's death, the profound dismay, as powerfully felt in Moscow and Paris and Mexico City as in Washington, spring from something even deeper than love and respect for a great leader. The people have lost a leader, but they have lost something more. With the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt an era has ended; and the people of the world are moved by apprehension as well as sorrow.

This feeling has little to do with the personality or purposes of the new President; little to do with the great tasks of finishing a war and making a peace. It has everything to do with the role Mr. Roosevelt has played, the degree to which he came to symbolize, for a whole struggling generation, their hope of security and freedom, of release from intolerable oppression.

We may tell ourselves, as hundreds of leading citizens are daily telling us in print and over the air, that we must face with something of Mr. Roosevelt's own courage the battles that lie ahead; we may explain to ourselves the excellent resources of compensation and recuperation to be found in the democratic system of government. But these reminders are hardly necessary. For neither the American people nor the people of other lands will yield to despair. They will do their duty, and our government will adjust itself to its loss. Without doubt every official in Washington, from Mr. Truman down, has summoned all his powers to meet the challenge the death of his chief has flung down. This rallying of forces may be taken for granted. But even courage and a sense of responsibility will not be enough to exorcise the deep uneasiness that has lent a tone of desperation to the great outpouring of emotion we have witnessed. When people lose a friend they grieve; when they lose a cherished symbol their world is shaken.

It is necessary to recognize and examine this fact. President Roosevelt's hold on the imagination of people everywhere is a phenomenon whose immense political importance will be even more apparent now than while he lived. We shall realize now to what degree he was identified in the minds of



Drawing by Charles Liedl. Courtesy PM.

men and women in other countries with the disinterested power of America, its reckless vitality, its commitment to the cause of freedom and international recuperation. All these qualities with which a suffering world has hopefully endowed this country were embodied in the person of our dead President. To countless millions, *he was America.*

We shall realize, too, how completely he had come to represent in our own minds similar elements in the nation's domestic make-up. The ordinary people of the United States had, to an extraordinary degree, accepted the President's acts as a measure of the country's advancement and consigned to his hands their interests and hopes. They did not trust the

Democratic Party or the Administration as a whole; they trusted Roosevelt. Even when he seemed to compromise or retreat they were content to wait until he found it expedient to swing back to his own basic line. To millions of Americans, *he was the New Deal*, all it gave or promised them personally.

The political consequences of this sense of identification between the leader who has gone and the people who followed him will be felt in every part of our society. Men fighting in the mountains of northern Italy, workers on assembly lines in Detroit or Los Angeles will be inclined to new ways of thinking and acting because he is dead. Heads of states will orient their policies differently. Business men will make new plans.

When I say an era has ended I do not imply that the Administration under the leadership of Harry S. Truman will move to wipe out the social gains of the past twelve years or falter in the prosecution of the war and the preparation for peace. That nothing drastic will happen is indicated by the first acts of the new President. It may even turn out that certain important measures planned and initiated by Mr. Roosevelt will be carried through more easily by Mr. Truman. The very fact that he is a neutral figure and a conciliatory sort of man may tend to dissolve the tensions that had developed

around the towering person of his predecessor. The Administration will do all it can, I believe, to mitigate the anxiety of the people, here and abroad, by maintaining at least for the immediate future the program and governmental set-up established under Mr. Roosevelt.

But a basic change has occurred just the same, and it would be dishonest to deny it. The balance of political forces has shifted to the right. Anti-Roosevelt newspapers announce this with decorous satisfaction even in the midst of their eulogies of the late President. The shift will probably be an unobtrusive one; men will be brought to greater power whom the President also used; other men will resign not because they are thrust out but because they will no longer feel the underlying democratic drift that sustained so many progressive office-holders in spite of disappointments and setbacks. The "right-of-center, feet-on-the-ground liberalism" of Harry S. Truman will gradually be translated into practical political language.

If the substance of the New Deal is to be salvaged and if this country is to adopt the measures necessary to prevent post-war collapse and unemployment and the political consequences that would follow them, a new and much more solid alignment of progressive forces is called for. Even under the influence of Mr. Roosevelt these forces had to create all the pressure they could muster to offset the pressure from the right. Now they are on their own, with a harder job to do. They will succeed only if they realize their exact situation and make plans to meet it.

That situation has been partly shaped by the profound identification referred to above between the people—especially the people with conscious progressive leanings—and the leader they have lost. Throughout the last twelve years the progressive political movement in this country has slowly crystallized around Mr. Roosevelt. It has not developed—or had a chance to develop—an independent program or national leadership. The most effective, politically conscious sections of organized labor owe their very birth and growth to the New Deal. Roosevelt has been their leader and their permanent candidate; he has been the image of their hopes. In the President and the New Deal lay the strength of the whole progressive movement—and its weakness. In the degree to which American progressivism has been dependent on the President, it must experience a readjustment of values, a process of reintegration, before it can face adequately the new demands which will be made upon it. The progressive forces in America will have to grow up now and grow up fast. Events will not wait upon a slow process of maturing.

Luckily some progress toward independence has been measured in the last year. The forces marshaled in the C. I. O.-Political Action Committee have shown already their capacity for discipline and militant action. That they drew much of their vitality from their union with the President cannot be denied: it was the P. A. C. fighting for Franklin D. Roosevelt that generated power. But the workers who provide the mass base for the committee are a cohesive group that can develop its own program and find its own candidates. At present it is strongly opposed to the idea of a third party. That attitude was inevitable during the Roosevelt era; whether it can be maintained in the future depends upon a variety of factors. Chief among them will be its success in

the 1946 elections. The Congressional fight next year will provide the first major test of the capacity, not only of the P. A. C. but of American progressives of all sorts, to meet the challenge of independent political action.

Leaders must be found. Many will undoubtedly come out of the labor movement; Sidney Hillman himself is fast achieving stature as a national figure. Others will come out of the ranks of the government. The future of such men as Mr. Wallace and Mr. Ickes is uncertain; sooner or later they may be available. And one person who has been cut off from active political leadership is now, tragically, released for a new role: Eleanor Roosevelt, the best New Dealer of them all, should certainly be pressed into service. We know her well enough to feel certain that neither grief nor desire for rest and retirement will for long isolate her from the fight to which she has contributed so much energy and valor and wisdom.

The death of Mr. Roosevelt may mean the coming of age of the progressive political forces in America. If it means that, then slowly the dismay of the people, here and throughout the world, will be replaced by a new sense of power and confidence.

## *America and the Coalition*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE deep anxiety with which the world learned of the death of President Roosevelt proves how delicate and complicated is considered the task of organizing the peace. It was the most eloquent recognition that, complete as the military victory of the United Nations is certain to be, the political problems multiplying ahead of us are both difficult and decisive. Most important of them all is the problem of maintaining unity among the victors in the years to come.

We must not forget that the war will end with fascism defeated in the field but still alive and waiting to benefit by any disagreement among the Allies. The problem is too large to be solved by the punishment of a few thousand war criminals or by spectacular trials of fascists and collaborators. The only guaranty against the success of the Nazi plan for surviving military defeat lies in Allied unity. That is why it was necessary to support the decisions made at Yalta; Yalta cemented the coalition, and the continuance of cooperation among Russia, Britain, and the United States is the essential condition of peace. We may hope that the coalition will be strengthened, enlarged, made more democratic—but it must be maintained. That President Roosevelt understood. He understood what everyone with a sense of political responsibility would have understood if controversies over Russia had not distorted their political thinking—the absolute necessity of working closely with the Soviet Union.

The realistic approach manifested in Mr. Churchill's now famous speech on the day Germany attacked Russia won overwhelming approval. President Roosevelt carried forward Mr. Churchill's realism. He saw beyond the hour when Germany would collapse, a beaten nation, and was convinced of the need, not only for emergency collaboration, but for perma-

nent collaboration. The Russians realized this very clearly. I do not mean that they rubbed their hands over the concessions they could win from the President, but that they were relieved at last of the heavy burden of mistrust they had borne for two and a half decades. At the head of the strongest nation in the world was a man who believed that the future of his country was dependent upon the future of the coalition.

The coalition is at a stage when mutual confidence among the three national leaders is of primary importance to the forging of a completely articulated policy and to the content of a pact of unity. Just at this critical stage one of the three has disappeared—the one who stood at the center, the one best qualified to exercise a conciliatory influence at a moment of crisis. The President of the United States spoke for a country less directly involved in controversial European issues than the other two chief members of the coalition. He could play the role of an intermediary between the divergent interests of the Russian non-capitalist state and the British Tory government. He was a master of the art of finding a workable compromise between opposing political tendencies.

Now that he is no longer with us, even greater vigilance must be exercised to prevent irreparable setbacks during the testing period of the coalition—that is, in the first year or two after the war. That there was no constructive alternative to the course followed by Roosevelt is proved by the fact that the first important step in foreign affairs taken by his successor was to ask Stalin to send Molotov to San Francisco. The promptness with which Moscow agreed indicates, on the other hand, that the Soviet Union is unwilling to risk being held responsible for any weakening of the coalition or for possible damage to the conference.

It should not be forgotten that terrible injury might be caused to the structure of peace without an open break between the major Allies. Indeed, a break is almost inconceivable. But it would be enough if one of the members of the coalition should retreat into any kind of isolation or separatism and, instead of building its policy on mutual confidence, should build it exclusively on its own strength. If that should happen, an era of unilateral *faits accomplis* would inevitably follow.

Vigilance on the part of the progressive forces must be greater than ever because, as could have been expected, reaction is everywhere on the offensive and will not hesitate to take full advantage of the disappearance of one of the chief architects of the coalition. If any new proof were needed that the fight ahead will be a hard one, we have the statement of the Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States on San Francisco, pronouncing "democracy and Marxism incompatible" and filled from beginning to end with an irreconcilably anti-Russian spirit. This document manages to combine legitimate criticism of the weaknesses of Dumbarton Oaks with an underlying attack on the whole idea of collaboration. Like so many political pronouncements of the church, it is liberalism firmly rooted in reaction. It must be taken as a threat; the first openly aggressive move against the Allied security plan and the work of President Roosevelt.

## Support Bretton Woods

EVERY organization which wishes to see a stable peace achieved must throw every ounce of its energies into the fight to obtain Congressional approval of the Bretton Woods monetary agreements. If we cannot win the Bretton Woods battle in Congress, it is unlikely that we can muster the strength necessary to obtain a two-thirds' vote in the Senate for the new international peace organization. And even if the plans made at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco are approved, a new world security organization cannot be built without the Bretton Woods agreements. We cannot have world political stability if the nations of the earth feel free to, even compelled to, indulge in competitive currency depreciation. Nations engaged in cutthroat monetary competition cannot be expected to remain friendly. The Bretton Woods agreements, as Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson said in his extraordinarily able presentation of the issues before the House Banking and Currency Committee recently, represent "a sort of economic disarmament." Their basis, Acheson well declared, "is the conception of an expanding economy and collective security through common action."

An odd coalition of big New York bankers, high-tariff advocates, silverites, and isolationists are opposing the Bretton Woods agreements, as are those who are covertly sympathetic to Nazi revival after the war. With the exception of the silverites, who may yet be won over, these opponents fear an expanding full-employment economy after the war. W. Randolph Burgess, president of the American Bankers Association, indicated as much in his testimony against the proposed international monetary-stabilization fund. It was pointed out to him that the United States and the British Commonwealth between them would have a majority of the votes on the Fund, and he was asked by Mrs. Woodhouse of Connecticut whether this Anglo-American majority would not be a sufficient guaranty of conservative management. Burgess said he wasn't sure about Britain. "She is very much dependent on her trade with other countries who will buy from her," he said, "so it will be to her interest, immediately after the war, to have an expanding world trade, so that I am not sure she will be on the side of going carefully."

"The Bretton Woods agreements," Secretary Morgenthau explained to the committee in a lucid and graphic opening statement, "deal with two problems. One is the problem of providing capital to repair the devastation of war and for development purposes. The other is the problem of establishing a system of fair monetary practices that will promote trade instead of hindering it." The Bank is so super-conservative in its set-up that even the big New York bankers can hardly oppose it openly, though they prefer the old Bank for International Settlements, which they and their opposite numbers abroad could more easily control. The Wall Street crowd, the tail which wags the dog of the American Bankers Association, say they are for the Bank but not the Fund. They would have currency-stabilization loans made by the Bank itself.

This is an odd and a dangerous position. We stand to gain most from the Fund. At Bretton Woods the right to membership in the Bank was made conditional on participation in the Fund. The Bank, in a sense, was the sugar-coating for the Fund. This is because the Fund is more than a source of currency-stabilization, short-term loans. It is the heart of a multilateral agreement to maintain stable currencies. As Edward E. Brown, the thoughtful and progressive chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Chicago, explained to the committee, the Fund would "end the nuisance of multiple currencies . . . do away with competitive exchange depreciation . . . prevent the use of currency manipulation and depreciation for predatory political and economic purposes." To scrap the Fund is to scrap the agreements that go with it.

The big New York bankers like Winthrop Aldrich of Chase National, who are fighting Bretton Woods, stand to lose by it in a political sense. They would no longer be able to dictate reactionary and deflationary policies to borrowing countries. They and their opposite numbers could no longer use flights of capital to blackjack progressive governments, as was done to the Popular Front in France. But for American workers, farmers, business men, and the rank and file of bankers Bretton Woods offers a means of stabilizing and expanding world economy and world markets. Wall Street's dog-in-the-manger attitude must not be allowed to block the greatest single step we could take to a secure world.

## The Shape of Things

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT'S GREATNESS WAS NEVER more apparent than in the tragic hours immediately after she heard the news of the President's death. "I am more sorry for the people of the country and the world than I am for us," was her first response; it revealed an inner nobility of spirit; a quick sure insight into the full meaning of tragedy that lifted her above the sudden shock of personal loss. When she cabled her four sons, "He did his job to the end as he would want you to do," it was as if she anticipated the renewed resolve that must have come into the heart of every soldier, sailor, and airman when the news reached him. And when she said to the new President, "Tell us what we can do to help," she spoke for millions of grief-stricken American citizens who wished to insure by some personal commitment that Franklin Delano Roosevelt's work would go on. During the twelve years she was in the White House, Mrs. Roosevelt came to be the spokesman and the conscience of the common people of America. Her courage, her wisdom, and above all her unflinching devotion to the cause of the neglected and the oppressed are needed for the months ahead. There is more than a little sense in the suggestion of one columnist that Mrs. Roosevelt be appointed in some special capacity to our delegation at San Francisco.

★

THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE PAUSED briefly the morning after President Roosevelt died and closed down on the day of his funeral. More impressive than these formal marks of respect was the real tribute of the specu-

tors. On that Friday morning, after a short period of hesitation, the orders flooded in, and the Exchange enjoyed its most active day since March 9. The real inspiration for this bout of buying was indicated by marked concentration on the public-utilities stocks. Issues like Consolidated Edison, which seldom move more than a quarter point in a day, jumped more than a full point. "The market," the New York *Sun's* always frank commentator noted, "must have felt that somehow the public-utility companies at last had found a friend at Washington, or that at least under the new Administration the driving power that had created TVA would be lacking." We hope that the expectations on which this indecent demonstration was based will be disappointed. Ordinary citizens, noting this open acknowledgment that the utilities have lost an enemy, will be confirmed in their conviction that they have lost a friend.

★

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S FIRST ADDRESS TO THE Congress, the nation, and the world was exactly what everyone expected it to be—a pledge to carry the war to complete victory, to build an enduring peace based on law and justice, and to continue the struggle to improve the lot of the common people at home and abroad. It will give no comfort to the enemy. The President made it clear that he will continue the policies of Roosevelt, and he bespoke the support of all Americans. It was the rather ordinary eloquent speech of a plain "God-fearing" man; it was also direct and sincere. It showed a genuine humility, a sense of the great responsibilities of his position, and a recognition of the magnitude and difficulty of the tasks ahead—they will take "time and tolerance and an abiding faith in people." His speech also had an air of unassuming confidence both in his own capacities and in the support and help at his disposal.

★

ALTHOUGH THE NEW SOFT COAL CONTRACT contains only a small part of the miners' original demands, it represents another major victory for John L. Lewis. The pay boost in itself is substantial. Miners working a fifty-four-hour week on the day shift will receive \$63.50 as compared with \$57.06 under the old contract. In addition, a differential is established in favor of miners working on the second and third shifts, and the principle of portal-to-portal pay has been strengthened by provision for full pay for an hour underground travel time. In view of the hazardous and uncertain nature of mine employment, it is difficult to take exception to any of these concessions, even though they do increase the costs of coal production slightly. We can only wish that the mine operators had not played into Lewis's hands by their peremptory rejection of the compromise plan offered by Secretary Perkins a fortnight ago, thus precipitating a series of unauthorized strikes which caused a serious loss in coal production. The final settlement differed only in slight detail from Miss Perkins's plan. But by delaying the settlement while blast furnaces were closing down for want of coal, the operators forfeited the right to such public support as they had in the dealings with Lewis. As a result, the miners are likely to find wider acceptance of their contention that only a ruthless bargainer could fully serve their interests.

THE SHOCKING CONDITION OF MANY OF THE American war prisoners liberated from Nazi hospitals and prison camps has awakened the public, as perhaps nothing else could, to the necessity for a firm policy toward the individuals responsible for these and other crimes against humanity. Americans who have husbands, sons, and brothers in the German camps now share the personal anguish and indignation which tens of millions of Russians, Poles, French, Czechs, and other Europeans feel toward the men who have tortured and slain their loved ones. Yet apart from an announcement by the United Nations War Crimes Commission that it was compiling a list of war criminals, no coordinated program has been worked out for bringing the responsible men before the bar of justice. There is still no procedure for the apprehension and punishment of these individuals, and no central authority to give orders that such a procedure be set in motion. Although Under Secretary Grew has said that he believes the Axis criminals should be punished for crimes against their fellow-nationals as well as against citizens of the United Nations, this view has never been indorsed by either the State Department or the British Foreign Office. Neither the United States nor Britain has set up machinery for bringing Axis criminals to court. No policy has been worked out for dealing with the members of the Gestapo, although their job has been essentially criminal in nature. Since the War Crimes Commission has shown that it is utterly incapable of dealing with the problem, the American government should support the Czech proposal that the matter be brought before the San Francisco conference. It is idle to plan for permanent security while the men responsible for this war and its wholesale atrocities are permitted full freedom to prepare new outrages against humanity.

✱

FRANZ VON PAPEN IS THE FIRST NAZI RAT of any size or pedigree to be picked off a life raft since Hitler's ship went into its death plunge. He apparently considered it convenient to be in the Ruhr when the Americans surrounded it rather than remain in Berlin and run the risk of capture by the Russians or move south with his colleagues for the Wagnerian payoff. Franz does not like payoffs and up to now has been fairly agile in avoiding them. A Prussian by birth and training, he was German military attaché in Washington during World War I and was organizer of sabotage in war factories. During the Weimar Republic he appreciated the growing strength of National Socialism, and in 1932, when he had become Chancellor of the Reich, he removed by force the legally constituted Social Democratic government of Prussia. A few months later he was instrumental in bringing Hitler to power. A congenital double-crosser, he barely escaped the blood purge of June, 1934. Hindenburg's generals coming to the rescue in the nick of time. Von Papen won his way back into his Führer's good graces by using his post as Ambassador to Vienna to prepare Austria for the Nazi banquet. His later attempts in Ankara were less successful, if equally assiduous. Herr Franz von Papen is a shifty customer. No doubt at this moment he is seeking to advise us on what to do with Germany and offering us his skilled services. He will probably pose something of a problem to the War Crimes Commission. For, in

the words of Ernst Jaeckh, he is merely "the soul and brains of the Nazi conspiracy that pushed Hitler into the Chancellery." Just a top Nazi, that's all. No single act of murder or torture traceable to him. Just one of the perverted geniuses most responsible for the plague that has laid waste a world.

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# Roosevelt as Strategist

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

SIR THOMAS BEECHAM, with his unerring instinct for the fitness of things, played Siegfried's Funeral March at four o'clock last Saturday as the services began in the East Room of the White House. At that singularly affecting moment of the civilized world's deep sorrow, nothing could have been more appropriate than the dark, brooding threnody for the dead, dearly beloved military hero. It seemed to be of little consequence that the composer was a German, favorite of the man whose downfall had been chiefly engineered by the very one thus remembered.

For this thousand-sided man was preeminently a military leader, and it seems certain that history will credit him with being the chief architect of victory in this great war. As it was the greatest, most far-flung, and most complex of all wars, so was his achievement the greater—the establishment and maintenance of a mammoth coalition which on a dozen fronts, on land and sea and in the air, has brought nearly to defeat the two most dangerous enemies ever faced by the Republic.

It is bitterly ironic that he should have died almost in the moment of victory; yet his work had been done so carefully and surely that his death cannot alter the shape or the manner of that victory. In this as in other respects he differs from past leaders of coalitions, whose deaths signaled the splitting asunder of the coalitions and a weakening of the united determination to achieve or to secure the victory. Here it may be that much of the difference was due to his unique status as a democratic leader, whose power rested upon, and was never stronger than, the joint power of all the people, on whose reservoirs of energy and productiveness and talent he drew.

Often criticized as a believer in one-man government, he was of course in military matters the outstanding exemplar of the ability to achieve maximum results through the co-ordination of personalities, branches of the service, and national members of the Grand Alliance. In a moment of impending national crisis he brought Republicans into his Cabinet to head the two vital departments of national defense. He strove constantly for, and in large degree achieved, an end of inter-service rivalry and the establishment of teamwork among American soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen, without which the amphibious operations of Europe and the Pacific would have been impossible. Finally, through his own concentration on the main job of defeating the enemy, his insistence on consultation among the chief Allied war leaders, and his continual efforts to broaden the area of cooperation among the United Nations, he more than anyone else established the coalition which is winning the victory and which can now go on to win the peace.

In terms of military strategy he always maintained the objective—in sporting terms, he kept his eye on the ball—which was and remains the destruction of our enemies' power to wage war. He observed the principle of the concentration

of effort, and in keeping with this fundamental principle made the first great American strategic decision of the war, which was to defeat Germany first and then turn in full strength on Japan. This decision, failing which we very probably would never have been able to win the war, also recognized the sound rule of reinforcing strength rather than weakness—that is, of applying maximum effort where results are most likely rather than throwing good money after bad. His earlier and heroic struggle for lend-lease had already enabled us to put our production on the firing-line, killing Germans through British and Russian hands; now this decision led to the stepped-up bombing of Germany, to the North African invasion—of which he was primarily the author—to the expulsion of Italy from the war, to the Normandy landings, and to the impending destruction of Germany.

Although the decision was to defeat Germany first, the miracles of war production, of shipbuilding, and of training millions of first-class fighting men which were carried forward under his direction—and with himself ultimately responsible for any failure, never forget—made it possible for America to carry the Pacific war right to the grounds of the Emperor's palace. Alone among world leaders he had to conduct two major wars on opposite sides of the world at the same time: the measure of Allied success in those two wars is in large part the measure of his greatness as war leader, strategist, and commander-in-chief.

He leaves us with decisive victory assured, the European war in its last gasps, the Pacific war entering what seems to be its final phases. His team is well settled and pulling together: Marshall, King, and Arnold making ultimate decisions in Washington, Eisenhower in Europe carrying forward on a teamwork basis modeled on that of his chief, Nimitz and MacArthur in the Pacific preparing to take the army and navy into Japan, the Combined (British-American) Chiefs of Staff consulting and planning in unison, the machinery established for consultation between them and the Red Army chiefs on the eastern front, the Soviet Union preparing to enter the Asiatic settlement once the German phase is closed. His monument will be the successful culmination of global war with the machinery he devised; and beyond, the establishment of global peace with the reconversion of that machinery.

He lived to see the near-completion of one of his great designs—the destruction of Hitlerite Germany. The "thousand years" of the Third Reich are very nearly run out; by the day of his burial Germany was almost severed, with American troops approaching Dresden and a junction with Russian troops. In a strange and militarily irrational kind of paralysis, the main cohesive body of German troops in the Reich was facing the Russians on the Oder, holding them at bay before Berlin while the Americans swept up to their rear. There was nothing left to fight for in Berlin, now a dead city stripped of its last administrative function; the escape corridor south-

ward to the "national redoubt" was narrowing daily, coming under an increasing hail of fire from almost unmolested Allied aircraft. As in all the recent irrational behavior of the German High Command, the answer must be sought primarily in politics; it is perhaps a combination of two factors—German fear of what the Russians will do once they break deeply into the Reich, German hopes that the Western Allies will accuse the Russians of malingering, causing a last-minute split between them. Another possible explanation is that a decision was taken at Yalta or subsequently for the Russians to tie the Germans down at the Oder but not attack until the Americans had swung the escape door shut in their rear.

Whatever the reason, it now seems sure that the mass of Germans on the Oder will not escape. Their remnants may get away, to the mountains of the south or more likely to the new stronghold in the north, across the base of Denmark and along the North Sea and Baltic coasts. Here, as in Norway, western Holland, northern Italy (now under heavy Allied pressure), and the French Atlantic ports (of which the approaches to Bordeaux are at last also under heavy pressure), isolated and uncoordinated groups of Germans

will probably fight on long after Eisenhower and Stalin have proclaimed that organized resistance has come to an end.

Far more costly and protracted fighting lies ahead in the Far East, but here too the great design of coordinated advances westward and northwestward through the Pacific against the anvil of a still-resisting China is nearing its completion. The Philippines are nearly cleared; from bases there American planes have cut the Japanese lifeline to Malaya and the East Indies, which carried oil, rubber, and tin to the home islands. Fighters from Iwo Jima—this was the necessity for its casualties—are escorting Superfortresses from the Marianas in ever-heavier explosive and incendiary attacks on the centers of Japan's war production. Our troops are on Okinawa to stay; although many more of them will die before it is secured, this means the virtual end of Japanese sea-borne traffic to the south, the impending aerial investment of the vital North China ports, and a stepping-up of air attacks on Japan itself prior to the decisive landings there.

We came a long way toward victory with this man; most of the way. For this, and for other reasons, we need not fear for his immortality.

## Not Since Lincoln

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

*London, April 14*

THE sudden death of President Roosevelt has stunned and grieved our people more than that of any great public figure in my memory. We knew of course that he had been subject to an immense strain; we could see from the pictures of the Yalta conference that he had aged very much, and there was a kind of gray shadow over that vivid and friendly face. But when we read his address to Congress on his return it seemed as though his marvelous constitution, which had stood up so well to tests so grim, would once more assert its own power of recovery. We did not conceive that the greatest friend this country has ever known already stood by the gates of eternity.

From King and Queen and the Prime Minister down to the ordinary man and woman the President's death seems a personal loss as in the case of no other foreign statesman since men and women in the cotton towns of Lancashire wept openly at the death of Mr. Lincoln. The official sorrow at his death was marked by the adjournment of the House of Commons on the motion of the Prime Minister; that is a tribute never before paid in its long history to any other head of a state. It was marked too, as I have only once or twice before seen it so marked, by the flags at half mast on every building which carries a flagpole. The B. B. C. arranged for a moving talk on him by Professor Brogan and for a service of remembrance of singular impressiveness, in which extracts from the President's speeches were read and the Battle Hymn of the Republic sounded out before the Last Post.

Though we stand so near to overwhelming victory in the supreme crisis of our history, we feel that Mr. Roosevelt's death deprives the triumph of a vital part of our right to happiness over it. People have found that F. D. R.—the most

usual of all references to him—had become an intimate part of their daily lives. They had looked forward very eagerly to seeing him in London this summer. They wanted to give him their thanks in thunderous cheers; they wanted him to see that if our head be bloody it has never been bowed. They wanted to welcome him not merely as President of the United States but as a great citizen of the world, as one who had brought wisdom and courage and magnanimity to the service of freedom.

Typical of the spirit everywhere is the decision of the local Labor Party here in Essex that today's meeting shall begin with a tribute to Mr. Roosevelt, followed by a moment's silence. One man said to me that Roosevelt died for mankind as truly as if he had been a soldier on the battlefield. Another said that if I was sad for Mrs. Roosevelt, at least she knew that the whole world felt him already to be a part of its inheritance. Another spoke of the need to commemorate in some large and permanent way the noble friendship he has given to us. I like a phrase in one comment—that we must show America he is a part of our tradition as well as theirs; and I was struck by the way in which his satisfaction with the behavior of our people during the war was taken not as a general tribute to a body of citizens but as something which built a personal relation between the President and each man and woman in this island. And I thought too that there was something not unworthy at this moment in the remark of a postman to me: "Now that we have lost him," he said, "we must try to find him."

It is not merely that everyone wished he could have lived to see the final triumph. Even more it is the realization that his insight and experience would have been so priceless in the complex problems that peace will bring. For everyone

knew his disinterestedness. Everyone knew that when he spoke of peace he meant peace. Everyone knew that he was a great American because his views and his hopes put America in the context of the world. I have met many since the news came who realize how difficult it will be to replace him. It is notable that no one doubts the will of America

to see that President Truman begins his task in Franklin Roosevelt's spirit, for the great principles of Franklin Roosevelt's faith. Not since 1865 have we felt more close to America, more eager for mutual understanding. We pledge ourselves before him—our dead, too—that the work he wrought so nobly shall not have been in vain.

## *Farewell to F. D. R.*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, April 14*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S body was brought back to Washington today for the last time. The crowds began to gather early in Lafayette Park opposite the White House, as they did all along the line of the procession from Union Station. I got down to the park early and stood with many others waiting. Some small boys climbed into a tree for a better view. The gray tip of the Washington Monument showed above the White House. The trees were in full green; tulips bloomed on the lawn. Outside on the sidewalk there were soldiers in helmets every few feet, and we could hear the harsh tones of command as the guard of honor lined up on the White House lawn. Florists' trucks pulled up at the door, and huge wreaths were taken inside. Cameras were set up on the front porch, and camera men were perched on high ladders on the sidewalks and among us in the park. Birds sang, but the crowd was quiet.

In the park I recognized a group of girls from the C. I. O. offices in nearby Jackson Place, Walter Lippmann, and an Army and Navy Club bellboy with a sensitive Negro face. There were soldiers and sailors, Waves and Wacs. There were many Negroes, some of them quite obviously housemaids. There were well-dressed women and men in shirt sleeves. I noticed a small middle-aged priest, several grave and owlish Chinese, many service men with their wives or sweethearts, a tired man in overalls and blue-denim work cap. A tall gangling Negro boy in jitterbug jacket and pork-pie hat towered above the crowd in front of me. A man who seemed to be a hobo, unshaven and dirty, jarred the silence with a loud laugh at something a child behind him had said. There were close-mouthed New England faces, Jewish faces, Midwestern faces; workers and business men and housewives, all curiously alike in their patience and in the dumb stolidity that is often sorrow's aspect.

A truck sped by on Pennsylvania Avenue. On the roof of the truck two navy men operated a movie camera, taking pictures of the crowd. Far above us, twenty-four Flying Fortresses roared across the skies in proud formation. One remembered the President's 50,000-plane speech, and choked. Motorcycle police heralded the procession's approach. The marching men, the solemn bands, the armored cars, the regiment of Negro soldiers, the uniformed women's detachments, the trucks filled with soldiers, and the black limousines carrying officials and the President's family went by slowly. They seemed part of an unreal pageant by comparison with

the one glimpse of what we had come to see—the coffin covered with a flag. Many faces in the crowd puckered as it went past. In that one quick look thousands of us said our goodbys to a great and good man, and to an era.

I was at the PM office in New York Thursday when it happened. There was a commotion in the newsroom. A copyboy ran out of the wire-room with a piece of United Press copy in his hand. That first flash, "The President died this afternoon," seemed incredible; like something in a nightmare, far down under the horror was the comfortable feeling that you would wake to find it was all a dream. The Romans must have felt this way when word came that Caesar Augustus was dead. Later, when work was done, I went to a meeting of liberals in an apartment on Washington Square. It was a gloomy gathering, much too gloomy to honor so buoyant a spirit as Mr. Roosevelt's. Some felt that with his passing the Big Three would split up, that hope of a new world organization was dim. One of those present reported, apropos, that an automobile-company official in Detroit had told a delegation of visiting French newspapermen, "Next we fight the Soviet Union." Some thought the Nazis would be encouraged to hold out, that the war had been lengthened by the President's passing. Everyone seemed to feel that trouble, serious trouble, lay ahead.

I don't want to sound like Pollyanna, but I can remember so many crepe-hanging sessions of this kind since 1932. The Roosevelt era, for folk who scare easily, was a series of scares. Just before he took office, when the bonus marchers were driven out of Washington, revolution seemed to be around the corner. There was the banking crisis. The NRA was suspected of being the beginning of fascism; one of my friends in New York cautiously erased his name from the volumes of Marx and Lenin he owned; he felt the men with the bludgeons might be in his apartment any day. The Supreme Court knocked one piece of reform legislation after another on the head, and Mr. Roosevelt, when he set out to fight back, showed a deplorable disrespect for the constitutional amenities. There were the Chicago massacre and the Little Steel strike. There was Hitler. France fell when our armed forces were in good shape for a war with Nicaragua. The Japs sank most of the fleet at Pearl Harbor. It was a lush era for Cassandras.

Somehow we pulled through before, and somehow we'll pull through again. In part it was luck. In part it was Mr.

Roosevelt's leadership. In part it was the quality of the country and its people. I don't know about the rest of the four freedoms, but one thing Mr. Roosevelt gave the United States in one crisis after another, and that was freedom from fear. Perhaps his most important contribution was the example, the superlative example, of his personal courage. Perhaps some of us will feel less gloomy if we remember it. Perhaps some of us will be more effective politically if we also learn from Mr. Roosevelt's robust realism, his ability to keep his eye on the main issue and not worry too much about the minor details.

I found the mood of the intellectuals and New Dealers in Washington this week-end quite different from that in New York. There has been much swapping of information and sidelights, and there is a good deal of confidence in the new President. No one, least of all Mr. Truman, an impressively modest man, expects him fully to fill Mr. Roosevelt's shoes. But the general feeling among those who know Mr. Truman is that he will surprise the skeptical. I can only record my own impression for whatever it is worth. I talked with Mr. Truman several years ago and liked him immediately and instinctively. The Presidency is a terrific job, and it remains to be seen how he will stand up under its pressure. But he is a good man, an honest man, a devoted man. Our country could be far more poorly served. Mr. Truman is a hard worker, decisive, a good executive. He works well with people. He is at once humble about his own knowledge and capacities, as a wise man should be, and quietly confident about his ability to learn and to rise to the occasion.

I hate to confess it, but I think Mr. Roosevelt was astute and farsighted in picking Mr. Truman rather than Mr. Wallace as his successor. At this particular moment in our history, Mr. Truman can do a better job. Mr. Wallace's accession might have split the country wide open, not because of Mr. Wallace but because of the feeling against him on the right. Mr. Truman has the good-will of both sides and is in a position to capitalize on the sobering influence of Mr. Roosevelt's passing. The heaviest task of the President lies in the field of foreign relations, and the biggest obstacle to its accomplishment is in the Senate. It is fortunate that Mr. Truman's greatest and most obvious political assets are his relations with the Senate. He is a friendly person, and was well liked on both sides of the aisle. Isolationists like Wheeler and La Follette are among his friends, and he may be able to exert an influence with them that circumstances and the momentum of past events denied to Mr. Roosevelt. The chances of a two-thirds' vote in the Senate for the new peace organization are improved by the shift in the Presidency. I say this with no disrespect to our great departed leader.

I think Mr. Truman will carry on Mr. Roosevelt's work. He had been very effective in support of Mr. Roosevelt in the Senate. I can authoritatively report that the famous B2H2 resolution originated in Mr. Truman's office. Three of the sponsors, Senators Ball, Burton, and Hatch, were members of the Truman committee. Mr. Truman's closest personal friends in the Senate were Kilgore of West Virginia and Wallgren of Washington, both sturdy progressives and good New Dealers. There will be changes in the Cabinet, perhaps some for the better. On domestic policy Mr. Truman's record

is an excellent one, and labor has nothing to fear from him. The shock of Mr. Roosevelt's death has created an atmosphere in which the new President may be able to unite the nation more closely than ever and carry it forward to that stable peace Mr. Roosevelt so deeply desired.

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE WORK OF WEDNESDAY WEEK, by which Texas was admitted and the proclamation of the Fifteenth Amendment secured on the same day, may serve as a sufficient apology for Congressional inaction during the past seven days.—April 7, 1870.

LITERARY NOTES: Messrs. Fields, Osgood and Company began, with No. 15 of their illustrated *Every Saturday*, the new story by Mr. Dickens called, not after his usual fashion, "The Mystery of Edwin Drood." . . . It will be good news to everybody who has "wept at the grave of Adam" in company with Mr. Mark Twain, and has laughed everywhere else with that light-minded young man, to hear that he is going to edit a department of the *Galaxy*—or rather that he is going to write a department of the *Galaxy*. We do not hear that he is to have any assistants or contributors, though that he should is perhaps to be desired.—April 7, 1870.

THE WEEK HAS BEEN REMARKABLE for a great number of rejoicings over the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment by the colored people and their white friends and champions. The Anti-Slavery Association has celebrated the event by disbanding, after thirty-seven years of existence. . . . Their forces will now be transferred to other fields of reform. The woman's suffrage movement will probably receive the greater portion of them, and they will, no doubt, be divided pretty evenly between the three camps in which the friends of that cause are now found. . . . Roughly, they may be described as the *Revolution Society*, of which Susan B. Anthony is the head; and the Cleveland or National Association, of which Henry Ward Beecher is the head; and an association of which Mr. Theodore Tilton is the head, and which is the result of an abortive attempt on the part of that gentleman to unite the other two.—April 14, 1870.

ON WEDNESDAY WEEK the Massachusetts House defeated, by 133 nays to 68 yeas, a proposed amendment of the state constitution extending the suffrage to women.—April 28, 1870.

THE PRODIGIOUS RATE at which the passenger traffic between this country and Europe is increasing, and which seems to afford employment to as many steamers as capitalists choose to run, is doubtless mainly due to the growth of wealth and population. It, however, also indicates, beyond question, increasing restlessness on the part of all that portion of the American population which is not tied to one spot all the year round by stern necessity. . . . In nine cases out of ten, when people go to Europe, it is "for the sake of the girls." . . . The American travelers of whom most is seen and heard are of small advantage to Europe, and Europe is of small advantage to them.—April 28, 1870.

# Portrait of Truman

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

**H**ARRY S. TRUMAN is an average man who at the age of thirty-eight stepped on the escalator of an American political machine because he needed a job and has been carried to the very top floor—the Presidency of the United States. No one, probably, is more surprised than he is unless it is his friends, who were already rubbing their eyes at the fact that he was Vice-President.

Roosevelt and Wallace have been spokesmen for the Common Man, who is the average man dressed up in his rhetorical Sunday best. President Truman is the average man. He is Tom-Dick-and-Harry Truman; and he would not object to that designation, for his respect and regard for the common run of people, including himself, is probably greater than that of many who speak in their name and wish to do them good.

When people talk about Truman—or rather when they talked about him, for a Truman myth, no doubt, is already in the making—they tend toward negatives. He is not brilliant—he definitely has a ceiling, as one person put it. He is not a man of vision. He is not an innovator.

I would add, on the basis of a short interview, that compared with a Roosevelt or a Churchill he has no temperament, no afflatus, and for all his amiability, no charm. He is not a worldly or a cultivated man.

On the other hand, he is, according to all accounts, personally honest, sincere, conscientious, a hard worker with a practical intelligence. He likes people, gets along with everybody, and is extremely loyal to his friends. He reads a good deal, enjoys music, and plays the piano for his own pleasure. In appearance he is plain, neat, undistinguished, agile. His smile, which is constant, seemed to me a bit automatic.

I was told more than once that he is aware of his own limitations, that he has the sense and the humility to pick competent assistants and can delegate authority. He showed himself a good administrator as chairman of the Senate Committee to Investigate the Defense Program, which did an excellent and pretty comprehensive job on very little money, and which, despite the politically explosive area of its investigations and the mixed party affiliations of its members, never turned up a minority report.

Everybody knows that Truman got his political start, and became a Senator the first time, by means of the support of the Pendergast machine. Everybody will tend, from now on,

to play down, brush off, ignore that connection. Everybody, that is, except Truman himself. He will be the last to deny that he is a machine politician, or to be ashamed of it. His relations with the Pendergast machine and his attitude toward it furnish the key not only to his career but to his character and type, which is, I think, a type we shall have a great deal to do with in the next half-century. All over the world the statesman is being displaced by the practical politician—an inevitable development in what is to be, culturally as well as politically, the century of the average man.

In 1921 Harry Truman, who was then in his late thirties, had not yet established himself. In fact, he had just failed in the haberdashery business in which he had invested his savings on his return from World War I—before the war he had spent ten years running the family farm. One of his buddies had been the nephew of Tom Pendergast, and through this connection and other friends Truman got his first political office. In 1922 he was elected county judge in Jackson County, which was controlled by the Pendergast machine.

Jackson County judges are really county commissioners whose job it is to let contracts for and supervise the construction of highways and other public facilities. Millions of dollars of public money pass through their hands. In 1924 "Judge" Truman was defeated, but in 1926 he was elected as presiding judge and reelected in 1930. As a county judge Truman established a reputation for personal honesty which still stands. He built up a statewide acquaintance as well. A Baptist by religion, he was also a "high" Mason and an active Legionnaire. He belonged to the County Judges Association, which is said to be a powerful organization in Missouri. Anyway, by inclination Truman is, and always has been, "a member of the club."

In 1934 he wanted a better job. The accounts diverge as to how the better job turned out to be that of United States Senator. The most dramatic is a tall tale in spirit if not in fact. It relates that he went to Pendergast and asked for a post that paid \$25,000 in fees. "You're not a big enough man for that job," said Pendergast. "The best I can do now, Harry, is a United States Senatorship." Only a \$15,000 job. More credible is the story that he wanted to be nominated for Congress in a newly created district but that Pendergast was already committed to another candidate; that some weeks later Pendergast's nephew and the Democratic state



Drawing by Charles Lied  
Courtesy JPM

President Truman

chairman urged him to file for Senator, and that Pendergast threw the machine's support to him after a strong movement in his favor had already set in. The third account, which is the most convincing but the least picturesque, does not necessarily rule out the second: he was nominated because Pendergast was determined to defeat Champ Clark's candidate and needed a respectable name on his own slate.

Truman won the nomination by a plurality of some 40,000. It was demonstrated later that the "graveyard registration" in his district in 1934 was so large that his own plurality was probably made up of ghosts. But he had the job.

In 1940, when he came up for renomination and reelection, his defeat was freely predicted. The Pendergast machine was broken and disgraced. Out of "personal loyalty" Truman had not disowned Pendergast. On the contrary he said, "I accepted his support when he was on top. And I'm not going to kick him when he's down." By the same token he has remained vindictive against Pendergast's prosecutor, Milligan. Truman had two opponents in the 1940 primary, both of whom claimed credit for wrecking the Pendergast machine. They divided the credit and the vote—and Truman won.

Truman is personally honest. But he was not bothered by the scandalous methods by which the machine elected him in 1934. In an article in *Common Sense* last fall Grace and Morris Milgram recorded his frank answers to their direct questions about his relations with the machine.

There was nothing wrong with my relations with the Pendergast machine. . . . Every Democratic politician including myself went to Tom Pendergast for support. He is a fine gentleman. . . . He was always helping people, even people who did nothing for him. . . . You could trust him. His word was his bond.

Those things [the graveyard registration] were due to over-zealousness by Tom's boys. They were too anxious to make a good showing for the boss. . . . Tom didn't know anything about it—he was never involved in that sort of thing. Those fake registrations weren't needed to enable the machine to win.

The idea that one is not "involved in that sort of thing" unless one actually writes in phony names implies a concept of personal honesty that must shock the moralist. It is assumed by most politicians, and though few people would be so frank as to express the views given above, they are accepted in practice in large sectors of American life. That is an even more important—and dreary—fact than Truman's acceptance of it.

Mr. Truman went on to say that "you've got to have leadership in politics, and a boss is only a leader"—which should give the political theorist a turn.

Harry S. Truman is neither a moralist nor a political theorist. He is a practical man from Missouri who takes the world as he finds it.

In the Senate Truman was a loyal Administration supporter, as was to be expected, and his horizons widened if only because of his adaptability, which sometimes performs the functions of imagination. He went on making friends, remained the member of an even larger club. Because he was so perfect a liaison man he was expected, as Vice-President,

to play a highly important role in securing adoption of legislation implementing the peace, and he considered that his main job. We may assume that as President he will carry it through. He will do his best, moreover, to make the peace conform to the Roosevelt specifications if only out of "personal loyalty." There seems to me no question, by the way, that he has a much better chance of achieving that aim than Wallace would have had; and that consideration may well have played a part in Roosevelt's easy relinquishment of Wallace as a running-mate in the last election.

On domestic policy too I think Truman will follow Roosevelt's lead—until he gets to a point where specifications are missing and his deeply felt obligation to his predecessor cannot be defined. His limited imagination, his "practical" methods, and his short-run way of thinking will then come into play. He is likely to think of employment for returning veterans, for instance, not in terms of political or social theory but in terms of taking care of the boys. He suggested to me, rather complacently, that since we would be at least four years behind, replacements would keep us busy. In general, where a Wallace or a Roosevelt would put forth a bold and comprehensive program, achieve part of it against opposition, and in the process push back the boundaries of public opinion to take in new social objectives, Truman is likely to ask for no more than he can get without creating enemies. It is possible, of course, that in a given instance what Truman will ask for will be quite as much as a Roosevelt or a Wallace would achieve. But he will break no new paths, push back no boundaries; and he will tend to equate public opinion with party opinion, both Republican and Democratic.

Truman, in a word, will stick to the center of gravity, and his techniques will be more those of machine politics, especially compromise. Truman's life began with a compromise, if we may believe the story that the S. in his name stands for nothing because the choice lay between Sherman and Shippe and in order not to offend either pressure group his parents agreed to make it simply S. He believes in compromise; to him "government is politics," politics is mediation.

This lends vital importance to what seems to be a fact—that Truman represents no vested interest, unless machine politics as a way of government can be called that. He has shown no reluctance to attack big business. He believes in preparedness, but he also believes in civilian control. He has gone along with Roosevelt's labor policies and is trusted by the Railway Brotherhoods, the A. F. of L., and the C. I. O.—in that order.

The eventual danger lies in his complete lack of ideology. In Roosevelt's thinking labor had a status which did not depend on the actual political strength it could show. With Truman, I think, labor will be just one group among others, and it will have to earn its way politically. He is neither anti- nor pro-labor. Given the present distribution of political and economic power in this country, that means that labor will have to fight hard for everything it gets and be extremely vigilant about keeping what it has. Noblesse oblige, which labor could count on with Roosevelt, is no more.

On some issues, of course, Truman can be pushed just so far and no farther. On the Negro question, for instance, he is a loyal liberal Southerner, which means that he advocates

equality of opportunity and education but considers social equality out of the question, now or ever. But here again, he is at least frank about it. The Milgrams quote a speech he made at the National Colored Democratic Association in 1940. "Before I go farther," he said, "I wish to make it clear that I am not appealing for social equality for the Negro. The Negro himself knows better than that, and the highest types of Negro leaders say frankly they prefer the society of their own people."

Some people saw signs of the martinet in Truman's handling of Senator Murray's bill for a Missouri Valley Au-

thority. Some said it was a typical Truman compromise, and one person suggested that the compromise was part of Truman's liaison work in behalf of the coming peace treaty.

President Truman thinks of himself, I should say, as a "sensible" liberal. He will find left New Dealers less congenial personally than regular party men, but if the right expects any spectacular overturn of the New Deal it will probably be disappointed. He once said that he would be just another constitutional Vice-President. I'm inclined to think he will be just another constitutional President.

## The Foundations of Democracy

BY JACQUES MARITAIN

SOME months ago *The Nation* published an article by Sidney Hook\* which dealt with an issue crucial for democracy and the world tomorrow. Discussing a recent essay by T. S. Eliot, Mr. Hook reached by means of questionable theoretical arguments a practical solution which for quite different reasons seems to me to be on the right track. Even if we are in general in qualified agreement on the solution, there are important particulars in which we disagree. These I shall try to elucidate.

I did not read the essay by T. S. Eliot to which Mr. Hook refers. Yet if the way in which he understands the import of the statements contained in it is correct, I am afraid I would also disagree with T. S. Eliot, at least as regards the manner in which theoretical views that both of us hold to be true should be applied to our present historical situation. This is a rather paradoxical situation, which may be explained by the fact that conclusions depend not only on the major premises but on the minor as well. Since I have endeavored for many years and in many books to discuss the matters involved, I shall take the liberty of summing up my position here.

1. In the "sacral" era of the Middle Ages a great attempt was made to build the life of the earthly community and civilization on the foundation of the unity of theological faith and religious creed. This attempt succeeded for a certain number of centuries but failed in the course of time, after the Reformation and the Renaissance; and a return to the medieval sacral pattern is by no means conceivable. In proportion as the civil community has become more perfectly distinguished from the spiritual realm of the church—a process which was in itself but a development of the Gospel distinction between the things that are Caesar's and the things that are God's—the civil community has become grounded on a common good and a common task which are of an earthly, "temporal," or "secular" order, and in which citizens belonging to diverse spiritual groups or "families" equally share. Religious division among men is in itself a misfortune. But it is a fact that we must willy-nilly recognize.

2. In modern times an attempt was made to ground the life of civilization and the earthly community on the founda-

tion of mere reason—reason separated from religion and from the Gospel. This attempt fostered immense hopes in the last two centuries, and rapidly failed. Pure reason appeared more incapable than faith of insuring the spiritual unity of mankind, and the dream of a "scientific" creed uniting men in peace, and in common convictions about the aims and basic principles of human life and society, vanished in contemporary catastrophes. In proportion as the tragic events of the last decades have given the lie to the bourgeois rationalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we have been confronted with the fact that religion and metaphysics are an essential part of human culture, primary and indispensable incentives in the very life of society.

3. As concerns, therefore, the society of tomorrow and the revitalized democracy we are hoping for, the only solution is of the *pluralistic* type. Men belonging to most different philosophical or religious creeds and families could and should cooperate in the common task and for the common welfare of the earthly community, provided they similarly assent to the basic tenets of a society of free men.

For a society of free men implies basic tenets which are at the core of its very existence and which it has the duty of defending and promoting. One of the errors of bourgeois optimism was to believe that in a free society "truth," and decisions befitting human dignity and freedom, would automatically emerge from the conflicts of forces and opinions; the error lay in conceiving of free society as a mere neutral boxing-ring for all kinds of ideas in mutual competition. Thus democratic society, in its concrete behavior, had no concept of itself, and freedom lay open, disarmed and paralyzed, to the undertakings of those who hated it, and who tried by all means to foster in men a vicious desire to become free from freedom.

If it is to conquer totalitarian trends and fulfil the hope of the peoples of the world, the democracy of tomorrow will have its own concept of man and society, and its own philosophy, its own faith, enabling it to educate people for freedom and to defend itself against those who would use democratic liberties to destroy freedom and human rights. No society can live without a basic common inspiration and a basic common faith.

\* The Dilemma of T. S. Eliot, in *The Nation* for January 20.

But the all-important point to be noted here is that this faith and inspiration, this philosophy and the concept of itself which democracy needs, all these do not belong in themselves to the order of religious creed and eternal life but to the temporal or secular order of earthly life, of culture and civilization. Even more, they are matters of practical rather than theoretical or dogmatic agreement; I mean they deal with practical conclusions that the human mind, rightly or wrongly, can try to justify from quite different philosophical outlooks, probably because they depend basically on simple, "natural" apperceptions, of which the human heart becomes capable with the progress of moral conscience. Thus it is that men possessing quite different, even opposite, metaphysical or religious outlooks—materialists, idealists, agnostics, Christians and Jews, Moslems and Buddhists—can converge, not by virtue of any identity of doctrine, but by virtue of an analogical similitude in practical principles, toward the same practical conclusions, and can share in the same practical democratic philosophy, provided that they similarly revere, perhaps for quite diverse reasons, truth and intelligence, human dignity, freedom, brotherly love, and the absolute value of moral good. As Mr. Hook puts it, "the underlying premises, whether theological, metaphysical, or naturalistic, from which different groups justify their common democratic beliefs and practices must not be subject to integration"—let us say to socially or politically enforced integration. "It is enough, so to speak, that human beings live in accordance with democratic laws"—and, let us add, share in the common—human, earthly, temporal—democratic faith and inspiration. "It is foolish intolerance to make only one justification of laws legal."

Here, if we want to be thorough in our thought and do not fear words, we should point out that where faith is, divine or human, there are also heretics who threaten the unity of the community, either religious or civil. In the sacred society the heretic was the breaker of religious unity. In a lay society of free men the heretic is the breaker of "the common democratic beliefs and practices," the totalitarian, the one who denies freedom—his neighbor's freedom—and the dignity of the human person and the moral power of law. We do not wish him to be burned or expelled from the city or outlawed or put in a concentration camp. But the democratic community should defend itself against him, be he materialist, idealist, agnostic, Christian or Jew, Moslem or Buddhist, by keeping him out of its leadership, through the power of a strong and informed public opinion, and even by handing him over to justice when his activity endangers the security of the state—and over and above all by strengthening everywhere a philosophy of life, intellectual convictions, and constructive work which would make his influence powerless.

On the other hand, a serious task of intellectual reexamination should be undertaken regarding the essentials of democratic philosophy. And it would be especially desirable to develop the understanding of the pluralistic principle and the technique of pluralistic cooperation. It seems to me that the free traditions and the historical set-up of this country would provide special opportunities for such a development.

4. The above-mentioned considerations explain why, writing on French affairs, I often emphasized my hope that the

new French democracy would spring from the cooperation between Socialists and Christians. In such a democracy, however, would the "worldwide common faith" implied find in scientific method its highest source of authority? Would "intelligent social planning" be enough to insure the integration of culture? In the democratic culture of the future—if it has a future—will it be "the teacher dedicated to the scientific spirit," "and not the priest," "who will bear the chief responsibility for nurturing, strengthening, and enriching a common faith"?

Here are the main points on which I should like to express disagreement with Mr. Hook's views. I am afraid he has been inspired in these passages by that rationalistic bias whose illusory character I pointed out above (number 2).

The very expression "common faith" which Mr. Hook uses should make us realize that democratic inspiration cannot find in scientific method its highest source of authority. This "faith" is "of a secular not supernatural character"; yet even a secular faith implies the commitment of the whole man and his innermost spiritual energies, and draws its strength, therefore, from beliefs which go far beyond scientific method. In other words, the justification of the practical conclusions which make such a "common faith" common to all is in each one an integral part of this very faith. As for social planning, even intelligent, I am afraid a culture organized by social planning alone would offer little chance for the creative powers of human personality or for the enthusiasm and happiness of the people.

The scientific spirit is of invaluable help for culture in so far as it develops in human minds, in a general way, respect and love for truth and the habits of intellectual accuracy. (This is why, let us observe parenthetically, the scientific spirit of the thirteenth-century Schoolmen played so basic a part in the rise of Western culture.) Yet neither culture nor democracy lives on science alone. Science, especially modern science, deals with the means, especially with the material means, of human life. Wisdom, which deals with the ends, is also—and above all—necessary. And the fact remains that democratic faith—implying as it does faith in justice, in freedom, in brotherly love, in the dignity of the human person, in his rights as well as in his responsibilities, in that quality of just laws which makes them binding in conscience, in the deep-rooted aspirations which call for political and social emancipation of the people—cannot be justified, nurtured, strengthened, and enriched without philosophical or religious convictions—"whether theological, metaphysical, or naturalistic"—which deal with the very substance and meaning of human life. Here appears the truth of T. S. Eliot's emphasis on the organic character of culture, as well as the injustice of reproaching him with suggesting proposals which, if enforced, would result in some kind of "ecclesiastical fascism." For we can be sure it is not to the compulsory power of any ecclesiastical agency but rather to the persuasive power of truth that he makes the effort toward the integration of culture appendant. The effort toward integration must not only be brought about on the level of personality and private life; it is essential to culture itself and the life of the community as a whole: an integration which does not depend on legal enforcement but on spiritual and freely accepted inspiration.

As a result, it is but normal that in a democratic culture and society the diverse philosophical or religious schools of thought which in their practical conclusions agree with regard to democratic tenets, and which claim to justify them, come into free competition. Let each school assert its belief with fulness and integrity! But let no one try to impose it by force upon the others! The reciprocal tension which ensues will enrich rather than harm the common task.

5. As for myself, who believe that the idea of man propounded by the metaphysics of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas is the rational foundation of democratic philosophy, and that the Gospel inspiration is its true living soul, I am confident that in the free competition of which I just spoke the Christian leaven would play an ever-growing part. In any case the responsibility for nurturing, strengthening, and enriching a common democratic faith would belong no less to the priest, dedicated to the preaching of the Gospel, than to the teacher, dedicated to the scientific spirit, if both of them come to a clear awareness of the needs of our times and rid themselves of parasitical prejudices inherited from the past. If you are looking for the *chief* responsibility, I would say that as a matter of fact it would probably be that of a leadership made up of Christian laymen and the most enlightened elements of the working classes.

Finally, if I affirm that without genuine and vital reconciliation between democratic inspiration and evangelical inspiration our hopes for the democratic culture of the future will be frustrated, I do not appeal to police force to obtain such reconciliation; I only state what I hold to be true. It would be foolish intolerance to label as intolerance any affirmation of truth which is not watered down with doubt, even if it does not please some of our democratic fellow-citizens. I insist as forcefully as T. S. Eliot that the Christian leaven is necessary to the life and integration of our culture. From the religious point of view I would wish all men to believe in the integrity of Christian truth. From the social-temporal point of view, I would be satisfied if the Christian energies at work in the community draw on the fulness of supernatural faith in a number of men and retain at least their moral impetus in those in whom these energies still exist, perhaps unawares, but have been more or less secularized.

It is true, moreover, that supernatural faith does not provide us with any particular social or political system. In such matters supernatural faith must be complemented by sound practical philosophy, historical information, and social and political experience. Yet supernatural faith, if it is truly lived—in other words, if Christians know “of what spirit they are”—provides them with basic inspiration and vital truths which permeate their social and political systems and work for human dignity, against any kind of totalitarian oppression.

Allow me to add that to consider the religious faith of a poet like T. S. Eliot as “the object of a deliberate will-to-believe enjoying an uneasy triumph over the scruples of intelligence” is perhaps the only way in which an unbeliever can explain to himself such a strange phenomenon, but is in itself perfectly irrelevant. It is no more relevant to pretend that the neo-Thomists regard as “disorder” “the spirit of inquiry and innovation”—I don’t mean skepticism—and “the advance of liberty of thought and behavior,” if this

liberty is inspired by a love for what is true and good.

I should like to conclude by saying that I have been particularly happy to find myself this once in agreement, even qualified, with Sidney Hook, except for the points to which I have just referred, which are of no little importance. Such an agreement on practical conclusions between philosophers whose basic theoretical outlooks are widely separated is, to my mind, an illustration of the pluralistic cooperation of which I spoke.

## In the Wind

A FRIEND brings political gossip from Georgia: that if Justice William O. Douglas is made chairman of the RFC, Francis Biddle will replace him on the Supreme Court and Governor Ellis Arnall will be asked to succeed Biddle as Attorney General; the gossipers point out that there is no Southerner in the Cabinet now and that Arnall is easily confirmable. His liberal friends, however, are advising against it. Eugene Talmadge plans to run for Governor next year, and in Arnall’s absence the only likely opponent for him would be the reactionary ex-Governor Eurith D. Rivers.

VIRGINIA is being plastered with small stickers bearing a silhouette map of the state on which are superimposed the words, “Repeal Poll Tax.”

A PAMPHLET entitled “Communism Today, or Red Fascism,” by Raymond T. Feely, S.J., has on its cover the hammer and sickle turned the wrong way. It looks suspiciously like what the Communists would call a leftist deviation.

AN ADVERTISEMENT in the *Washington Post* of April 7 lists six Christian Science reading-rooms in which you can learn how to release your latent abilities by realizing the delusory nature of material circumstances. Only if you’re colored you’ll have to learn in a special room.

ON APRIL 1 a Nazi propaganda broadcast said, “The National Socialist Party is no more.” The *Montreal Star*, reporting the broadcast on April 2, gave it this headline: “Socialists’ Out, Says Nazi Radio.”

FROM JOHANNESBURG comes this sad tale of the meat situation in South Africa. A man waited patiently in line at a butcher shop, and reached the counter just in time to see the last piece of meat go to somebody else. The same thing happened again the next day. In a rage, the man went to a gunsmith and roared, “I want some bullets!” “What for?” asked the gunsmith. “I’m going to shoot the food controller.” “Oh, you too. Get in line.”

AMERICA, a highly conservative Catholic weekly, published on April 14 an article entitled FEPC—a Challenge to Democracy, by Richard J. Roche, recommending in the strongest terms a permanent FEPC.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Fascism Wins a Round

BY ALLEN HADEN

BY THE recognition of Argentina on April 9 the State Department sold out democracy in this hemisphere.

Against the unanimous opinion of every newspaperman who has actual knowledge of Argentina and its present government, against the opinion of subordinate foreign-service officials, against the opinion of half the American embassy staff in Buenos Aires, recognition was granted to the government of General Edelmiro Farrell within a week of the Argentine Supreme Court's implicit condemnation of the Farrell government as illegal.

Three issues are pointed up by this recognition of Farrell. The first is the rather academic one of recognition policy, important chiefly because it includes the question of relations with fascist states. The second is the department's practice of deliberately misleading American newspapermen about its policy. The third, and most important, is how much political acumen has been displayed by Stettinius's "team."

Let us take up these questions in their order. Recognition of Farrell is recognition of a Nazi-fascist government—or at least so said President Roosevelt on September 29, 1944. The Argentine situation, the President said, presented "the extraordinary paradox of the growth of Nazi-fascist influence and increasing application of Nazi-fascist methods in a country of this hemisphere" just when they were being licked elsewhere in the world. He went on: "The paradox is accentuated by the fact, of which we are all aware, that the vast majority of the people of Argentina have remained steadfast in their faith in their own free, democratic traditions."

A greater paradox than the growth of Argentine fascism is found in the fact that while eleven million American men and women are in uniform fighting for our national life against Nazis and fascists, our State Department creates the opportunity to recognize a clearly Nazi-fascist government at our back door. The men excoriated by the President in September still hold power in Argentina, but now that a new "team" is handling the reins, the promises of these men are taken at their face value and the State Department recognizes their government, as a preliminary, presumably, to Argentina's joining the United Nations.

This action also violates the definition of the recognition policy of the United States given by Assistant Secretary of State Nelson A. Rockefeller. Mr. Rockefeller explained to newspapermen in Mexico City that we would withhold recognition from "any government which threatens the peace of the hemisphere." Has the runaway militarism of the Farrell government of which we formerly heard so much suddenly abated, or is it being conveniently overlooked? Were we misled previously, or are we being gulled now?

The department's press release of April 9 makes it appear that the United States government is trying to hide behind the other American governments. It speaks of members of

the Pan-American Union deciding "unanimously, after deliberation, that the measures taken by Argentina were in accordance with the criteria of the resolution on Argentina" adopted at the Mexico City conference. Those criteria were formulated in Resolution LIX, paragraph 5: "The conference hopes that the Argentine nation will implement a policy of cooperative action with the other American nations so as to identify herself with the common policy which these nations are following, and so orient her own policy that she may achieve her incorporation into the United Nations as a signatory of the joint declaration entered into by them."

The important word here is "implement." A State Department official has pointed out that the implementing has consisted in declaring war on the Axis, securing Japanese diplomats (which should have been done long ago), confining crew members of the Graf Spee (after the important officers had been allowed to escape), supplementing the black list by seizing Axis firms (and putting outstanding pro-Nazis in charge of them). "Implementing" a policy is not saying you will do something; it is doing it. Argentina already has a bad record on that score, for it subscribed to the resolutions of Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942, and never implemented them. To accept the assurances of the Farrell government without waiting to see what *continuous action* is taken is at best absurdly ingenuous and complacent. As a footnote, one might add that some thirty agents used by American and British intelligence to watch the Nazis in Argentina are still in jail.

That American newspapermen have been consistently misled can scarcely be denied. They suspected that the appointment of Nelson A. Rockefeller as Assistant Secretary heralded appeasement of Argentina. They suspected also that the methods of James Clement Dunn, engineer of Spanish appeasement from 1936 to 1939 and now raised to Assistant Secretary, would find a wider field of action. But they were reassured privately that nothing of the sort would happen. At Mexico City they were told, privately again, that the word "implement" in the resolution on Argentina meant that General Farrell's government would have to perform before it would be recognized. And so, along with others, this writer went out on a limb and reported that the resolution, though politely worded, contained a hard core of non-appeasement. American newspapermen were invited to crawl out on that limb so it could be cut off behind them, for it was their relentless opposition which had previously prevented appeasement. They were deliberately hoodwinked.

As to the third and most important question, if we mean to defend democracy as an ideological concept and a political and social way of life, recognizing Farrell is indefensible. If we prefer to be coldly pragmatic and plead expediency, it is simply stupid. In all their statements and actions the Farrell government and the Nationalists supporting it have

been anti-democratic and anti-Allies. By its very nature the regime is anti-American. Nor shall we, by recognition, gain its good-will, for it will not forget that it has been forced to eat crow. On the other hand, by recognizing Farrell we have alienated all Argentines who opposed him and his fascism, which means the majority of the Argentine people. Leaders of all the popular parties—Radical, Conservative, Socialist, Communist—have taken their stand against the military. All these parties cooperate in publishing the underground resistance newspapers—*Himno Nacional* and a dozen others. *Pueblo Argentino*, published in Montevideo under the brilliant editorship of Rodolfo Ghioldi, a Communist, is supported by contributions from all classes of Argentines.

It almost looks as if the State Department's new "team" hastened to recognize the Farrell government to prevent its fall. When the Supreme Court last week invalidated three government decrees, thus implicitly denying the legality of the government itself, it was not speaking only for itself but for a large body of public opinion. The recognition so carefully planned ever since Secretary Hull was forced by illness to leave the State Department, and built up to its climax on April 9 through the long zigmarole of Pan-American Union meetings and the Mexico City conference, will now consolidate the power of General Farrell and his Nazi-fascists.

The Argentine recognition poses an ideological and moral question—the question whether we are pro-democratic or pro-fascist in the United States and the State Department. It is significant that when Paul Ward of the Baltimore *Sun* asked what fascism was, a high State Department spokesman, after pondering six hours, replied that it was "the kind of philosophy in Germany and Italy under Hitler and Mussolini." Another reorganization seems to be in order: we need men in the State Department's top positions who know fascists when they see them.

## Note from the Argentine Underground

*[We have received the following statement written by certain prominent members of the Argentine underground whose names, for obvious reasons, cannot be published.]*

RECOGNITION of the Farrell regime is not an isolated incident in United States-Argentine relations. The United States, however, was not acting alone but with all the nations of the continent when it was agreed, in Mexico, to initiate the policy of appeasement that has now reached its culmination. The entire system of American cooperation and the whole juridical and philosophical structure elaborated at Chapultepec are crumbling before the first concrete situation by which they have been tested.

By the acceptance of the farce of fascist Argentina's sudden conversion, all measures for hemispheric defense against Nazi penetration are invalidated, the unity of the war effort is destroyed, the democratic principles recommended as a foundation for the hemisphere's political structure are negated, and the ideas for economic and social progress proclaimed at the conference are rendered impotent.

The transcendent meaning of recognition is that it inau-

gurates an anti-democratic and reactionary policy that will tend to bolster reactionary elements and to discourage popular forces everywhere. It indicates a trend toward the creation of a reactionary American bloc that will be opposed to the liberal and socialist aims of post-war Europe. Moreover so far as Argentina is concerned, the move was unnecessary, because the position of the Farrell-Perón government on the eve of the Mexico conference was extremely weak, and the democratic opposition was rapidly gaining strength.

Because of the State Department's policy the United States will lose the moral leadership which it was beginning to acquire in Latin America and which was the only practical and acceptable substitute for dollar diplomacy. This break in the inter-American system will cause its collapse, and the various peoples of the continent will again be forced to rely on their own separate strength.

But even this betrayal by the United States will not cause the Argentine people to lose faith. They will find something to replace what has been taken from them; they will not fall a prey to desperation and nihilism. When they consider the catastrophe produced by recognition of their fascist regime they will turn toward the solution offered by the active anti-fascist forces in the world.

If the United States persists in its present policy of supporting fascist dictatorships in Latin America, and if the Soviet Union remains firm in its opposition to the Farrell-Perón regime, the outcome cannot be doubtful. For the Russians are skilful at playing the cards the United States has played so ineptly. In fact, they have already acted, preparatory to the San Francisco conference, and are opposing Argentina's presence there. If Russia succeeds in this, all moderate elements of the democratic movement—even those which from a certain point of view have been anti-Russian—will be forced into the orbit of Soviet diplomacy. And the Russian action will have repercussions not only in Argentina but among all democratic groups in South America. Thus Roosevelt's whole Good Neighbor policy, which was part of an effort to preserve what could be preserved in the American capitalist system, will have failed because of the ineptness of Washington diplomats.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON MARCH 28 the man whom the AMG had installed as Mayor of Aachen, a German named Franz Oppenhof, was shot and killed. Three stragglers from the Wehrmacht had appeared at his house and demanded civilian clothes and passes which would let them get through the lines and go home. The Mayor told them he must hand them over to the American authorities. But instead of doing so at once—instead of calling an American guard—this schizophrenic German dickered with the three soldiers for several hours. Finally one of them shot him. He was not murdered to punish him for his lack of patriotism but because he had refused to help a deserter.

Three days later was April 1, which in Germany as here is traditionally April Fools' Day, a day for hoaxes and practical jokes. Under ordinary circumstances people would

have thought it was an April Fools' joke when at 7 p. m. on April 1, over wave-length 1339, a radio station announced itself for the first time as "Station Werewolf," with the additional title, "Station of the German Freedom Movement." The more curious would have looked in the dictionary to see what the werewolf of German sagas really was. They would have found it defined as "a man transformed for a time or periodically into a wolf; a man by day and a wolf by night; a person afflicted with lycanthropy." And they would have found that lycanthropy was "a form of insanity in which a person imagines himself to be a wolf." Fortified with this information, most people would have been convinced that "Station Werewolf" was trying to be funny.

But the broadcast was not a joke. It was, in all probability, the swan song of Dr. Goebbels. Once again, before he departed this life, the classic author of Hollywood B- and C-film fantasies showed what he was capable of and what the world was losing. The broadcast began with an announcement to the effect that only after their defeat would the German people really begin to fight. It seems that the right occasion had not previously arisen, but now the struggle would be on:

Beware, you Britons, Americans, and Jews! Beware, you Bolsheviks, you OGPU butchers! The Werewolf will know how to reply to every crime against the honor and life of the German people. Woe to the enemies who want to torture and oppress the German people! But thrice woe to Germans who put themselves at the enemy's disposal! Over them hangs the sword of national revenge.

Next came the statement that the "Werewolf movement" had developed spontaneously in the occupied parts of Germany and did not need a Nazi Party, a German government, or a German Reich:

In this fateful hour countless men, women, and boys in the enemy-occupied regions have rallied to a movement of resistance using the name Werewolf. They have made an inflexible resolve, confirmed by a solemn oath, never to yield to the enemy, to resist him at all times.

Thirdly, listeners were told that even Station Werewolf, which would issue "instructions" at 7 p. m. each day, was broadcasting from territory held by the enemy—as is inexorably expected of all "underground" radio stations in B and C films. For though the location of radio transmitters can be determined by a physical-mathematical calculation in a few minutes, with unfailing accuracy—and as a result there have been no secret stations in this war—movie producers and consumers alike cling to the idea of the secret station on enemy soil as a requisite of modern conspiratorial romance. Well, Goebbels gave us that too in his swan song.

On the next day the Werewolf radio began to issue its instructions to Werewolf members. It was of course somewhat inconvenient that the enemy could listen in and take the necessary counter-measures. But a true movie mind, producer or consumer, does not allow its flights of fancy to be halted by such small embarrassments. On the second day of its existence the Werewolf radio broadcast orders to "kill the American Jew, Bernard Baruch, who wants to come to occupied Germany." Mr. Baruch is marked for death on seven counts:

He drove America into the First World War. He helped to forge the disgraceful fetters fastened on Germany at Versailles. He incited Britain to this second war and helped Churchill to office. Then once again he incited America to make war on Germany, and now he wants to come to Germany. We are waiting for him. From the moment he sets foot on German soil the shadow of the Werewolves must follow him, and one day the Werewolves will strike.

This was a very definite command. On the third day the instructions were more general. The occupation authorities must have blanched when they heard these simple but portentous directions:

Attention, Werewolves! The following message is important. Steal weapons and ammunition. Every weapon of the enemy's must be taken from him. Wrap the weapons up and hide them.

On the fourth day the instructions were tied in with the announcement of a victory. For that reason they were of an especially exciting nature. The order was given to kill the "United States Murder Commission in Coblenz," and this order was based on a discovery made in the course of a great Werewolf triumph:

During a raid which our comrades made yesterday on a convoy of American civilians the secretary of the United States Liquidation Commission, which is to be set up in occupied Germany, was captured. This commission is to organize the extermination of all Germans. Before we liquidated the secretary, he said that the "Murder Commission" was to hold its sessions in Coblenz. Werewolves of Coblenz, take heed! This Murder Commission must not be allowed a quiet moment. Hunt them down! Strike them down!

Let us not speak scornfully of the dying swan, Dr. Goebbels. With his vulgar and incredibly silly movie imagination he has had great influence on the world public; his success should give him a claim on the Oscar of all Oscars. Even in dying he shows that his childish nonsense is admirably suited to his enormous audience—at this moment people are wondering anxiously what in God's name the Werewolves will do next, what will happen when the Nazis "go underground."

Courage, people in the Great World Movie Theater! Let us keep our reason! It seems certain that the Nazis intend to fight to the end in the last corner into which they are driven, whether it be in the Bavarian "redoubt" or elsewhere. But when that fight is finished, let's stop talking about "Werewolves" and other forms of underground resistance. In all history, as in this war so far, there has never been a serious, dangerous, active underground in an occupied country unless there was an army outside on the offensive against the occupying power. There has been, and there will always be, isolated action by desperadoes. But in any country that is effectively occupied 99.9 per cent of the population are submissive. The Allies will need to be on their guard against werewolves and other underground German monsters only when somewhere in the world a state or a group of states sets an army in motion to drive them out of Germany. Only then will a corresponding movement develop underground in Germany.

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## SIEGFRIED

In the turret's great glass dome, the apparition, death,  
Framed in the glass of the gunsight, a fighter's blinking wing,  
Flares softly, a vacant fire. If the flak's inked blurs—  
Distributed, statistical—the bombs' lost patterning  
Are death, they are death under glass, a chance  
For someone yesterday, someone tomorrow; and the fire  
That streams from the fighter which is there, not there,  
Does not warm you, has not burned them, though they die.  
Under the leather and fur and wire, in the gunner's skull,  
It is a dream: and he, the watcher, guiltily  
Watches the him, the actor, who is innocent.  
*It happens as it does because it does.*  
It is unnecessary to understand; if you are still,  
In this year of our warfare, indispensable  
In general, and in particular dispensable  
As a cartridge, a life—it is only to enter  
So many knots in a window, so many feet;  
To switch on for an instant the steel that understands.  
Do as they said; as they said, there is always a reason—  
Though neither for you nor for the fatal  
Knower of wind, speed, pressure: the unvalued facts.  
(In Nature there is neither right nor left nor wrong.)

So the bombs fell: through clouds to the island,  
The dragon of maps; and the island's fighters  
Rose from its ruins, through blind smoke, to the flights—  
And fluttered smashed from the machinery of death.  
Yet inside the infallible invulnerable  
Machines, the skin of steel, glass, cartridges,  
Duties, responsibility, and—surely—deaths,  
There was only you: the ignorant life  
That grew its weariness and loneliness and wishes  
Into your whole wish: "Let it be the way it was.  
Let me not matter, let nothing I do matter  
To anybody, anybody. Let me be what I was."

And you are home, for good now, almost as you wished;  
If you matter, it is as little, almost, as you wished.  
If it has changed, still, you have had your wish  
And are lucky, as you figured luck—are, really, lucky.  
If it is different, if you are different,  
It is not from the lives or the cities;  
The world's war, just or unjust—the world's peace, war or  
peace;

But from a separate war: the shell with your name  
In the bursting turret, the crystals of your blood  
On the splints' wrapped steel, the hours wearing  
The quiet body back to its base, its missions done;  
And the slow flesh failing, the terrible flesh  
Sloughed off at last—and waking, your leg gone,  
To the dream, the old, old dream: *it happens,*  
*It happens as it does, it does, it does—*  
But not because of you, write the knives of the surgeon,

The gauze of the theater, the bearded and aging face  
In the magic glass; if you wake and understand  
There is always the nurse, the leg, the drug—  
If you understand, there is sleep, there is sleep . . .  
Reading of victories and sales and nations  
Under the changed maps, in the sunlit papers;  
Stumbling to the toilet on one clever leg  
Of leather, wire, and willow; staring  
Past the lawn and the trees to nothing, to the eyes  
You looked away from as they looked away: the world outside  
You are released to, rehabilitated  
(*What will you do now? I don't know*);  
It is these, it is these. If, standing irresolute  
By the whitewashed courthouse, in the leafy street,  
You look at the people who look back at you, at home,  
And it is different, different—you have understood  
Your world at last: you have tasted your own blood.

RANDALL JARRELL

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE TERMS FOLK AND FOLKLORE are being assigned meanings so broad that they are rapidly becoming useless as terms. The confusion is such that anyone who attempts to discuss the subject must soon discover that he has a bear by the tail. I shall persist, nevertheless, not because I hope to say any final word but because I should like to raise a few questions and suggest some limitations on the application of the terms that would make them useful again.

Folk, in its anthropological sense, has a fairly specific and rather narrow meaning. It denotes a homogeneous group with a long common tradition and experience. The expression of such a group is unself-conscious, anonymous, and necessarily primitive, though it may be highly skilled, elaborate, and rich in form.

Strictly speaking, there has never been a folk in this country except the Indians and the Negroes. It might be said that Negroes, by reason of slavery and the repression that has been their lot since emancipation, have had the main characteristics of a folk thrust upon them. At any rate, the spirituals, the work songs, and the early and best jazz seem to me to fulfil the definition of folk art.

In some instances—in Pennsylvania, say—a sufficiently large fragment of a European folk settled in one region to constitute a transplantation which survived for a time. In the Southern mountains isolation was a preserving element so far as folk art, if not the folk itself, was concerned. In general, however, conditions in America have been of a sort to break up continuities and traditions, families and groups. Of homogeneity there has been practically none, and even those groups which might conceivably have been called folk when they arrived in America were involved, more or less quickly, in the process of becoming folks.

Fragments of folk art which were scattered throughout

the country did survive, and became the models for songs and stories and myths which were anonymous, oral, and primitive. Later came similar expressions which had known authors, were written down, and were in a sense sophisticated. But the fact that they were invented by people who were no longer members of a folk, if they ever had been, but folks of an infinite variety of origins and even of degrees of literacy and culture gave to these expressions qualities very different from those of genuine folk material. To illustrate: a folk believed its folk-tales. The people who told or listened to tall tales did not believe them, and the underplay of non-belief and the *conscious* pleasure in the free exercise of the imagination—these are among the essential qualities of the tall tale.

It would be useless, I suppose, to try to shrink the word folklore back to its anthropological meaning. We shall probably, on the contrary, finally have to invent a new word for what once went by the name of folklore. But I shall continue to feel that most of what passes for folklore in this country should be called "folkslore"—especially when I pick up a book like B. A. Botkin's large and in many ways rich collection, "A Treasury of American Folklore."

I admire Mr. Botkin's zeal, but his discrimination seems to me less than adequate. For he not only includes genuine folklore and a great deal of what I should call folkslore; he also seems to think that the term folklore covers every kind of expression short of formal literature; and when he includes quotations from "My Thirty Years Out of the Senate" by Major Jack Downing—the pseudonym of a journalist named Seba Smith—even that limitation disappears. I do not see how the speech of a Congressman in the House of Representatives can be called folklore by any amount of stretching—if it can, the *Congressional Record* takes on a new significance; and when Mr. Botkin gives space in a book labeled folklore to such self-conscious, machine-made, and even commercial material as Knock Knock, Little Moron jokes, and an advertisement in a magazine of the Nueces River Valley Paradise, he demonstrates ad absurdum, it seems to me, the present meaninglessness of the label.

I must admit, however, that misuse of the word folk has gone so far by now that it probably cannot be stopped. I feel particularly quixotic when I note the regularity with which people refer to "Oklahoma!" as a folk opera. Mr. Krutch called it that only a couple of weeks ago in *The Nation*. I thought "Oklahoma!" was a highly romanticized, sophisticated, musical-comedy version of—and comment upon—life in the West around 1900, with words and music by two Broadway song writers. I enjoyed it as that. According to one of the writers, they deliberately "tossed out all the folk songs in the original," meaning "Green Grow the Lilacs" by Lynn Riggs. And in fact most of the elements which gave Mr. Riggs's play a claim to be called folk have been eliminated. The sinister character of the villain is an exception. Some of the songs in "Green Grow the Lilacs" were folk-songs by my definition, and obviously of European origin. Some were adaptations of such songs. Some were cowboy songs and frontier ballads. As Mr. Riggs points out, the play might have been called "An Old Song," for it is in itself, as he designed it, a simple tale in darks and lights

"which might have been the substance of an ancient song." That can hardly be said of "Oklahoma!"

Even the original play, however, is in my obstinate view a play about folks rather than a play about a folk, let alone a folk-play. (But then a folk-play, of course, has come to mean a play about folk, not a play created by a folk, which was surely its original meaning.)

I happen to have a special bias, it may be a special knowledge, in this instance. I grew up in the West and spent summers on a ranch. The people I knew there, including cowboys, were folks, not folk. My grandfather, who attended the gold rush, was folks. So was my father, who changed his name when he went West—a practice so common that it gave rise to the song "What Was Your Name in the States?" which is not a folk-song—and was at various times a cow hand, a bartender in a wild saloon, and a county sheriff. The Jewish trader who used to come to the ranch to buy pelts was not folk either.

I am all for searching out and preserving the traditions and skills and continuities in the arts which have persisted in this country despite the great forces which have militated against their existence, and our awareness of it. I am in favor, in a word, of instilling a sense of the past—but primarily as an instrument for making the present and the future more rich and manageable. A sense of the past that is merely antiquarian and nostalgic has no creative function; and the use of the word folk tends to emphasize these aspects.

I don't mean to say that a great deal of "folkslore" is not interesting or charming in its own right. But its intrinsic merit is often overrated because it is old or because it is the expression of an untutored imagination. Some of it is very tiresome, for the untutored imagination can be just as dull or pompous or humorless as any other.

Popular oral expression, old and new, is important and significant. But the flavor of it is not improved for me when it is called folklore. And the word folk applied to such material trails an odor of pretentiousness which is not only displeasing in itself but also very much out of keeping with the material it purports to describe.

In justice to Mr. Botkin, it must be said that he too feels uneasy about the term folklore. In another connection he coined the word folk-say, which seems to me a better designation, if only because it can be read "folks say," for most of the material in his book.

The desire to be, to have been, a folk is very deep—it comes out of a desire for stability and continuity which is healthy enough. The attempt to conjure up a folk where there is none is not necessarily harmless, especially in a world in which, historically, the folk is an anachronism.

I said at the beginning that I had no hope of saying any final word—and at this point I feel more than ever that I have a bear by the tail. But perhaps I have at least demonstrated the need for clarification and for a minimum of definition.

I HAD A LETTER from a reader in Europe a few weeks ago which gave me a feeling, at the very least, of confidence. It came from the Seventh Army front. The writer said that Notes by the Way were among the most refresh-

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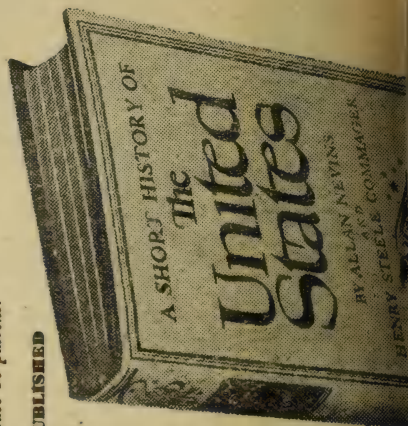
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ing of the letters he received each week, and he ended by saying, "We fondly embrace you here in this exceedingly noisy leaning tower on the western front." A week later *The Nation* received a letter from the home front asking how long I was to be allowed to waste its precious space. I shall try to proceed on the assumption that both customers are right. Anyway, as Palinurus has it, confidence does not become me.

BY THE WAY, "The Satin Slipper" by Paul Claudel, which Frank Jones described in his article on *The Theater* in Paris some weeks ago, has just been published here in a translation by the Reverend Father John O'Connor, with the collaboration of the author (Sheed and Ward, \$3).

## The Revolution of '89

*THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.* By J. M. Thompson. Oxford University Press. \$5.

IT IS no small achievement to write the perfect textbook on a tangled and controversial subject. J. M. Thompson's "French Revolution" deserves that superlative praise. Its six hundred pages are packed with definite and relevant information. Slips are remarkably few and of trifling importance. Maret, for instance, was not a "future Marshal," although he was a future duke. Mr. Thompson thinks that *bourgeoisie* was an intermediate step between *noblesse* and *roture*; but *bourgeois* were *roturiers*. *Mainmorte*, in 1789, no longer referred to serfdom but to inalienable church property. Some of the facts are seldom found in one-volume histories. The glossary in the "practical preface" is very practical indeed, and the table of organization of the revolutionary government would have been a godsend to the statesmen of the time.

It is refreshing to come across a book free from the perverse bias found in such virulent libels as Madelin's or Gaxotte's. Mr. Thompson does not even mention the latest of these anti-revolutionary theses, advanced by Bernard Fay and Nesta H. Webster: that the Revolution was caused by secret societies in the pay of perfidious Albion. All aspects of the Revolution are presented—political, social, economic, religious. The ideological side is the weakest. The author is by temperament fair and even generous. The worst failures of the Revolution—the civil constitution of the clergy, the *assignates* or territorial bonds, the Jacobin terror—were not, in his opinion, the result of outrageous stupidity or wickedness. The men were well-meaning; the measures were not absurd. They failed; but our own experts are hardly qualified to cast the first stone.

The style is pleasant, with spare and delightful touches of British humor. Once in a while this Britishness is something of a handicap. The average American student will not be enlightened when he is told that "la Cour des Aides" was "attached to what we should call Somerset House."

Mr. Thompson is not quite so free from bias as he believes. He has the curious fondness of the don for corrupt politicians like Danton—just to show that he is superior to donnish prejudices. He has a corresponding and no less donnish aversion to virtue; Lafayette was a prig, Madame Ro-

land was "at heart a courtesan"; and inevitably he abominates the Incorruptible, Robespierre. Not a safe path to understanding. Albert Mathiez, whose book covers exactly the same ground in about the same number of pages, would here provide a much-needed corrective.

We called the work an excellent textbook: frankly, the praise implies reservations. This is not history on the more ambitious scale. There is nothing about the causes of the Revolution, remote or proximate. The immediate events, selected because they belong to the tradition of historical writing, are presented in an even, colorless light. The absence of passion is actually a fault, for the Revolution was passionate, and a scholar who does not feel its glow is a blind man discoursing about colors. The Revolution is indeed an epic, for myths and abstractions—the People, the Nation, the Church, Terror, Liberty, Glory—assumed reality and became protagonists, like the gods in Homer. Michelet remains the supreme historian of that period, because he felt intensely. Hugo's "Ninety Three," corrected by France's "The Gods Are Athirst," would help us understand the great upheaval better than this accurate and very intelligent Baedeker. Finally, a textbook, perfect for the reference shelf, is not intended for the common reader. Mr. Thompson writes well, but his purpose is to marshal innumerable details; the patience of the general public would soon expire. Mr. Thompson did not give us the epic, the romance, or the philosophy of the Revolution. He proposed to himself a hard and definite task; and he did the job exceedingly well.

ALBERT GUERARD

## Full Employment and World Trade

*AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY.* By Alvin H. Hansen. W. W. Norton and Co. \$2.50.

THE United States hopes to export more after the war because it is so rich; it has not figured out how to consume surplus production at home. Britain must export more because it is poor; it has no other way of paying for imported goods, without which it can hardly survive. And quite a number of other countries, Canada for one, are interested in getting larger slices of the international trade pie. Is it enough, under these circumstances, for the various countries to agree on rules against pushing or unfair obstruction of the table? Or would it be more realistic to cooperate in an effort to obtain a bigger pie?

In his guide to post-war world economics Dr. Hansen does not neglect good international manners. His main objective, however, is to urge the need of an expanded pie and to suggest a recipe for baking it. The first essential, he believes, is for nations to look to their own domestic policies. As he says: "The world as a whole failed miserably to make the economy function in a satisfactory manner in the two decades between the two world wars. For this the great industrial nations that control the bulk of the world's resources are mainly to blame. By failing to make adequate use of their own resources in the interests of their own people, economic distress spread to the countries less adequately endowed with natural resources. Out of this failure sprang the breakdown of the world economy and indeed of international political security."

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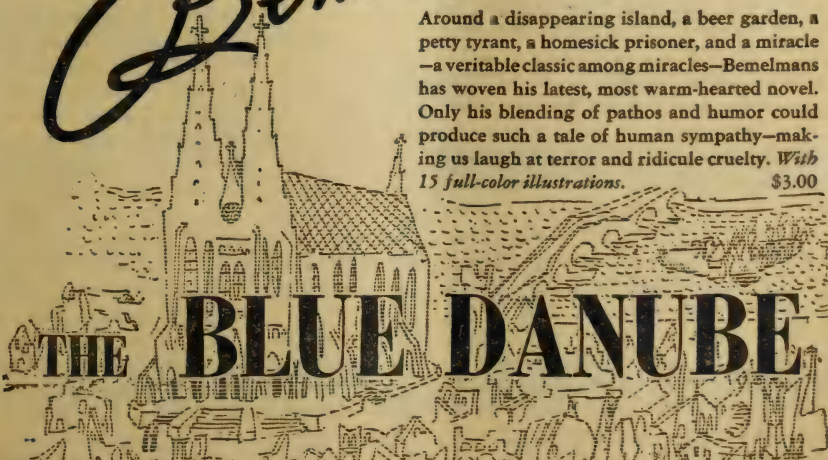
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A particular responsibility attaches to this country because of the tremendous impact of its economy on that of the rest of the world. In the great depression the value of imports fell off even more sharply than national income, with devastating results for the countries supplying the United States with goods and services. These countries in turn, unable to earn dollars, were forced drastically to cut their purchases from America. In the modern world, as long as foreign exchanges are uncontrolled, depressions spread like prairie fires. Consequently, unless America finds ways of stabilizing its economy, other countries will attempt to insulate theirs from its influence. Involuntary insulation is likely to prove unpalatable even to voluntary isolationists.

On present calculations there appears to be a great gap between the volume of goods America hopes to sell and the volume it is prepared to buy from abroad. If this gap is to be filled by foreign loans, it will be necessary, Dr. Hansen says, to maintain a stable flow of credit and not, as after 1930, cut it off just when the borrower's needs are greatest. But in any case, if loans are not to become *de facto* gifts, they must eventually be repaid in the form of goods and services, for in the long run there is nothing else that can be "used for money" in international trade. That is one reason why if America hopes to export on a large scale it will have to reduce its tariffs and cease to put other obstacles in the way of imports. But the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment is even more important. Without that, resistance to lower tariffs will be terrific, and even if this is overcome, America's capacity to absorb foreign goods and services will be insufficient to match the hoped-for volume of exports.

Believing, then, that international prosperity, like charity, begins at home, Dr. Hansen supports the proposal of the Australian delegation at the Philadelphia International Labor Office Conference for an agreement between governments each to maintain full employment in its own domestic economy. Beyond this, he sees the need for a number of world economic institutions, with the Economic and Social Council projected at Dumbarton Oaks providing leadership and coordination. A large part of his book is devoted to a discussion of such institutions, some of which, like the ILO, are already established, some, like the International Monetary Fund and International Bank, in the painful process of birth. Still others, an International Commodity Corporation, for example, are little more than a twinkle in Dr. Hansen's eye.

The most thorough analysis in the book is that of the Bretton Woods agreement. Dr. Hansen describes clearly the functions and operating methods of the proposed International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and gives a detailed reply to many of the criticisms they have encountered. Two general points he develops very forcefully: first, that most of the risks critics have cited are risks which the United States will encounter in a more exaggerated form if the Bretton Woods plan is turned down; second, that the idea of some bankers that American credit can be used as a whip to compel other countries "to put their houses in order"—in other words, to balance budgets and return to the gold standard—is hopelessly unrealistic. Britain, certainly, has made it clear that it is not prepared to buy stable exchange rates at the cost of

mass unemployment. Many Britons, in fact, fear that the provisions of the Monetary Fund may prove too rigid, and it is a pity that Dr. Hansen has not dealt more specifically with their criticisms.

One of America's chief handicaps in formulating foreign trade policies which correspond with its long-term interests is badly informed public opinion. The average business man, unless directly involved in export trade, is only interested if he is threatened with foreign competition. The man in the street is apt to be indifferent; he finds the theory of foreign exchanges and trade balances hard to understand and harder still to connect with his own economic problems. Consequently, there is a great need for authoritative books of this kind, especially designed for laymen. Dr. Hansen has avoided the error of writing down to the general public, but he has sought and achieved a clarity which, all too often, is lacking in popular works by economists. I hope his book will be widely read and carefully studied, especially on Capitol Hill.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Words and Pictures

AT FIRST GLANCE the numerous illustrations—48 plates in color and 125 illustrations in black and white—may seem to be the main attraction of "The Romance of English Literature" (Hastings House, \$5). Very fine these pictures certainly are; and only a sample, it is to be hoped, of the kind of book illustration we shall get after the war. For why should the highly developed modern techniques of color reproduction be lavished on advertising alone, and not used, as here, to bring the pick of library and museum before a reader's hungry eyes? The dry, stinging "cuts" of the ordinary kind, in textbook or elsewhere, are here superseded with magnificent lavishness. And the black-and-white reproductions are nearly as rich in their effect as those in color; they range through manuscript holographs, engravings, sketches and caricatures, and prints of all kinds, including the theatrical. To many a reader the "speaking" likeness of John Donne—from a miniature in the British Royal Collection—will alone be worth the price of the book.

The letterpress surrounding the pictures is worth some attention; it, too, is not of an ordinary kind. Each of the seven essays included has either the virtue of firm and brilliant learning or of insight of the best modern kind—sharp, but neither arbitrary nor eccentric. It is an extremely healthy and hopeful sign that these critical pieces, produced during a war, certainly with some slight underlying aim of propaganda, are so free from slant or bias. So that we can overlook Elizabeth Bowen's neglect of Joyce in her discussion of English novelists—something a little different, of course, from novelists writing in English—and not judge Lord David Cecil too harshly for his total misapprehension of the two different kinds of nature and talent possessed by Eliot and Auden respectively. On the other hand, Sir Herbert Grierson, writing on the English Bible from Bede to Basic English, does not neglect that book's influence on either English politics or English literature. Graham Greene

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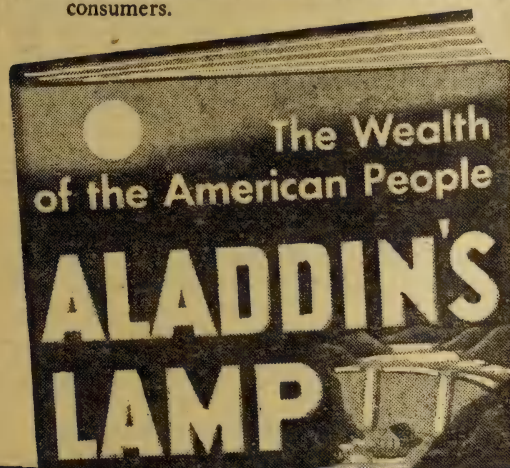
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White notes, were free of it. The army, by its attitude of "non-intervention" toward the racial status quo, has not only missed an exceptional opportunity to indoctrinate 10,000,000 American citizens with democratic ideas, but has in effect catered to the prejudices of the racially bigoted. It is this failure to seize a magnificent opportunity for mass education rather than the injustices suffered by Negro troops that constitutes the real tragedy. For this failure has made it possible for a bigoted minority within the services to lower our prestige as a democratic nation in the eyes of most Europeans and to undermine the morale of some 700,000 Negro troops. The Negro soldiers whom Mr. White met overseas were uniformly bitter. "An ominous brooding," he writes, "an intent silence, hung like a pall over them." Although he does not make the point, it is quite apparent from Mr. White's timely report that in the army as elsewhere it is not the majority but a minority of the majority who keep prejudiced attitudes alive. How long are we to continue appeasing this minority? CAREY MC WILLIAMS

## Looking-Glass Land

THE NEUROTIC PROFESSOR of mathematics at Christ Church College, Oxford, the Reverend Charles L. Dodgson, whom Matthew Arnold called "that clergyman," was also Lewis Carroll, wanderer through the mad world of wonderland. Florence Becker Lennon in "Victoria Through the Looking-Glass" (Simon and Schuster, \$3.50) dissects this split personality with a mixture of critical approaches. Obviously Alice's adventures beg for Freudian analysis, with their rabbits and locked doors and passageways; and it is equally obvious to the sociological critic that the whole Victorian Age is reflected in Carroll's looking-glass. Mrs. Lennon skirts the pitfalls of either extreme and balances her work with remarkable delicacy.

Despite a fantastic bibliography, which runs the gamut of the declining West from Plato to Max Eastman, the book is well documented with a mountain of letters, diaries, illustrations, and reminiscences, and is at the same time interesting and very much alive.

Lewis Carroll is a fascinating man. His miraculous escape from the prison of Victorian England, and of his own maladjustments, into the looking-glass land of childhood remains one of literature's greatest accomplishments. Amid the plethora of not always justified literary "renaissances," it is refreshing to find a book that avoids the sensational, content with intelligent critical biography. Lewis Carroll will never have a "renaissance" if only for the simple reason that he does not need one. JOHN. SENIOR

## Land, Food, and Peace

AS THE TITLE SUGGESTS, Karl Brandt's "The Reconstruction of World Agriculture" (Norton, \$4) covers a great deal of territory. The term "reconstruction" is used to include post-war food relief, the rehabilitation of agriculture in war-torn countries, and post-war adjustments in agriculture around the world.

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pre-war diets, without undue sacrifice in the countries supplying the food. This is not to say that all diets will meet desirable nutritional standards—they didn't before the war. Neither is it to say that political and administrative bungling may not result in some people going hungry.

The book's central thesis with respect to post-war agricultural rehabilitation in Europe is that the prompt recovery of agriculture is dependent upon the prompt rehabilitation of European industry and the revival of world trade. This in turn is held to be dependent upon the export of capital from capital-surplus countries such as the United States, progressive reduction of tariff barriers throughout the world, stable currencies, and freedom from the fear of another war. Restriction of foreign trade and the flow of investment capital, the author believes, can result only in a smaller total quantity of goods and services for distribution among the peoples of the world and widespread unemployment and stagnation in those countries where the physical plant, both agricultural and industrial, has suffered most from the war. Economic stagnation, it is pointed out, provides a fertile ground for revolution and the growth of dictatorships, which in turn lead to war.

The book contains a great deal of information on the course of agricultural production and trade during World War I, the inter-war period, and World War II. It provides a broad view of the intricate relationships in world agriculture, with which relatively few Americans are familiar. The author deals realistically with the many hurdles that will have to be taken if his proposed solution to the problem of developing a stable and prosperous agriculture in the post-war world is accepted. In fact, his analysis of the difficulties to be overcome makes them bulk so large that this reviewer is left with the feeling that the solutions offered, particularly in connection with the proposed reduction of tariff barriers, are likely to prove inadequate. From the standpoint of treatment of the main issues, one could wish at times that the author had resisted the temptation to investigate at length so many side alleys; nevertheless, the side alleys do provide a great deal of information on related problems.

F. F. HILL

## Nationality and Nationalism

IN HIS LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS Voltaire, as a rule, added as postscript, "Ecrasez l'infame," meaning the Catholic church. Had he lived two centuries later he would have probably meant nationalism instead. However, Voltaire would certainly have used the term, not in its English sense as an equivalent for national sentiment, but for national aggressiveness. If Frederick Hertz's "Nationality in History and Politics" (Oxford, \$6.50) had no other merit than to prove that "wild nationalism" is not a mere exaggeration of "mild nationalism" or that the difference between Gladstone and Hitler is not only one of degree, this alone would make it worth reading. His analysis of the two aspects of nationality, the positive side striving for national freedom, and the negative striving for superiority and domination, is most illuminating. Scarcely anyone is more competent to determine the correlation between national consciousness and some of its supposed components, such as race, language, religion,

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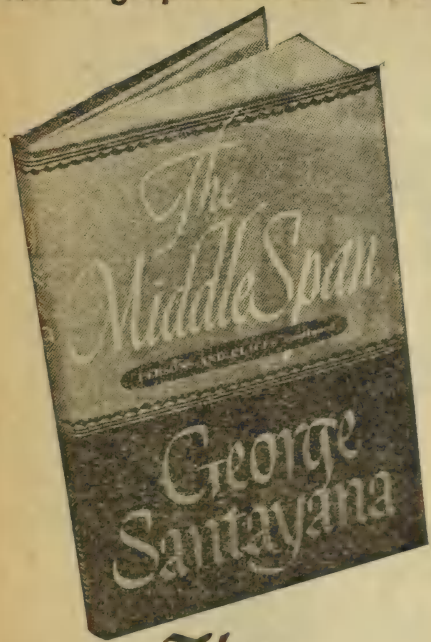
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territory, state, and moral background, than Mr. Hertz, whose previous book, "Race and Civilization" (1928), is a classic on this subject. His argument that while "violent nationalism" was due to the achievements of our civilization, its value must not be exaggerated is as interesting as his analysis of political thought and its relation to national ideology. It appears that Shaftesbury criticized national vanity and egotism, that Rousseau, though he favored national institutions and traditions, was completely opposed to the essence of modern nationalism, the workshop of prestige and power. Even Fichte, who is regarded as an early pioneer of Nazism, defended the French Revolution and combated the ideas of present pan-Germanism, Hegel was no nationalist, and Nietzsche rejected as foolish the cult of the state and nationality. Like parvenus in general, Nazism claims an ancestry which refuses to justify its progeny.

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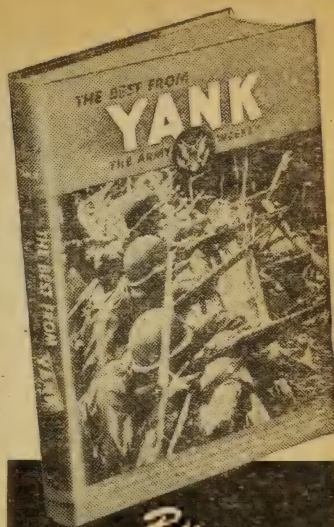
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ISABELLA W. ATHEY

"PHILADELPHIA HOLY EXPERIMENT" (Doubleday, Doran, \$3.75) is another one of Struthers Burt's Baedekers;

the last one was about Wyoming. Mr. Burt's prose is compounded of miscellaneous erudition and witticisms and manages to carry the burden of a loosely strung together history of Philadelphia. His cowboys and Indians were much more interesting.

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## Frost and Tate

FORTUNATE in the fine adequacy of his rural symbolism and native style, Robert Frost has always seemed the most self-sufficient of living poets. But now on his seventieth birthday he has published a poem, "A Masque of Reason" (Holt, \$2), which is not only unique among his writings but is also in obvious debt to other poets. In this dialogue in heaven between Job, Job's wife, and God on the subject of divine justice, the heaven is an artificial paradise reminiscent of Yeats's Byzantium. More oddly still, God has a "prefabricated" throne, liable to sudden and embarrassing collapses as in some modernistic fantasy of Auden's.

But Yeats and Auden here fuse—if they fuse at all—into a whimsicality typical of no one but Frost himself. The trouble with such humor in Frost is that it is too often not a laugh but a smirk—the reflex of an incorrigible complacency. Least apparent in those beautiful poems in which he is the observer, at once realistic and visionary, of New England objects and occupations, it is apt to become overwhelming at those times when he is explicitly the philosopher. And "A Masque of Reason," with its unearthly setting and despite all its rustic banter and horseplay, is pure speculation. On Judgment Day God appears to Job and his wife; but it is God, not they, who is judged, and that in the light of a skepticism which seems to infect God Himself.

God . . . . . Job and I together

Found out the discipline man needed most  
Was to learn his submission to unreason;  
And that for man's own sake as well as mine,  
So he won't find it hard to take his orders  
From his inferiors in intelligence  
In peace and war—especially in war.

Job So he won't find it hard to take his war.

God You have the idea. There's not much I can tell  
you.

The skepticism is all right with this reviewer; but it gives rise in the poem to extravagances of whimsy which suggest that Frost is after all a little wary of the consequences of his doubt and wants to whittle it down to the size of a joke. So he has God say to Job, "I promote you to a saint"; and Job's wife asks whether God "would take a prayer that

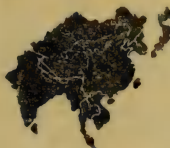
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started off Lord God of Hostesses"; and God remarks of Satan that "He thinks he's smart." The poem ends, suitably, with Job's wife inviting God, Satan, and Job to pose for a snapshot.

Allen Tate is a poet who seldom achieves Frost's perfection of style, but he has other qualities. He is too intelligent and cosmopolitan to find in his region, the South, the absolute satisfaction that Frost discovers in his attachment to New England. Indeed, he remains unreconciled to pretty much everything: our literature, our civilization, our wars; and in his new book, "The Winter Sea" (Cummington Press, \$5), he struggles, as few other poets are really struggling, to express in verse his civilized horror of the war. If, then, Tate lacks Frost's repose, he also lacks his complacency. If his work is a perpetual experiment, a poetry labored out of intractable material by the naked will, it is invariably *interesting*. Through his honest attempts to write always with great seriousness and complexity, he is forever illustrating the importance as well as the problems of such writing. And it is Tate, not Frost, who influences the younger poets.

We see him at his ambitious worst in the first of his new series of Christmas sonnets. The poem is terribly obscure in some of its details, but the general drift is clear: it is a sardonic statement of the difficulty of attaining Christian faith in a world of science and war. Here is the sestet:

Suppose I take an arrogant bomber, stroke  
By stroke, up to the frazzled sun to hear  
Sun-ghostlings whisper: Yes, the capital yoke—  
Remove it and there's not a ghost to fear  
This crucial day, whose decapitate joke  
Languidly winds into the inner ear.

Of these lines, only the last seems to me to have any finality in its movement, its pattern of word sounds, or its imagery. There is nothing in the poem to prepare us for the mysterious "sun-ghostlings" with their important message. I fail to see the justice of "stroke by stroke" in connection with the ascent of a bomber. Both "stroke" and "yoke" appear, indeed, to be dragged in so that the poet may have his "decapitate joke" and his rhyme too. As so often in Tate, the distinction arising from the use of Latinate adjectives ("arrogant," "capital," "decapitate," "crucial") is here overworked. And finally the puns involved in the words "crucial," "capital," and "decapitate" (for the crucified Christ, who is the hero of the poem, is of course one of Frazer's hanged gods) seem to me merely pedantic.

Yet the second of the Christmas sonnets is as skilful as the first was bungling. It begins with a picture, both satirical and touching, of old, middle-class Christmases:

How pleasantly the holly wreaths did hang  
And how stuffed Santa did his reindeer clang  
Above the golden oaken mantel, years ago!

and proceeds very simply to its effective conclusion:

Then hang this picture for a calendar,  
As sheep for goat, and pray most fixedly  
For the cold martial progress of your star,  
With thoughts of commerce and society,  
Well-milked Chinese, Negroes who cannot sing,  
The Huns gelded and feeding in a ring.

There are other good strokes of political satire in "The Winter Sea." Too often, however, they are incidental to the stress and strain resulting from Tate's efforts to adapt to his uses the ode, the eclogue, the spiritual, and other recalcitrant forms.

F. W. DUPEE

## FICTION IN REVIEW

DESPITE the fact that William Maxwell's "The Folded Leaf" (Harper, \$2.50) is unusually easy and gratifying to read, it is a difficult book to write about. For it carves out such a seemingly minor literary task for itself—to tell the story of the friendship of two boys through high school and college—that one hesitates to burden it with the kind of "importance" to which the author is notably indifferent. And yet it not only goes about its work with a precise skill which is rare in current fiction but also manages to evoke very much larger meanings than appear on the surface. The source of this suggestiveness is, of course, its style. Style is latent content, and there is an uncommonly rich latent content beneath the modest explicit content of Mr. Maxwell's novel.

The prose of most current fiction is either excessively, and falsely, simple or prodigal without discipline, and in either category the only dimension added by style is likely to be the dimension of the author's ego. But "The Folded Leaf," written with genuine simplicity, allows the author to stand in the most useful possible relationship to his material. In full control of his characters and situations but not merged with them, he is free to comment on their fates in his own person, so that we have the advantage of his intellect as well as of his creativity; in the degree that he keeps his personality clear of his people, he achieves a true distinction of personality. Thus a scene of a high-school-fraternity initiation not only is reported for all its worth as narrative but also gives Mr. Maxwell the opportunity for a very pleasant essay on the anthropological occasion. Or often Mr. Maxwell will point out, lightly but sharply, the pattern of circumstance in which his characters have been caught. Obviously this commentative function is a very proper function of an author. All the great novelists of the past assumed it eagerly. But very few present-day writers have enough distance from their fictional material to permit it.

"The Folded Leaf" is divided into many small chapters, each of them concerned with a moment of significance in the lives of its characters, and Mr. Maxwell is at his best when these moments are physically seen. The initiation ceremony which I have mentioned is perhaps outstanding in the book, but there are any number of lesser scenes—in Spud and Lymie's college rooming-house, for instance, or at Spud's boxing work-outs, or at a college spring riot—which have an almost fragrant authenticity. Mr. Maxwell has a remarkable, if quiet, gift for observation; his record of Middle Western American life in the '20's adds up to a more important social document than he was perhaps conscious of. But in the last third of the novel, when, because the story must be brought to a climax and conclusion, Mr. Maxwell concerns himself with purely emotional developments, he becomes spare and even unconvincing. It is of course the scenario of "The Folded Leaf" to bring Spud and Lymie to

manhood at the end of the volume, but to assume, in a novel, that people are mature and competent simply because they have reached a point where maturity is asked of them is to contrive for fictional characters an outcome constantly denied people in reality. The resolution of "The Folded Leaf" is not only shadowy but fortuitous. I completely doubt the independence which Lymie is supposed to have found so suddenly, and I look to the future of Spud with an uneasiness which his author gives us no evidence that he shares.

It is perhaps unfair to measure Stephen Seley's "The Cradle Will Fall" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2), a first novel, against Mr. Maxwell's practiced writing, but Mr. Seley's novel is also a story of American boyhood in the '20's and, like Mr. Maxwell, the author of "The Cradle Will Fall" is modest in his literary intention. But here all similarity ends, for from title to conception to prose "The Cradle Will Fall" is a novel that puts no distance at all between author and subject. Mr. Seley is everywhere in his story, and as a consequence his story has little life of its own.

Not the least significant result of Mr. Seley's self-indulgent method is the fact that the chief emotion it generates is the emotion of pity. While "The Cradle Will Fall" is able to hint that its central character deserves better than this limited response, it denies him the dignity to demand it. Its rather primitive psychoanalytical delving—in contrast to Mr. Maxwell's psychological attitude, which is simply to picture the behavior and let us draw our own conclusions—preconditions the reader's own fantasies and guarantees in advance an identification between reader and central character on the same level as between author and central character.

It is also interesting to contrast Mr. Seley's novel with Mr. Maxwell's as a social document. I should say that Mr. Seley is at a good deal more pains than the author of "The Folded Leaf" to recapture the iconography of his time: there is more of the business of what songs were sung, what cars were driven, what values were booming, and so forth. But social documentation of this kind inevitably loses both point and savor when it is used only to suggest a possible context and not actually to create character.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

HAROLD J. LASKI, professor of political science at the London School of Economics, is a leading member of the left wing of the British Labor Party.

JACQUES MARITAIN, liberal Catholic philosopher, is professor at the Institute of Medieval Studies at Toronto and visiting professor at Columbia and Princeton universities. His most recent book is "The Dream of Descartes."

RANDALL JARRELL, now in the air corps, was formerly an instructor in English at the University of Texas. He is the author of "Blood for a Stranger," a book of poems; a second book, "Little Friend, Little Friend," will be published by Dial in June.

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University. Among his books are "Literature and Society" and "Napoleon III."

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- OF LITERATURE

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# Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

HANS HOFMANN is in all probability the most important art teacher of our time. Not only has his school sent out good painters; the insights into modern art of the man himself have gone deeper than those of any other contemporary. He has, at least in my opinion, grasped the issues at stake better than did Roger Fry and better than Mondrian, Kandinsky, Lhote, Ozenfant, and all the others who have tried to "explicate" the recent revolution in painting. Hofmann has not yet published his views, but they have already directly and indirectly influenced many, including this writer—who owes more to the initial illumination received from Hofmann's lectures than to any other source. (Whether this redounds to Hofmann's credit or not I leave to others to decide.) Hofmann practices what he teaches, and his second one-man show of painting in this country—his first was held only last year—is now running at 67 Gallery (through April 21). It would be unfair of me to pretend to critical detachment with regard to it. I find the same quality in Hofmann's painting that I find in his words—both are completely relevant. His painting is all painting; none of it is publicity, mode, or literature. It deals with the crucial problems of contemporary painting on its highest level in the most radical and uncompromising way, asserting that painting exists first of all in its medium and must there resolve itself before going on to do anything else. Perhaps Hofmann surrenders himself too unreservedly to the medium—that is, to spontaneity—and lets color dictate too much: his pictures sometimes fly apart because they are organized almost exclusively on the basis of color relations. Perhaps he insists too little on the resistances of his own temperament—in every artist there must be something that fights against being set down in art and yet whose setting-down constitutes part of the triumph of art. Be that as it may, the works of the teacher do not betray his teachings. Hofmann has become a force to be reckoned with in the practice as well as in the interpretation of modern art.

I may have seemed high-handed in my disposal two weeks back of Mondrian's theories. The irritation caused by any sort of dogmatic prescription in art

was most likely responsible. Mondrian attempted to elevate as the goal of the total historical development of art what is after all only a time-circumscribed style. That style may be—I myself believe it is—the direction in which high art now tends and will continue to tend in the foreseeable future. But in art a historical tendency cannot be presented as an end in itself. Anything can be art now or in the future—if it works—and there are no hierarchies of styles except on the basis of past performances. And these are powerless to govern the future. What may have been the high style of one period becomes the kitsch of another. All this is elementary; yet it needs to be repeated in Mondrian's case. These reservations made, one can proceed to value Mondrian's theories—which are logical deductions from the results of his own practice and from the evidence of the world around him as to the aesthetic and social implications of abstract art—for the brilliant insights they are. With Marx, he anticipated the disappearance of works of art—pictures, sculpture—when the material décor of life and life itself had become beautiful. With Marx, he saw the true end of human striving as complete deliverance from the oppression of nature, both inside and outside the human being. With Marx, he saw that man has to *denaturalize* himself and the things he deals with in order to realize his own true nature. He saw that what is wrong at present is that man only partly denaturalizes his own nature and his environment, and through this partial denaturalization—that is, capitalism, the suburbs of Chicago, radio, movies, vicarious experience, popular taste—attains precisely the opposite of what he really wants. Mondrian's art was not "inhuman"; it did not aim at "perfection"; it aimed at nothing beyond itself. But it was guided by an ideal, as all human action in or out of art should be.

# Films

JAMES  
AGEE

FRED ALLEN's picture "It's in the Bag" is the story of a flea impresario named Floogle (Mr. Allen) who inherits a fortune and in the process of getting hold of it runs into Jack Benny, Minerva Pius, Robert Benchley, Jerry Colonna, Binnie Barnes, William Bendix, John Carradine, and others,

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often very amusingly, sometimes not, knocking off enough sparks of satire in the process to destroy and fulfil a much worse civilization than this one if their molecular energy were organized into their ultimate, collective, bomblike meaning.

"The Unseen," a story about a government and some rather provocative children who live next a portentous deserted house, is done with quite a bit of intelligence and sophistication (it was produced by John Houseman and directed by Lewis Allen), but unlike Allen's "The Uninvited" it only generates sporadic wincing qualms of excitement without ordering them into anything constant and cumulative.

"Molly and Me" is the sort of story you might run across in its fifth buckram binding, illustrated, along the General Fiction shelves of a provincial public library: ex-theatrical housekeeper sweetens up rich old griper; London; turn of the century. It is a tame, old-fashioned, charming, worthless picture, very prettily done, with an admirably intense performance by Doris Lloyd, a likable one by Monty Woolley, and a perfectly beautiful one by Gracie Fields. I think Miss Fields is about as nice a woman over forty as I have ever seen; I have certainly never seen anyone in movies to approach her in that age bracket. I recommend her highly to anyone who has ceased to believe it is possible to grow decently into middle age.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

THE documentary war film "Fury in the Pacific" left me feeling again that such a film should be presented with the real sound of the incidents if this is available, or otherwise with no sound at all. It seems to me an affront to the men shown in the film to have their experiences accompanied by the phony musical paroxysms of a "modern" musical score written by someone a safe thousand miles or more from the battle. But apparently there can be no film without music.

And in broadcasting there can be no music without talk—and not just talk but the talk of ignoramuses pretending to knowledge. Even when the audience is the supposedly literate one for which the Book-of-the-Month Club sponsors broadcasts of chamber music performed by the Budapest Quartet it cannot simply be told what work it is going to

hear and then be allowed to hear the work; it must first listen to a slinging around of pretentious statements about the background and derivation and style of the work that are sheer nonsense and falsehood—the statement, for example, that the melodies of Mozart's Quartet K. 428 approximate those of Schumann and Brahms; or that there is in Beethoven's Opus 95 a chromaticism that is almost Wagnerian.

The Book-of-the-Month Club's broadcasts also have suffered from one of the consequences of American commercialization of radio—the rigidity of its time-divisions and program-scheduling. In England the B. B. C. can build a program and then give it whatever time it needs; in America when a Beethoven quartet did not fit into the half-hour that N. B. C. had assigned to the series, a few years ago, a movement or two was sliced out. And one of the Book-of-the-Month Club's hour-long broadcasts has offered the Ravel Quartet and only two movements of a Beethoven Opus 18; another a Brahms quartet and only the slow movement of Beethoven's Opus 132.

The truth of Edwin Denby's observation that in classic ballet the ballerina sets the tone for the entire performance and the entire company may be observed in what the young dancers of the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe are doing in response to Danilova, and on the other hand in the effect that Toumanova has on the dancers and performances of Ballet Theater. Toumanova herself continues to produce nightmarish caricatures of the beautiful classic dancing she used to do: in the first performance of "Swan Lake" her movements were again overdeliberately distended and exaggerated in a steely demonstration of technical prowess. She was, I take it, proving that she can lift her leg higher than anybody else; and one thing to say about that is that we are convinced, and now please will she stop proving it and just dance her part in "Swan Lake." Another thing to say is that nobody should want to lift her leg that high—which brings me to the effect on the company: not only did the slowness of Toumanova's gigantesque movement communicate itself to the entire performance, but in "Graduation Ball" there was the dismaying sight of Alonso, in her classic *pas de deux*, also exaggerating the height of her leg-gestures and distending her other movements as she had not done last fall; and I thought there was a little of this exaggeration by Hightower in the "Bluebird" variation and in the

first performance of Balanchine's "Waltz Academy."

The violently whipped-up movements of other dancers in that first performance of "Waltz Academy" seemed at first like further evidence of Toumanova's influence; but later they appeared to be rather a result of the dancers' insecurity in relation to the music, caused by the ballet companies' practice of starting their engagements with a largely new orchestra that hasn't been sufficiently rehearsed in advance with the dancers. For at the second performance a couple of days later, where the dancing was securely fitted to the music, it was relaxed again, and the piece came out fresh, clear, and lovely—not only one of the most beautiful works in Ballet Theater's repertory but the classic work that is most beautifully performed.

It is the non-classic ballets that Ballet Theater does well; or rather the non-classic ballets which are watched over by their choreographers: Tudor's "Pillar of Fire," "Lilac Garden," "Romeo and Juliet" (in which Nora Kaye's Juliet grows constantly more beautiful), Robbins's "Fancy Free," Agnes de Mille's "Tally-Ho," Massine's "Three-Cornered Hat" (with Massine's own performance still one of the great things in ballet). "Graduation Ball" not only has lost what Riabouchinska and Lichine contributed to the performances (though Janet Reed and Harold Lang are charming), but with Lichine not around some of the points are being underlined too heavily and considerable new business has been introduced that does the piece no good.

Of the new works I have seen thus far only Nijinska's "Harvest Time," which is silly except when it is putting Toumanova through the acrobatics of her present style; and then it is awful.

I have found the February-March Balanchine number of *Dance Index* exciting to read and to look at. It contains Agnes de Mille's vivid description of some of the things in "The Prodigal Son," and a richly illuminating discussion by Edwin Denby of Balanchine's development away from such "modernism" to his present classicism, in which, says Denby, the novelty is that it "moves you by the act of dancing and not, as the fashion was from 1910 to 1940, by opposing to that act obstacles of various kinds of mimicry—pictorial, psychological, musical, or social." These articles are documented by the photographs of some of the works; and there are also some valuable observations on dancing and ballet by Balanchine himself, made originally in the classroom and theater.

# Letters to the Editors

## Religion and Politics

*Dear Sirs:* The Archbishop of New York has condemned the request of 1,600 Protestant ministers that no religious authority be allowed to participate in the settlement of territorial and political problems resulting from the war. The Archbishop obviously wants the Pope to be the biggest of the Big Three, Four, or Five. He is entitled to cherish this desire, but he has no right to transform a political into a religious issue. The Pope and other heads of religious organizations are certainly justified in asserting moral and religious principles and in judging international problems in the light of such principles, but they have no right to participate in international conferences to decide political and not religious questions. The point under discussion is the right of a religious authority to overstep religious limits and to act as a political power.

The Archbishop has reminded the 1,600 Protestant ministers of their duty not to "insult" the Catholic faith; but they never did so, unless disagreeing with the Archbishop on a political issue can be so construed. According to the Archbishop, these ministers did a disservice to national unity by forgetting that twenty-five million American Catholics are doing their part in winning the war. If the Catholics number twenty-five million, non-Catholics number more than a hundred million. Must the latter accept the political demands of the Catholics without discussion? And if they fail in this duty, will the twenty-five million refuse to do their part in winning the war? According to the Archbishop, there are two classes of American citizens—twenty-five million Catholics who have the right to command and one hundred million non-Catholics who have the duty to obey whenever the Pope is concerned.

From all appearances even the Vatican's charitable activities serve its political ambitions. The Vatican daily, the *Osservatore Romano*, in discussing Soviet press attacks upon Vatican policies states: "One could have hoped after the numerous convincing testimonies of the many solicitudes and constant charities designed to attenuate the horrors of war and to soften incalculable sufferings offered by the Holy See . . . that at least certain methods of explicit

anti-religious hatred would be abandoned." It is as if a defendant were to demand acquittal in a case of forgery by showing the judge a receipt for a charitable donation. Does the *Osservatore Romano* not realize that as soon as people grasp the political ambitions behind the Vatican's charitable activities, those activities will no longer arouse gratitude but suspicion and contempt?

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Cambridge, Mass., March 8

## Dr. Lin and Mr. Snow

*Dear Sirs:* In his answer to Edgar Snow's review of "Vigil of a Nation" Lin Yutang stresses the importance of documentation. Almost all spokesmen for the Chungking government studiously avoid discussing facts; they prefer to argue the so-called Kuomintang-Communist Party issue in terms of theories, probabilities, and personal predilections. If we proceeded from facts, however, we would ask what life is like for people in the Chungking government areas and in the Border Region, and then ask, why?

All reporters from the Border Region areas, including myself, agree that under Communist, good Kuomintang, or non-party leadership the people there are participants in a vital process of democracy and are creating for themselves a more satisfying life. What we have seen there is more important and pertinent in discussing China than the documents and theories so often used in an attempt to blackout the facts.

Dr. Lin uses Mao Tse-tung's "The New Democracy" and Chang Hao's

"Chinese Party Tactics and Party Lines" as important documentary material. He labels Chang Hao's book "a complete 'Tanaka Memorial.'" Now this is a smear. He also criticizes the Communists because their activities are "in accordance with a set plan." Would he think better of them if they acted without a plan? He mentions "The New Democracy" as though he were unearthing a damning document. But this material is as well known to students of the China situation as is the Atlantic Charter. The Communists have never attempted to hide their analyses of the situation. Their views are printed in newspapers and documents, are often translated into English, and are circulated in China and abroad.

Dr. Lin's statement that "their primary loyalty [is] to Moscow" is again an attempt to smear. Is it true? Yes—and no. Yes, in the sense that we American Christians affirm our loyalty to a foreigner, Jesus. No, because anyone can understand that no American and no Chinese could be a Russian even if he wanted to.

MAUD RUSSELL

Passaic, N. J., March 27

*Dear Sirs:* The march of victorious armies seems to have given Edgar Snow a superiority complex. He may mouth words about "authentic Chinese patterns," but anyone familiar with his writings knows that he bases his judgments on other values. Dr. Lin Yutang frankly says that he believes a state of war exists between Yen-an and Chungking, and he appraises an opponent by the opponent's own standards and values. If Frederick Schuman was right

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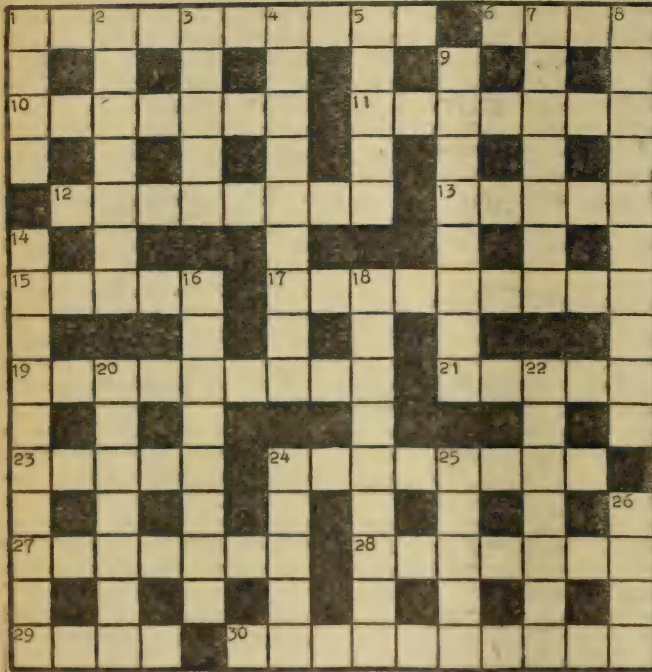
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 112

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Able person requires slight change; handsome result guaranteed
- 6 Decapitated hornets are venomous
- 10 Interminable
- 11 An offspring of Spanish royalty
- 12 Sir Walter naturally comes first with his people
- 18 Taking it easy, perhaps
- 15 A graphic line
- 17 Relating to an uncle
- 19 Man on diet (anag.)
- 21 Reject with disdain
- 23 Victim in a French bath murder case
- 24 Cows like this plant, but it doesn't like them
- 27 Universal love. (Should be cautious about it!)
- 28 State in which the red man can still be found
- 29 Plenty of work for the hammer
- 30 Errand possibly accompanied by a show of arms

## DOWN

- 1 French legend of a piper
- 2 Is this what the photographer uses when a print has been over-enlarged?
- 3 Trove is hidden here
- 4 Ass and ant about to be ill

- 5 Edinburgh's river ("A poor thing, but mine own")
- 7 "I record only the sunny hours"
- 8 Amazing the way some firms are arranging vacations today
- 9 Torments
- 14 Sparing, but makes one comical
- 16 Even he found the 1943 income-tax form beyond him!
- 18 Sap with fur tail
- 20 Sarcastic
- 22 A Sunday word for "screech"
- 24 "Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious, ----- and neutral, in a moment?" (*Macbeth*)
- 25 In the circumstances, I'd let her go (hidden)
- 26 Ticket of leave

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 111

ACROSS:—1 JESSICA; 5 SCHEMER; 9 HUBBARD; 10 ALUMNUS; 11 SNORE; 12 ELI; 13 THORN; 14 NUANCES; 16 LAMENTS; 18 TUSSORE; 21 JANUARY; 24 CATER; 26 ELF; 27 SIMLA; 28 BRASURE; 29 RELEARN; 30 SUSPECT; 31 YIELDED.

DOWN:—1 JOHNSON; 2 SUR ROSA; 3 IMAGE; 4 ADDRESS; 5 SPANIEL; 6 HAUNT; 7 MONSOON; 8 RISINGS; 15 COO; 17 MAN; 18 TICKETS; 19 SATRAP; 20 EVEREST; 21 JEFFREY; 22 ARMBAND; 23 YEARNED; 25 ROUSE; 27 SALVE.

in the use of Marxian historical technique in appraising Europe "on the eve," then Dr. Lin Yutang may not be wrong in using the same technique in judging contemporary China. He is trying to give us another view of alleged facts. He asks for more honesty and less concealment of material. Mr. Snow wants us to see facts only as he sees them. For him there are not only no other facts but no other side to the picture.

According to Mr. Snow, only those who assume the intellectual integrity of Stalinism have intellectual health. Apparently, as Ralph Bates has said, slavery as a necessary implementation to a better social order is no longer a question of morality but of expediency.

REUBEN S. FLACKS

Chicago, Ill., April 6

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## *Hour of Decision*

*If ye break faith with us who died  
We shall not sleep.*

THE World Security Conference meets as the last fierce efforts of German resistance are being battered into the ground, as the ultimate obscenity of Nazism is being revealed in the hideous and pitiful records of the concentration camps, and as the peoples of Europe and the liberating armies are contemplating in stunned horror, the physical accomplishments of modern war. And when the guns cease, the specter of famine will spring from fields sown with mines and walk through the desolation that was Europe.

Ahead are the stern tasks of retribution, of deciding in technical detail the fate of Germany, of rehabilitating, feeding, rebuilding Europe. All of these tasks raise economic, political, educational problems which it may take a generation to solve. And beyond V-E Day are the completion of the war with Japan and the gigantic problems of the Far East. But greater than all these problems and more portentous for the peoples of the world is that to be faced by the delegates at San Francisco: how to establish a world organization that will secure peace and create the conditions under which the peoples of the world can struggle ahead toward a free and decent life. If San Francisco fails, then millions of brave men will have died in vain.

In this issue of *The Nation* two outstanding authorities on international affairs present their conceptions of the meaning of San Francisco. Both reject the contention of the perfectionists that world peace can rest only on a just and democratic world federation. Both would agree with Reinhold Niebuhr, in *The Nation* of April 7, that "Dumbarton Oaks envisages not a world authority but a world alliance of states, and that the authority of the great powers is to be the core of world order." Beyond that basic position, however, there is a sharp divergence of interpretation. Frederick L. Schuman insists that it is a delusion, and a dangerous delusion at that, to imagine that the new United Nations organization can have attributes other than those of a Grand Alliance. It is "muddle-minded liberals" and "subtle obstructionists" who urge the introduction of principles of justice and democracy, who insist upon the redress of the balance of powers between large and small states, who claim that the Assembly should be given a more important function. Percy E. Corbett, on the other hand, insists that it is a mistake to make this black-and-white distinction between a federation and a power alliance. The new organization is not rigid; the claims of community press against the "realistic" canons of power politics. It can safely be said, for in-

stance, that the strength and functioning efficiency of the organization will depend upon the degree to which some of the real grievances raised by the smaller states are met. The central tasks of San Francisco relate to the modification of the original Dumbarton Oaks charter to meet the larger requirements of justice and flexibility.

Now with this latter position we are in essential agreement. San Francisco must obviously be more than a rubber stamp on the original four-power agreement. The Dumbarton Oaks charter itself, while lacking in the declared moral purposes of the Covenant of the old League, nevertheless proposes a rudimentary constitutional framework within which the rights of nations, small as well as great, are guaranteed against abuse. And even now—perhaps chiefly now—larger concepts of justice can be introduced which originally were neglected. It is becoming increasingly clear that basic unity among the major powers is affected by the rights and the status of smaller powers. At the time this is being written, for example, the whole world is anxiously awaiting the results of the conference in Washington between Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Molotov, and Mr. Eden over the question of the reorganization of the Polish government in terms of the Yalta agreement. Leaving aside the mischievous attacks of professional Russophobes, there is a grave concern in the heart of the average American that the independence of Poland and the political rights of all democratic groups in Poland be respected.

What is strangely enough overlooked by the "realists" is that behind the governments represented at San Francisco are societies of free men and women who have already contributed enormously of blood and treasure to crush states dedicated to the worship of power. There is no indication that the peoples of the world will long be content with a world organization, whether it is called a league or an alliance or simply the United Nations, unless it increasingly responds to the demands of justice. The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms declaration offer no blueprint for an organization to support world peace; but they do express basic principles which fortunately most free men believe can and must find realization in human society. Some died believing they were fighting to build such a society. Not all of them were "muddle-minded liberals" or "subtle obstructionists."

We watch San Francisco, then, with deep concern and with profound hope. We are sorry that Franklin Delano Roosevelt will not be there to see the first steps taken in the accomplishment of "the long and arduous task." He stands beside the countless other brave men with whom we dare not break faith.

# The Shape of Things

THE LOWEST CIRCLES OF THE NAZI HELL ARE being exposed in the camps of death and living death where organized sadism and systematic degradation have been practiced on such a scale that the human mind, in self-defense, calls it inhuman. The most hopeful of reformers may be expected to doubt that it is possible to reclaim a people conditioned, during twelve years, to behavior of which the logical end result is to be found in the stacks of bones, the rotting flesh, and the terrible stench of Buchenwald. And the problem is made infinitely more difficult by the fact that the Nazis have systematically eliminated anyone who in their opinion might have been useful to the Allies. Only last July all former functionaries, however minor, of the left-wing parties were rounded up, and we may be sure that they have perished in these last desperate weeks of the Nazi regime. The demand for punishment of those who tolerated this evil as well as of those who perpetrated it will rise high at San Francisco. But we should do well to remember in this moment of shock and despair what the dispatches from Germany have seldom mentioned—that the first layers of bones and many later ones were made up of the remains of anti-fascist Germans. By 1938 their corpses had been piling up for six years, yet the gentlemen of Munich tolerated this evil and made a pact with the perpetrators. Long after that the "best people" condoned the Nazi regime. We are sorry, in this connection, that the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* and others of his stripe were missing from the group of editors and Congressmen who went last week-end to view the remains not only of the Nazi terror but of the policy of appeasement. The German people are responsible and their punishment began when the inhabitants of Weimar were forced to look at the Nazi horrors. But the rest of us have a responsibility too. We must implement it by reclaiming as well as punishing the German people. In any case, that is our only choice unless we are prepared to resort to Nazi methods—which would mark the final and awful triumph of the Nazi idea.

★

REGARDLESS OF BITTER-END NAZI RESISTANCE, the material basis of Germany's war effort has been virtually wiped out by recent Allied successes. No amount of fanaticism can replace the coal lost in the Ruhr, the Saar, and Silesia; no suicide stands can make up for the lack of the iron ore formerly obtained from Silesia, Yugoslavia, and the Ruhr, and no exhortations by Goebbels, or even Hitler himself, can produce gasoline for tanks and planes with all natural oil resources lost and 75 per cent of the synthetic refineries in Allied hands. According to official estimates, Germany's steel-producing capacity has already been reduced 92 per cent, its output of hard coal has been cut 99 per cent, and its gasoline production has been slashed to 4 per cent of normal capacity. In addition, the Reich has lost at least 40 per cent of its jet-aircraft plants, 45 per cent of its regular airplane factories, and 55 per cent of its tank-production capacity. Even these figures exaggerate the Reich's ability to continue war production. Its war industry was decentralized

in order to escape the full effects of bombing. As a result the assembly plants for planes and tanks were located in different parts of the Reich from the plants turning out engines and parts. With railway communications at a virtual standstill even in those parts of the country still under Hitler's control, it is probably quite impossible for such assembly plants as are left to obtain the parts necessary to produce any substantial amount of the equipment required for prolonged resistance in Hitler's northern or southern fortresses.

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THE CAPTURE OF BOLOGNA, CENTER OF THE line to which the Germans had held grimly through the winter, and key to the northern Italian plains, is of great political as well as military significance. Here the Allies are making their first close contact with the workers of the industrial north. Tougher and less exuberant than those of the south, they have a long tradition of political and industrial organization and a well-developed radical philosophy. Inside the city a large and disciplined body of Partisans, controlled by the local Committee of National Liberation, has for months awaited the signal to go into action. On the night of April 20, as troops of the Fifth and Eighth Armies closed in, their orders were received by short-wave. The promptness with which they were obeyed probably did much to save the city, reported to be in good working order, from destruction. In the 3½ hours that elapsed between the flight of the last Germans and the entry of the first Allied units, they took charge of the city and disposed of 200 Italian Fascists, thereby avenging 400 Partisans killed in the last six months, including Giuseppe Bentivoglio, veteran Socialist leader shot in the hour of liberation. By the time Allied civil affairs officers appeared on the scene, the Committee of National Liberation had met and elected as Mayor Giuseppe Dozza, a Communist. Milton Bracker, reporting to the *New York Times*, writes that the Communists and Socialists are the predominant parties in the city with the Actionists third. Opposition to monarchy appears widespread and vocal; hatred of Mussolini's Fascist "republicans" is intense. Correspondents noted that the welcome given to the Allies was comparatively subdued and suggested that this was a sign of a growing sense of Italian responsibility for the fate of Italy. Certainly it was not due to any regret for the city's former masters, but it may have been partly inspired by an understandable tendency on the part of the people to withhold their cheers until the political meaning of liberation was clearer.

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AMBASSADOR HURLEY'S RECENT TRIP TO MOSCOW has particular significance in view of the Soviet Union's increasing interest in the Far Eastern war. During the years of the German invasion Moscow paid comparatively little attention to the Far East. Its relations with China, however, have been seriously strained by the shift to the right in Chungking's policies since the fall of Hankow in 1938. The once substantial flow of Soviet supplies through Sinkiang has been cut to a minute dribble, partly because of Russia's own requirements and partly because of Moscow's doubts regarding the use to which these supplies were being put. Although the whole affair was played down in both countries, the coup d'état which Chungking instigated in Sinkiang in 1942-1943 against the Soviet advisers greatly accentuated the friction between the two countries. C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* in a recent dispatch from Moscow quoted an article by V. Avarin in *War and the Working Class* of April 21 which expressed "sharp anxiety as to the political prospects in China." Avarin claimed that the Japanese were using "thousands and tens of thousands of yesterday's Kuomintang people" including sixty-seven generals and large bodies of troops as a "weapon against the truly national Partisan movement" of Yen-an. "The democratic public," he

went on to say, "received with great anxiety the news that the negotiations between the Chinese Communist Party and Chungking has produced no results." It is unlikely that the Soviet Union will look with favor on the prospect of shedding Russian blood to drive the Japanese out of Manchuria, only to turn the area over to an unfriendly Chungking regime. Thus Moscow's interests in the internal Chinese situation coincide with those of the United States. Both countries are basically concerned with obtaining a strong, unified, democratic regime in China, capable of serving as a bulwark both against future Japanese aggression and against the spread of totalitarian ideas in Asia. A Far Eastern agreement, laying the basis for American, Russian, British, and Chinese cooperation in the Pacific, should help materially toward attaining these objectives.

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SOME OF OUR BEST FRIENDS ARE FASCISTS. TAKE Franco. We always knew his heart was in the right place. Now that he has broken with Japan, refused entry to German planes, invited Spanish Republicans to return (none have accepted), and lifted the censorship on outgoing news, what more can liberals ask? They can and do ask a general amnesty for all political prisoners, a lifting of the internal censorship, the arrest of Nazi war criminals, the restoration of civil and political liberties, and the holding of free elections guaranteed by the presence of foreign observers. They demand that the State Department break with Franco, whose shaky regime it now supports. Of course, the fact that Franco is a very Catholic fascist makes this a bit difficult. He and his buddy across the border, Salazar, are two of the most God-fearing fascists with whom we maintain friendly relations. Together with their fellow-dictators in Brazil and Argentina they form a Catholic fascist bloc in Europe and in America which hopes to continue its activities within the framework of the world security organization. It is not inconceivable that they may yet be given the opportunity to do so—with State Department help. Severance of relations with Spain would be a mortal blow to the Fascist Four. This step would also permit the Spanish people to achieve their own liberation. Can it be that we still fear a republic in Spain more than we fear fascism? The State Department misrepresents the American people if it answers yes.

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CARLOS PRESTES'S RELEASE AFTER NINE YEARS of imprisonment in Brazil is not a measure of Vargas's democratic sentiments but the weakening of his fascist state. Popular pressure has forced the most astute of South American dictators to declare an amnesty for all political prisoners. They number approximately 3,000; 800 were in Rio de Janeiro's jail, and several thousand were in the island prisons of Fernando de Noronha and Ilha Grande. Carlos Prestes, whose name has become a symbol of the fight for freedom, is a Communist who led the opposition to Vargas and was imprisoned in 1936 just before the dictatorship finally entrenched itself by abolishing all constitutional liberties. His release will immensely accelerate the struggle for democracy inside Brazil and furnish it with a valuable leader. But one outstanding democratic leader may be lost—Arthur Ewart,

the gallant German anti-fascist, once a member of the Reichstag, who was jailed at the same time as Prestes. Several years ago it was reported that the tortures to which he was subjected in Vargas's jails had driven him insane. Now he has been released—in what condition and in whose custody we do not know. Vargas wants us to forget the case of Arthur Ewart and of his other victims. He wants us to forget that he deported Prestes's pregnant wife to Nazi Germany, where her child was born in a concentration camp. These are facts we hope our representatives will remember when they sit down to plan for world security with Vargas's delegates.

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THE AUTHORITIES AT SAN QUENTIN PRISON IN California have worked out a streamlined solution for the race problem in America—if it could only be applied on a mass scale. Some time ago the authorities came to the sensible conclusion that prejudice did not necessarily need to be respected inside prison walls. Having convinced themselves of the soundness of this novel proposition, they proceeded to order the white inmates to eat in the mess hall in which Negro prisoners are served, thereby upsetting a time-honored San Quentin tradition ("interfering with the *mores*," in sociological parlance). The white prisoners, with amusing arrogance, refused to comply with the order. The answer of the authorities was to order 1,110 convicts kept in solitary confinement on one meal a day until they could master their Mississippian indignation. After twelve hours of confinement, these haughty advocates of white supremacy, without exception, decided that they could actually eat a meal in the presence of Negroes. And no subsequent disorders have been reported. The technique having proved so effective, it is unfortunate that it cannot be applied on a nationwide scale—for about twelve hours. While Bilbo and Rankin might conceivably be somewhat more intransigent than the 1,110 white prisoners in San Quentin, still it seems reasonable to assume that their desire for mere food—not to mention good Southern cooking—would soon overcome their reluctance to eat with Negroes. In any case, the authorities at San Quentin are entitled to a large measure of commendation for having braved the outraged sensibilities of a thousand criminals. If the example is followed by other institutions, we may actually succeed in outlawing segregation in every prison in America.

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#### ERNIE PYLE HATED WAR AND FEARED DEATH.

He might have by-passed both and lived out his days quite honorably in a safe sector. Instead he insisted on going again and again to the front lines of World War II. According to an anonymous obituary in the *New York Times*, which deserved a by-line, Pyle grew up with a fear of not being liked. Perhaps this explains his courage; it would seem that the fear itself had been transmuted into an obligation to take part in the common experience of his kind, though it was an experience he hated and feared. In fulfilling an obligation imposed only by himself he became a known soldier; but millions of unknown G. I.'s are commemorated in his unwilling yet voluntary dedication, his grouching yet dogged service, and his casual death on an island in the South Pacific.

ONE WAY TO LOSE FAITH IN DEMOCRACY IS TO study the faces in a cigarette line in this peak year of war effort. There's one close to the office which by three o'clock any afternoon runs clear around four sides of a block. We've been told that if you wait for two hours you are almost sure to get two packages of cigarettes. Perhaps what made us particularly ill the last time we saw it was that we had spent the evening before with an American flyer just back from the Pacific. He had flown over Tokyo in a B 29 a few weeks ago. He had been on Iwo and he described the faces of the wounded men who were taken off the beach out to the hospital ships. They were not like the civilian faces in that line.

## Talking for a Third World War

THE sharp verbal clash between Secretary Wallace and Senator Wiley at the Senate hearings on the renewal of the Trade Agreements Act epitomizes the cleavage of party opinion on this vital issue. Senator Wiley was engaged in the hoary Republican pastime of shedding crocodile tears over the American workers who would be thrown out of work by the influx of cheap foreign goods. Asked to comment, Mr. Wallace said: "Senator, I hate to hear you talking like that; you are just talking for a third world war." Red with anger, the Senator retorted that that was "a hell of an answer."

Some people may feel that Mr. Wallace's reply was a little too sweeping, but the wide publicity given to the clash indicates that it was just the kind of answer needed to challenge the conventional protectionist myths which Senator Wiley was mouthing. For years economists have patiently tried to explain that the country could not lose through an increase in foreign trade: that *trade* means *trade*, a swapping of something that you can make cheaply for something that other countries can make cheaply. For every job lost in a low-wage protected industry, one or more new jobs would be created in our high-wage export industries.

But the explanation of the economists seems never to have sunk in very deeply. Vested interests, by judicious expenditures in the right places, have been able to perpetuate the myth that the tariff somehow "protected" the American standard of living, and have kept many people believing that a reduction in the tariff would result in increased unemployment. Mr. Wallace's accusation that the perpetrators of these myths are talking for World War III cuts to the heart of the issue in a way that the economists' reply has failed to do. It is true, as the economists have pointed out, that an increase in foreign trade will raise, not lower, living standards, and will make possible an expansion, rather than a reduction, in employment. But the economic benefits, though substantial, are unimportant when weighed in the scales with the political benefits.

The essential point, as brought out so dramatically by the Secretary of Commerce, is that an effective political organization for maintaining the peace must be based on the fact of world economic interdependence. This presupposes a

substantial increase in world trade. Economic nationalism is fundamentally divisive in character. If allowed to persist, it will destroy whatever structure of political cooperation may be set up at San Francisco. Assistant Secretary of State Clayton developed this point when he pointed out that unless steps are taken to permit other countries to meet their obligations to this country through an expansion of American imports, "we'll set up irritations and bitterness" among other countries. And Secretary of State Stettinius affirmed the same truth when he declared that the new tariff proposals were vital to "give the rest of the world a symbol and a tangible proof that we mean what we say about joining with other nations in working out a more prosperous and secure world."

In many ways it is unfortunate that the San Francisco conference should be held while Congress is still squabbling as to whether it will indorse Bretton Woods and a renewal of the Trade Agreements Act. Defeat of either would deal a body blow to the conference, and Administration supporters are frankly worried over the prospects for both. But the very uncertainty about the fate of the proposals creates an opportunity. Nothing would do more at this point to create a favorable atmosphere at San Francisco than prompt and decisive action by Congress indorsing Bretton Woods and extending the reciprocal-trade act.

## *An Apple Has Only Two Halves*

THE National Planning Association has long played a small but useful and growing role in the formation of American public opinion and in the clarification of complex economic problems. It has been extraordinarily successful in bringing together representatives of labor and agriculture and progressive business men, and in achieving agreement on basic issues. It has been doing an outstanding job in focusing attention on the problem of full employment after the war. Its latest staff report, "National Budgets for Full Employment," will help government officials, business men, farm leaders, and trade unionists to grasp at least the magnitude of the task involved in full employment.

The Full Employment bill now before Congress utilizes the mechanism of a national economic budget, a budget that covers all the income and outgo of the entire economy instead of merely that of the federal government. The purpose of that budget is to disclose the "gap" which either government or private spending must fill between prospective expenditures and the amount required for full employment.

The National Planning Association study sets up three sample budgets of this kind, one relying on government to fill this gap, a second on private expenditures, a third on increased consumer purchases. It is when these budgetary figures are examined and compared with the past that one begins to realize what a stupendous task is involved in the achievement of full employment. The total national output required, according to the NPA, is \$170 billion annually in 1941 prices, or about the amount the nation

produced last year in terms of 1944 prices. To reach this total, the NPA assumes expenditures of \$13 billion for producer's plant and equipment (capital goods), or \$5 billion more than the average of the '20's; \$6 billion for residential construction, or about \$1.5 billion more than the average of the '20's; \$1 billion for net increase in inventories; and \$2 billion for net export balance, or about \$1 billion more than in the '20's. The study assumes expenditures of \$25.4 billion a year by government and of \$122.6 billion by consumers—or just about twice the amount spent by consumers in 1939. And after all these optimistic assumptions, there still remains a gap of \$8.5 billion to be filled by additional expenditures!

Could this be filled by public works? "Not for long," the NPA experts declare, "without redefining the term public works," without "a drastic readjustment of our concepts of appropriate government activities in peace time." Government would have to go into several fields hitherto the exclusive preserve of private ownership to expand expenditures that much. Could private industry take up that slack by adding \$8.5 billion to its investment in capital goods? Its \$13 billion annual investment in such goods is already enormous. Its magnitude may be judged by the fact that the total government investment in war plants since the defense program began is only \$16 billion. What other possibility is there for filling this gap?

"There is one possibility," the NPA report says, "that could have a major effect. This is the possibility of a change in the distribution of the nation's income. It is a common observation that a man saves a larger proportion of his income as the income rises; conversely, that people toward the lower end of the income scale save less or do not find it possible to save at all. If ways could be found to adjust the lower brackets upward without increasing prices, the effect would be to increase individuals' expenditures and thus relieve government or business or both of some of their burden in making up the total required for full employment."

But to "adjust the lower brackets upward without increasing prices" requires a willingness on the part of industry to accept a lower rate of profit. For there is no way to cut an apple into three halves. The total apple would indeed be larger under full employment and the total volume of profit might well be greater, but the ratio of profit, the percentage taken from the national income by the top income groups, must necessarily be smaller if those at the bottom are to have a greater share. In this greater share for those at the bottom lies the key to full employment. H. Christian Sonne, an unusually thoughtful and progressive business man, who is chairman of the NPA, indicated as much when he said, "It is the use, the distribution—not primarily the size—of the national output and income that counts. Within a considerable range it is the relationships that govern, not the magnitudes." The only place where consuming power can be significantly increased is in the lower income groups, and they can have more only if those at the top have a little less. Full employment offers the upper groups a rich recompense in return: greater security, social, economic, and political. Capital may earn a lower rate of return, but the risk will be less.

# Notes Before 'Frisco

BY I. F. STONE

*En Route to San Francisco, April 20*

THE first essential of world peace is full employment in the United States. This cannot be repeated too often. Our own country represents about half the world market, and if we are prosperous the rest of the world will be prosperous too. Only in such a context can the agreements reached at Bretton Woods operate successfully. Only in such a context will other nations give up the weapons of economic self-defense and economic warfare—currency depreciation, quotas, barter agreements, licensing of exports and imports—which breed ill-feeling among nations. It has been said that if we wish to sell abroad we must be prepared to buy abroad. Only in a prosperous America can one hope for the political and economic climate which would permit any significant tariff reductions. The strong opposition in Congress to the Doughton bill for extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act indicates how far we are as a people from grasping the responsibilities and necessities of our creditor position. In a fully employed America the tariff problem would lose much of its urgency.

Several recent studies indicate that the volume of our imports bears surprisingly little relation to the height of our tariff walls or to the price of foreign products. Calvin B. Hoover in his "Post-War Goals and Economic Reconstruction" reports that "the changes in volume of trade in commodities on which duties were raised during the Hoover Administration were not so strikingly different from the changes in the volume of imports of other commodities upon which duties were not raised." The factor that determines our volume of trade, Dr. Hoover finds, "is the volume of our own industrial production. If we have prosperity, then we have high imports and exports. If we have depression the opposite is true."

All this is far better understood abroad than at home. Washington embassies have shown unusual interest in the full-employment bill now before Congress. (It is worth noting that the new President when he was still a Senator signed promptly the Military Affairs Committee report indorsing the bill.) Some foreign governments, notably the Australian, are known to have begun diplomatic conversations on the full-employment problem with a view to some joint action or declaration at the world trade conference recently announced by Secretary Stettinius.

Full and stable employment in the United States necessarily means a lower rate of profit on capital. Some would like to evade this unpalatable fact and to dodge a terribly difficult problem by an intensified drive for foreign markets. Foreign markets, though important, cannot provide full employment. To place primary emphasis on foreign trade is also to intensify inevitable ill-feeling as American and British traders compete in Latin America and elsewhere. This would be imperialism in its classic form. For imperialism is the search abroad for that higher rate of profit which can no

longer be obtained at home. I need hardly add that failure to achieve full employment would also provide the right emotional climate for imperialist adventures: disillusioned veterans, renewed isolationism, xenophobia, fascist movements. In such an atmosphere whatever is achieved at San Francisco would become worthless.

The second essential of a stable world peace is agreement among the Big Three on post-war treatment of Germany and Japan—not just agreement on generalities, but accord in the working out of detailed day-by-day decisions. The trust or mistrust bred in the process will determine the future relations of the great powers and decide the efficiency of the security organization to be set up at San Francisco. Here the political difficulties involved are enormous.

We must never forget that Hitlerism had a double root and can only be extirpated by double action. It was rooted not only in the German national pattern but also in the weaknesses of world capitalism. All the factors which enabled Hitler to reverse Lenin's famous slogan, which enabled the Nazis to turn civil war into imperialist war, are still present. The recurrent cyclical crises, the dead-end atmosphere of much upper-class thinking, the fear of change, the Communist bogey, the anti-Semitism characteristic of societies in decay are still with us. The two staples of Nazi propaganda—the "bulwark against Bolshevism" line for nice people, Jew-baiting for the others—will still be marketable after the war if there is considerable unemployment.

There is reason to believe that the "bulwark against Bolshevism" idea is already playing a part in British and American thinking in regard to Germany, as it also will in regard to Japan. Anti-Soviet fears and prejudices, though private, are prominent in the thinking of the State Department bureaucracy. James Clement Dunn and Julius Holmes are certainly among those to whom this applies. The tendency to favor a "soft peace" for Germany is also fed by cartel and commercial considerations, here as in Britain. The leak of the so-called "Morgenthau plan" in distorted form was a deliberate job by the State Department crowd to which I refer, and it was contrived in a way most likely to kill the plan.

Mr. Hull himself, contrary to the general impression, was not for a soft peace, but for a year or more before his retirement he had little to do with the actual workings of the State Department. So long as Mr. Roosevelt was alive, the "hard peace" idea had the ascendancy, but since his death a change is already perceptible in inter-departmental discussions. The State Department opposition to drastic action against Germany has stiffened. It is possible that the department may take a stronger position on German war criminals and perhaps also against the Japanese Emperor as a means of covering up a softer policy toward both countries. No one yet knows what Mr. Truman's attitude toward the German and Japanese problems will be, but I suspect it will prove at least as stern as Mr. Roosevelt's.

It must be kept in mind that the Big Three did not have sense enough to stick together against the Nazi menace before the war. The U. S. S. R. and this country both waited to be attacked before entering the war. Joint occupation of the Reich may make it easier, not harder, for the Germans to play one side off against the other. Robert Murphy, who will be General Eisenhower's political adviser in the German occupation, is as dangerous as he is shrewd. Murphy is another of those whose thinking about Germany is colored by the desire for a "bulwark against Bolshevism." The grim fact is that the dominant forces in British and American society impel us to the reconstitution after the war of pretty much the same kind of Germany and Japan we are spending blood and billions to crush. Only large measures of socialism and a vigorous upper-class purge could remove the aggressive forces and the imperialist urges of Germany and Japan, establish mutual confidence among the Big Three, and make a third world war unlikely. These, too, are decisions which will determine the worth of what is done at San Francisco.

A less immediate and longer-range problem which will decide the stability of the peace is the treatment of the colonial peoples. Here lies the possibility of conflicts more serious even than another falling out among the European peoples. However "correct" the attitude of the Soviet Union, however conservative and conciliatory the policies of the

Communist parties, the example of racial equality in the Soviet Union will be a constant reproach and irritant to colonialism, as Soviet full employment will be to capitalism. In this field, too, progressive forces in the West must press for reform if the unity of the Big Three is to be maintained.

Little has been said in the West of the spectacle provided by the farce of "India" at San Francisco and of "India" in the Assembly of the proposed new world organization. The delegation is made up entirely of British stooges, and it is Britain which will cast India's vote in the Assembly. We may be sure that the full implications of the sight will not be lost on the colonial peoples. "The trouble is," said a British representative to an American in a relaxed moment at the bar during the Bretton Woods conference, "we're too good to each other's niggers." He was referring, of course, to American interest in India and British interest in our treatment of Negroes; the remark is rich in overtones. In the handling of the colonial problem, we must either invoke prejudice and race hatred, fascist style, or move forward to the admission of the colonial and colored peoples into full equality and partnership. A few millions of European whites cannot forever dominate hundreds of millions of brown and yellow people. This is another of the fundamental questions which must be faced and answered if the San Francisco peace organization is to last.

## *Might and Right at San Francisco*

BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

WHEN the birds and animals emerged from the pool of tears, "all dripping, wet, cross, and uncomfortable," Lewis Carroll tells us, they had a consultation about how to get dry again. The Dodo suggested a Caucus-race. The resulting bewilderment suggests the state of mind in which many Americans contemplate the San Francisco conference. Even after the Klieg lights and microphones have been turned off, most observers and some participants will be quite uncertain whether the conference was a success or a failure.

The Dodo, it will be recalled, "marked out a race course in a sort of circle ('the exact shape doesn't matter,' it said), and then all the party were placed along the course, here and there, and began running when they liked, and left off when they liked, so that it was not easy to know when the race was over. However, when they had been running half an hour or so, the Dodo suddenly called out, 'The race is over!' and they all crowded round it, panting, and asking, 'But who has won?' This question the Dodo could not answer without a great deal of thought, and it stood for a long time with one finger pressed upon its forehead (the position in which you usually see Shakespeare, in the pictures of him), while the rest waited in silence. At last the Dodo said, 'Everybody has won, and all must have prizes.' " In Wonderland, Alice supplied the prizes and everybody was happy. At San Francisco, matters will be less simple.

The difficulty of judging the conference will vanish if it

breaks up in dissension; or if a charter is concocted and then rejected by Washington, Moscow, or London; or if the charter, in a form acceptable to all, makes unmistakable provision for the replacement of anarchy by government in the community of nations. But none of these contingencies, sad or glad, is even remotely probable. The assembled delegates may, and doubtless will, run hither and thither like the creatures in the Caucus-race. Their home publics, however, expect from them some comforting assurance of enduring global peace involving not the slightest sacrifice of national sovereignty. They must therefore do what they can to persuade their publics that they have achieved the miracle of eating one's cake and having it too.

This objective, stemming from what Arnold J. Toynbee would call a "schism in the soul" of all contemporary patriots and peace-seekers, accounts for the labored official explanations of recent months. The conference, we are assured, is not a peace conference but a conference to insure peace. It will set up a league which will not really be a league. Neither will it be a super-government, nor indeed any government at all, and yet somehow it will govern. Such confusions will soon be worse confounded. Yet none of the major delegations can afford to go home in a huff. Neither can they accept any plan for limiting "the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states," on which, under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the new structure is to be reared. The outcome will be another halfway house between world gov-

ernment and world anarchy. John Doe and Joe Doakes, along with the Cabots and the Lowells (to say nothing of the Lodges), will have very little idea whether the result should be a source of enthusiasm or despair.

This curious situation, which will grow "curiouser and curiouser," reflects the universal dilemma of our time. It also echoes the contrite conviction of Americans that the United States should have joined the Wilsonian League in 1920. But now as always order, law, and justice are impossible in any community without government. Government in a community of states is possible either through the conquest of all states by one or through the partial surrender of local sovereignty to central authorities empowered to legislate for individuals. The first possibility is precluded by the unavailability of any Julius Caesar or Genghis Khan in today's world. (Cf. forthcoming obituaries of Hirohito and A. Hitler.) The second possibility is likewise precluded by the rejection of federalism as the basis of the new order. (Cf. the Atlantic Charter, the Mackinac Island declaration, the Moscow conference communiqué, the Connally resolution, and the Republican and Democratic platforms of 1944.) Both possibilities of effective world government are, for the present, as dead as the Dodo. There is no other possibility.

What will emerge will be a new League. It will have nothing in common with a global imperium or federation. Its organs will be without legislative power. Its members will seek to keep the peace through the collective coercion by all sovereignties of any sovereignty daring to take the sword. This arrangement, which has never worked, was correctly described by James Madison as a formula for war, by George Mason as a mixture of "fire and water," and by Alexander Hamilton as "one of the maddest projects ever devised." But a century and a half later earnest souls continue to insist, contrary to all reason, that peace can be had in this fashion. They persist, absurdly, in calling the proposed charter a "constitution" and in demanding provisions to "review" treaties, to insure "justice," to protect the four freedoms, and to do a thousand other things which can never be done by an association of sovereignties but only by a government. The futility of these fantasies will be seen clearly at San Francisco only by Commander Stassen. But his pleas, or more probably his silent regrets, will not change the result.

How, then, is the work of the conference to be evaluated? The first requirement of clarity is to face facts and to discard current illusions and all the tortuous preoccupations of lawyers, liberals, and League fans with blueprints and clock-work. The paramount fact is that the only decisive centers of power in the world of tomorrow will be in America, Britain, and the U. S. S. R. The organization of peace is a problem of power politics. Power politics is not a wicked game of foreign diplomats. It is the only kind of politics possible in a world of sovereignties. It can be abolished only by feudalism, which the United Nations have repudiated. It can never be abolished by a League of Nations, nor can a League *per se* possibly keep the peace, indispensable as it will be to promote other purposes. In the kind of world which the United Nations have already decided they want, peace can be kept only by a Grand Alliance of America, Britain, and Russia.

Given such an alliance, or a reasonable and workable facsimile thereof, it will not matter in the least how many

smaller states join or fail to join, for peace will be secure. Without such an alliance, it will likewise not matter what other states do or refuse to do, for world peace will be lost. The Covenant which Wilson brought home from Paris was less important than the Anglo-French-American alliance he had signed. Had the latter been accepted, the rejection of the former would have been unfortunate but not fatal. A League without a firm alliance at its core is futile and feckless as a means to peace in a world of sovereignties. No amount of verbiage or wishful thinking will change these stubborn realities. If they are forgotten or evaded at San Francisco, the ultimate result will be failure.

The most persistent delusion threatening tragedy at the Golden Gate is the notion that the coming world order will be "democratic" and capable of keeping peace only if the small states have an equal voice with the great powers. In reality it is a negation of democracy to give the United States and Guatemala, Great Britain and Luxembourg, the Soviet Union and Norway an equal voice. Democracy means that people are to be counted as equal. To count states as equal is to count people as unequal. It is also to take control of the destinies of the world out of the hands of the great powers, which alone have power to keep the peace, and put it into the hands of an irresponsible oligarchy of the impotent. Peace for the next generation depends exclusively on Anglo-American-Soviet solidarity. On this also depend the rights and indeed the very existence of small states. If the Big Three fall apart, the small and the weak will all inevitably be trampled down anew in the combat of the giants.

These considerations provide a yardstick for judgment. The conference will fail if Washington, London, and Moscow become embroiled in a meaningless dispute over who should have three or six or twenty votes in the Assembly. It will likewise end in futility if the Assembly is given equal power with the Council—for equal power here will mean no power; or if the United States refuses to sign an alliance; or if the existing alliances among Britain, the U. S. S. R., France, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia are subject to control by the League; or if the American Senate proposes amendments or reservations to the charter. The conference will have achieved its major goal only if it devises an instrument whereby America, Britain, and the U. S. S. R. can act together, swiftly and effectively, against peace-breakers. Great power entails great responsibility. It is susceptible of great abuse. But weak power or no power means anarchy and more war in the days ahead. An alliance is not a government. It offers no guaranty of justice. It does offer a possibility, now the only possibility, of order and peace. There will be neither in the world of tomorrow, and therefore no possibility of moving toward law and justice, without an enduring concert of power among Washington, London, and Moscow.

This fact was wisely recognized in Senator Vandenberg's proposal of January 12 and has long been insisted upon by the Soviet Union. Republican or Communist indorsement does not make the proposal wrong or right. It is right only because politics is the art of the possible, and nothing else is possible. To reject it will be to play into the hands of the anarchists. Their ranks embrace all professional Anglophobes, Soviet-haters, and "nationalists"—and all who shed tears for the Baltic states and Poland and insist that democ-

racy and Marxism are irreconcilable. If so, there can be no peace. And if more war comes because of the refusal of anarchists, appeasers, and perfectionists to face realities, let no one suppose that such a war will promote justice or law or the rights of small nations or the security of America or the survival of capitalism or even the interests of the Roman church.

Success at San Francisco will require an unflinching facing of realities and an end of the current mysticism of muddled-minded liberals, subtle obstructionists, and sponsors of war between Muscovy and the Atlantic powers. It will require that a Grand Alliance be made the core of the new League. The task of Americans in furthering victory in the battle for

peace, and in rendering a verdict on the campaign which lies ahead, is a task to which they will prove equal only if they give concrete meaning to the words of their lost leader: "We must continue to be united with our allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace, if necessary by force. . . . It is useless to win a war unless it stays won. . . . We are not fighting for, and we shall not attain, a Utopia. We have set ourselves a long and arduous task. That task calls for the judgment of a seasoned and mature people. . . . We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust. . . . We must wage the coming battle for peace and civilization in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought."

## The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE German drama is drawing to its end amid the horror of decayed bodies and evidences of unrelieved brutality. The great military actions are nearly done, and in these moments which seem in a way almost anticlimactic many Americans are finding their minds most filled with startling intimations that the Germans are perhaps not very nice people. Many of us never quite believed these things when the news of them came from Russia or Poland or Czechoslovakia; but in the last ten days a tremendous hardening of the American feeling toward Germany and the peace has taken place with the reading of the reports from Buchenwald and other camps. It is good to hear that General Eisenhower has invited some Congressmen and editors to view these monuments. It is even more appropriate that those curiously incurious Germans who lived so near during the terrible years are being taken on guided tours through the stinking barracks and past the rows of naked corpses beyond the crematoria, to live with the memory of what has been done in their name, or like the mayor and mayoress of Weimar to come home and slit their wrists.

Berlin has chosen a more grandiose suicide, resisting the extraordinarily powerful and skilful Red Army offensive from the long-prepared jumping-off points west of the Oder. The city should be devastated by the time this reaches print, and the Allies should have joined hands across the fallen Reich. We can then expect the peculiar spectacle of a defeated nation which does not quit, a country without a capital which continues to fight, a decimated and incoherent army which maintains isolated but effective resistance. All this—Buchenwald hardening our hearts, the impossibility of a German surrender, the devastation of German cities and industry, the failure to get in a crop with consequent starvation next winter—makes the immediate problem of "what to do with Germany" take on a comparatively academic shade. There may well be so little left of Germany as to make that problem fade into insignificance.

The British campaign to recapture southern Burma has got off to a good start with a seventy-mile advance southward

from Myitkyina toward Rangoon—an advance accomplished through the jungle in twelve days, in which 3,500 Japanese were killed. The Japanese are resisting strongly as they attempt to relieve the flight of stragglers from the central Burma pocket, but this drive down the main Burma railway will prove difficult to stop. The British Fourteenth Army has already demonstrated its courage, tenacity, and skill in the Burma fighting, and it now seems well on the road to victory in that out-of-the-way theater which so seldom breaks into the headlines. The recent campaign has been a brilliant one, and the Japanese have in fact lost as many troops in Burma as they have in all the Central Pacific fighting. The debt of '42, when the British absorbed such a terrible beating, has been largely repaid; and a truly Allied army—British, Americans, Chinese, Indians, West Africans, Burma hill tribes—has followed with distinction the advice of General Joseph Stilwell, offered when he led that awful retreat: "I claim we got a hell of a beating. I think we ought to find out what caused it, go back and retake it."

The capture of Mandalay a month ago was the culmination of one phase of the campaign, and led directly to the entrapment of some 50,000 soldiers of the Japanese Fifteenth Army, which was cut off from all supplies and robbed of air support by the superb work of the R. A. F. and U. S. A. F. Some 10,000 Japanese were killed in the operations leading up to this great encirclement, and many more have been killed since. Prior to the encirclement, the Fourteenth Army was operating on a front of over 400 miles between the Bay of Bengal and the northern Shan States—not, of course, a continuous front as in Europe, but with columns acting independently, widely scattered through the hills and woods, and often supplied solely by air. This army advanced in eleven months, through country which is the most difficult in the world for a modern fighting force to move through, more than the distance between Moscow and Berlin.

Nor has this massive achievement been the only activity of the Allies in Burma. On the Fourteenth Army's right flank, the Fifteenth Army Corps in Arakan has destroyed a considerable portion of the enemy's Twenty-eighth Army,

and on the left flank the Northern Combat Area Command—Chinese, with some British and American troops, under the American General Sultan—has contained most of the Japanese Thirty-third Army.

There has been plenty of bad news from Burma: first defeat, then slow progress, delays, shortages of supplies, friction among British and Americans and Chinese; but despite all these difficulties much has been accomplished in the past few months. British and American air forces have operated in the closest cooperation; on the ground, troops of many nations have scored victories side by side. Admiral Mountbatten, with General Slim carrying the ball for him as commander of the Fourteenth Army, has won the first large-scale continental victory over the Japanese in this war.

As we move into the final phases of the war, details leak out here and there which show the enormous technological advances we have made in the science of killing one another off—so that God can start again with the insects, presumably. Among recent developments which have attracted my attention, in addition to the new U. S. A. A. F. incendiary bomb described in an earlier issue, are the following:

Curtiss-Wright has in production, and the navy has in combat, a new version of the Helldiver, called the Beast, or SB2C-4, which carries more than 1,000 pounds of bombs in the fuselage and 1,000 under the wings, where it also mounts two twenty-millimeter cannon and eight five-inch rockets. This aircraft, which has double the bomb capacity of the old navy dive-bomber, has a range of 1,000 miles.

Allied troops in Europe have been employing the rocket barrage, first used by the navy in the Pacific to cover beach landings. A group of 12 projectors, each with 32 barrels,

produces a concentration of fire comparable to that of 280 field guns firing 100-pound shells, but only 200 gunners are needed as against the 3,000 gunners necessary for a like effort with artillery. Of course, the rocket barrage is not so accurate—yet.

The R. A. F.'s eleven-ton volcano bomb, dropped from the huge and eminently successful Lancaster bomber, has proved particularly effective. As the Canadian Wartime Information Board points out matter-of-factly, "The explosion of one volcano bomb is comparable to a full salvo from ten fourteen-inch guns of the 35,000-ton battleship, H. M. S. King George V, with the exception that in the case of the bomb the fire is concentrated in one spot." The Lützow, Germany's last pocket battleship, was sunk in Swinemünde harbor last week by one of these bombs which landed sixty feet away; in this case, a miss is as good as a hit down the funnel, for the underwater concussion smashes the armor and lets the water in. The Admiral Scheer, another pocket battleship, and the Tirpitz have been sunk with this bomb, a prototype of which was dropped experimentally on a small granite island off the British coast before it was used in combat. The experiment was a great success: the Ordnance Survey was informed it could leave the island off its maps.

It was announced recently that the Allies captured in France the firing site of a battery of 50 underground guns with barrels of 6-inch caliber and 400-foot length, which were to fire 120-pound rocket shells on London, 95 miles away, at the rate of 10 per minute. The enemy plan was to keep rescue workers and A. R. P. personnel under cover while V-1 and V-2 did their big damage.

I plan to discuss these matters at some length with anyone in San Francisco who will lend an ear.

## What the Conference Can Do

BY PERCY E. CORBETT

AT DUMBARTON OAKS last summer the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China drew up a plan for the political, economic, and social cooperation of the "peace-loving" nations to prevent war and improve living conditions throughout the world. This agreement was an event of the first magnitude, for everybody accepts it as axiomatic that any security organization that is to have the shadow of a chance must be founded upon the consent of the victorious great powers.

The plan, however, was not simply one of great-power collaboration. It called for the constant participation of the lesser states. How essential this is in the economic and social field needs no demonstration. How important it is for security is easily realized if we consider what could have happened in the early stages of Nazi aggression if Germany's neighbors had been actively associated with the great powers in a strongly integrated protective system.

It was because the United States and Britain, at least, fully realized the necessity of the whole-hearted participation of the lesser states that the Dumbarton text was not

simply communicated for comment and acquiescence, but was presented as the basis of discussion at an eventual conference of all the United Nations. That is the great issue for the San Francisco meeting—how to make the projected organization one that will elicit the warm support of the smaller nations without seriously reducing its capacity for effective action.

In the interval since Dumbarton Oaks many states not represented there have made it abundantly clear that they will not cheerfully accept the plan without changes. France and the Latin American nations are worried about the organization's control over regional arrangements. A number of governments want larger powers to be assigned to the General Assembly so that the small states, which are all represented in that body, may have a greater share in directing the work of the organization as a whole. Others want an explicit guaranty of territorial integrity and political independence, which is so far missing in the text. Others—seconded by Senator Vandenberg—urge a clear statement of the general principles, such as "justice," by which the

Security Council is to be guided in its action. Some states, led by Canada, are asking that at least two of the non-permanent members of the Security Council be always elected from the group of "middle" powers. Others—here again with Senator Vandenberg's support—propose that the organization should have authority to recommend revision of treaties and adjustment of situations that are working injustice. Various other alterations and additions are being pushed in this quarter and that, but those mentioned are the ones about which most will be heard.

Moscow, it appears, doesn't want amendments. It would like to regard the Dumbarton text as a firm agreement among the greatest powers, not to be altered to meet the desires of the weak. What, then, is the purpose of the conference at San Francisco? Is it to be another Congress of Vienna, with an inner group announcing its decisions to a mob of waiting delegates?

For the United States, on the contrary, it has been intimated that proposed amendments will receive careful study. Here is a further manifestation of that same wisdom which abandoned the claim to a multiple vote. The conference of San Francisco is not to be a gigantic rubber stamp; it is to be a genuine congress, where all invited participants will have a real share in decision. Nor is this soft-headed quixotism. It is common sense and good business. The governments of the United States and Britain know that the active good-will of small nations will save lives and treasure in the main job of keeping the peace.

It is not realism to present the alternatives in world affairs as the pure white of universal federation and the dead black of "power politics." The *real* thing is the infinite variety of devices in between. What human society has ever lived by any body of logically consistent principles or, for any length of time, by any body of principles remotely approaching consistency? The business of men just isn't conducted that way.

So a workable mixture of power and "constitutionality" can be devised at San Francisco, and the possibilities of compromise between Big-Three domination and community control have not been exhausted by the text drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks.

Is there any need, for example, to keep the clause which forbids the Assembly to "make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council"? Senator Vandenberg is attacking it, and his views will find a sympathetic echo in many delegations at the conference. If a two-thirds' majority in the General Assembly holds that a dispute is not making satisfactory progress in the Security Council, there is much to be said for the liberty to give formal expression to its concern. More doubtful, but still worthy of serious consideration, is the suggestion that a decision by the Security Council to apply sanctions should call for positive action only from states represented on the Council unless and until it is confirmed by a two-thirds' vote in the General Assembly. The idea has distinct merits. The chief responsibility for action will in any case fall on states in the Council, and this proposal, without paralyzing that body's capacity for action, would put a wholesome curb on the ambition of weak states to be represented there.

Nor should the San Francisco conference summarily dismiss the proposal to make explicit provision for the revision of treaties and adjustment of inequitable situations. This, indeed, like the principle of justice, is implicit in the present text. The Council may well have to urge revisions and adjustments in its business of keeping the peace. Revisions and adjustments, again, may well be the subject of recommendations by the General Assembly touching "the maintenance of international peace and security," under Chapter V, B, 1. More effective work in this connection will probably be done by proceedings in the Council under Chapter VIII, A, 3-5, than by formal recommendations. Territorial settlements, moreover, will probably have to be exempt from revision proceedings for an indefinite period after this war. The knowledge that territorial settlement could be brought up at any time for discussion would be a disturbing factor in Europe for years to come. But with this exception an explicit recognition of the need for "peaceful change" is on the whole desirable.

Relations between the United Nations organization and regional associations promise some difficulty at San Francisco. Here, by the way, is a part of the plan which should confound those who describe the proposed general organization as mainly a disguise for the unlimited play of power politics. The great powers represented at Dumbarton Oaks adopted a system which precludes free particular alliances, one of the prominent features of power politics in history. The leading advocate of amendment here is France, officially recognized as a great power but not a participant in the meeting at Dumbarton Oaks. France wants its defensive agreement with the Soviet Union to operate without waiting for authority from the United Nations organization. The Latin American countries also oppose a system which would give non-American states the power to veto action by the Union of American Republics.

What can be done to meet these reservations? As far as France is concerned, its fears might be removed by a temporary exemption from control for arrangements rising out of this war and directed against a resumption of German aggression. The Latin American claim will be harder to satisfy. Partial satisfaction might be given by putting into the charter of the United Nations a clause permitting immediate action by regional associations in defined circumstances. Action might even be permitted in unforeseen emergencies with a proviso of immediate notification to the Security Council and liability to complete justification before that body of all measures actually taken. But the principle of United Nations control should not be abandoned. If it is, the way will be open to competing and conflicting "security" blocs which would eventually break up or paralyze the general organization.

The veto of the great powers on the use of force against themselves will probably have to stand, though it is clearly inconsistent with ideal justice. Whatever we might do on paper, we cannot alter this in fact until the world is ready to submit to one centralized government with a monopoly of force. But one anomaly rising from the Yalta agreement should be removed. A great power that is party to a dispute cannot veto consideration of the dispute or recommendations on it, but it can veto proceedings on disputes to which it

is not a party. Was this an oversight? Why should Britain, for example, which cannot veto consideration of a dispute in which it is itself involved, be able to stop proceedings in one involving Canada or Persia?

Other important issues will arise at the conference. Among them will be one which even the briefest sketch cannot pass over in silence. This is a demand that has more support at the moment from private agencies than from governments. What place should be found in the program of the United Nations for basic human rights? In the present text there is only the brief statement that "the organization should . . . promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." A great many people are dissatisfied with this vague gesture. Some want an international bill of rights with all the mechanism of enforcement. Others would be content at this stage if all the United Nations subscribed to such a bill and undertook to apply it so far as possible in their respective circumstances.

This poses a real problem. It is too early yet to saddle an untried League with the difficult business of compelling nations to treat their own citizens according to a common set of rules. This would involve constant intervention in

the international affairs of states. But to put a list of universal rights in the charter and not support it by enforcement is to risk cynical disillusionment. Between these pitfalls the delegates must carefully pick their way. Probably they will emerge with another declaration of the rights of man, on the ground that in certain great historic documents, with one of which all Americans are familiar, such declarations have profoundly influenced subsequent developments.

The charter that emerges from San Francisco should not and will not be identical with the text of Dumbarton Oaks. There is reason to expect that the changes will be in the direction of more efficient operation, with some mitigation of the anxieties now troubling the common run of states. It is not realism to think or speak as if the delegates and advisers were about equally divided between knaves and fools. Most of us know men of high integrity and wisdom among them. They will bring back no perfect assurance of perpetual peace. But given the amount of honesty and capacity represented there, it is wholly reasonable to hope from San Francisco something infinitely better than, on the one hand, a glorified debating society or, on the other, a naked alliance of the great.

## Will Franco Fall?

BY SIDNEY WISE

A FOREST of upraised arms in fascist salute and the triple chant of "Fran-co, Fran-co, Fran-co" cheered the Generalissimo. It was the fifth anniversary of "the uprising" of 1936—of the day Franco led the rebellion of reaction against a legally elected democracy and the hemorrhage began in Spain which lasted almost three years, the day that opened the Spanish civil war and lifted the curtain on World War II. On July 17, 1941, members of the National Council, commemorating this anniversary, listened intently as the Caudillo proclaimed that the Allies had lost the war. In World War II, he said, "the first battles were joined and won on our soil." Now, he went on, "the war has taken a bad turn for the Allies, and they have lost it."

In February of 1942 Franco was still certain of German victory, and promised that "if there were one moment of danger, if the road to Berlia were to be opened, it would not be one division of volunteers that would go, but a million men would offer themselves." Ever since, by deed and word, he has been on the side of what he has termed "our fascist comrades." He sent his Blue Division to fight with the German army against the Russians. He let Spain serve as a convenient supply and espionage base for the Nazis. He sent volunteer workers to aid in German war plants. As a "neutral" he was Goebbels's most valued mouthpiece. The dossier on his pro-Axis activities bulges with evidence.

So Franco will fall, say the idealists. Franco was backed by Mussolini and Hitler in his seizure of power; the state that Franco built was patterned after the Axis states and cannot survive the defeat of its German-Italian parents. The idealists cite chapter and verse on the vows made to extirpate

fascism. They quote from Cordell Hull, from the principles of the United Nations, from Franklin D. Roosevelt. Many are convinced that the inevitable moral collapse of fascism after German defeat will penetrate totalitarian Spain and in some strange way depose Franco.

If you understand the totalitarianism of Spain, you will not be so sure. Study Franco as the dictator and the opportunist, trace the record of Anglo-American diplomacy, and it is difficult to escape pessimism. Look at Spain on the map and picture Franco's position after German defeat. Surrounding him will be the France of De Gaulle, who has shown no sign of taking a strong anti-Franco position; the Portugal of Salazar, who feels that the strengthening of Franco's hand is the best guaranty of his own regime; the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, a war-sick world.

When the fighting ends in Europe, there will be a great ache for peace, continued peace. A back-to-peace-time "normalcy" movement will set in. The sentiment will be exploited by pro-Franco propaganda. "Keep Franco in power or see civil war in Spain," will be the new bogey. But the old bogey will be used too. After German defeat Franco will take Hitler's place in shouting that he is defending the world against the "red menace," that he is Europe's last bulwark against communism. In this role Franco will seek support from those who regard Communist Russia as a greater menace than fascist Spain.

Already he is applying a coat of post-war whitewash over the Axis colors of his fascist state. Last November he declared that his regime was "a democracy." Now, apparently, he is getting ready to scrape off many of the traditional

fascist trappings. Reports from Spain last week predicted that the fascist salute no longer would be obligatory, that the Falangist Party might be limited or even liquidated, that political executions might stop.

Radio Berlin's warning to Spain last October has been ignored. Certain circles, said the broadcast, referring to those who wished to preserve their own form of Spanish fascism by cooperating with the Allies, "feed on the hope that it is possible in the midst of a war to change from one moving train to another without losing their ideological baggage, social order, and national existence." Franco has made the jump. He has changed to the Allied victory train and pasted the sticker of democracy on his ideological baggage without losing his equilibrium. The uninvited guest is still on the Allied train and is trying to make himself presentable enough to ride on into the peace and the post-war world.

Inside Spain there is little evidence that Franco will fall. Fascism inside Spain is not just a word, nor is it a Roman salute or a blue shirt. It is a machine which controls life—everything from jobs to newspapers. It is a complicated modern mechanism made up of tanks, radio, propaganda, Gestapo methods. The day has passed when an enraged people could march with sticks and stones upon the castle of the wicked king and make everyone happy.

Franco has a band of Falangist Party fanatics ready to defend the regime against all odds. He fed the armed forces over 26 per cent of the 1944 national budget of a Spain "at peace." Most of the top leaders of this pampered army still support the dictator. Franco holds a bayonet at Spain's back, and cold steel commands more obedience than hot words. He has the planes, the tanks, the ships, the heavy artillery. He has a secret police system which has checker-boarded Spain into squares of vigilance. No one moves from one city to the next without presenting credentials to the police. Every apartment house has an agent—usually the superintendent—who reports to the chief of his street, who in turn reports to the chief of his district, who in turn reports to the chief of the city. Practically all Republicans and even mildly anti-Franco elements are cross-indexed in police files. Some are forced to report to headquarters every week. No one moves, works, reads, or speaks unless it is in the approved Falangist pattern.

Because of military considerations Anglo-American diplomacy has followed a policy of passive and negative support of the status quo in Spain. Franco has profited enormously from these six years of expediency. Military considerations are no longer operative, but Allied policy toward Franco has not yet changed. Franco is trying desperately not to have it change, for he knows that if it doesn't his regime will have established its bridgehead in the post-war world. Without a radical change in United Nations diplomacy, the Franco regime will stand even as fascism falls all over the map of Europe. It will continue to drop its fascist poison into the caldron of global peace.

Eventually, however, Franco's fascism will decay from within, and then its overthrow will be written in rivers of blood. In the meantime, every day of its existence will put the mark of failure on United Nations diplomacy—a failure in sharp contrast to the achievements of United Nations armies.

## In the Wind

**G**OVERNOR CHAUNCEY SPARKS of Alabama is expected to ask the state legislature, which convenes May 1, to repeal the poll tax. The South Carolina Senate has passed a resolution authorizing a referendum on repeal next year, and political observers on the scene think the House will pass it soon. Meanwhile, T. Grady Head, Attorney General of Georgia, has minimized the effect of repeal in his state by ruling that all past-due poll taxes must be paid before the right to vote is granted. In fairness to Governor Arnall, who fought for repeal, it should be pointed out that Mr. Head was elected, not appointed.

H. R. 1528, the "G. I. assault bill," which would provide for federal prosecution of any person assaulting or killing a member of the armed forces, is languishing in the House Judiciary Committee. It was introduced January 16.

**THE GOOD GRAY COLUMNIST:** Radio Station WNYC, New York, presented a half-hour reading from Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" by Eugene O'Neill, Jr., on April 14. The New York Post listed the program as "Reading of Walter Lippmann's 'Leaves and Grass.'"

**THE WEEKLY** market letter of Paine, Webber, Jackson, and Curtis, stockbrokers, for April 7 contained this optimistic note: "If Japan should repudiate her conquests and meet Allied surrender terms sooner than our military believes, and mayhap this year, the American economy and its markets are then supposed to sustain a severe shock. Granting the Japanese are treacherous, and might suddenly throw in the sponge, we find it difficult to become depressed contemplating such a prospect."

**THE KELLEY KAR COMPANY** of Los Angeles is currently advertising that it will include four cartons of cigarettes in the price of any used car it buys.

**CHARLES M. BURGESS**, an industrialist of Aurora, Illinois, put forth this plan for keeping the peace at a recent meeting of the Elgin Kiwanis Club: "Literally and completely annihilate the Japanese nation. Then turn Japan over to the Chinese. If the Japanese nation is not annihilated, the next really big war will be Russia and Japan together against the white race." He said he was a realist.

**IN THE WEEKLY CHESS PROBLEM** published by the French newspaper *Les Lettres Françaises*, the bishops are represented by little figures wearing the cap and bells of a court jester.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Dr. Goebbels Talks to Himself

BY JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

**F**IRST of all we must get out of Germany. It is dangerous here now. We could take that big plane—Adolf, myself, Heinrich, Hermann, and Ribbentrop—and make for America. This idea of a trial is wonderful. I'll fix up a declaration of surrender, quoting American and British statements that we shall have a 'fair trial.' Very simple. We'll give ourselves up to the Americans because they have promised to treat us justly, according to proper legal form. Americans hate to have a bad conscience. They still have an inferiority complex over Wilson's Fourteen Points.

"The safest thing would be to land right in Washington. People there are so far away from everything. In the first surprise they might shout, but not shoot. The Spanish Ambassador and his staff will make the necessary arrangements and meet us at the airport. By the time the newspapers are on the streets—I can see the headline: Hitler and Goebbels in Washington—we shall be in safe custody. From then on it will be easy, even entertaining.

"The man—or was it a woman?—who invented this 'fair-trial' idea ought to receive the Iron Cross. We're luckier than Napoleon was. The Congress of Vienna just said: 'Napoleon has placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and as enemy and disturber of the peace of the world he is delivered to public vengeance.' Now, for us, no vengeance, but strict legal justice in a real court with judge and jury. These idiots!

"First of all we'll have a rest. Somewhere in the country, I suppose. Adolf needs it—he has been so nervous since Remagen. I wouldn't mind a little quiet myself after the strain of the last few months. And we'll be safe all right. They will have to protect us as the common property of all the United Nations, held for trial by the Americans as trustees. If anybody tries to get at us our guards will never know whether it is with the intention of liberating us or of killing us. We may even have the unexpected pleasure of seeing some anti-Nazis shot in our interest—for the sake of justice.

"It will take time to prepare for the trial. A brand-new international 'commission' will be needed, with plenty of experts. There are so many questions to be settled: the place of the trial, the composition of the court, who is to be the presiding judge and who the prosecutor, what language shall be used, who shall be called as witnesses, and so on. No single nation will want to be excluded from this work of justice. It should take six months to a year before all the governments finally agree, perhaps even longer. And each will blame the others because we have not yet been punished.

"I'll see that the newspapers don't stop talking about us. Good publicity is important. I wonder whether we will be permitted to see the reporters. Adolf must ask one day for

a priest—prayer, confession, and all that. People must be made to wonder whether we have become repentant sinners. Perhaps a pious scene in the courtroom would be a good idea. Nazi Leaders Willing to Confess; Ask for Forgiveness and Just Punishment. There will be surprises. Surprises make headlines.

"Eventually the International Commission will succeed in settling all the differences about procedure, and the members of the court will be appointed. We shall still have plenty of time. In a 'fair trial' we can demand our own lawyers. We will ask to have lawyers from Germany, from Switzerland, and so on; perhaps one from South Africa. The trial will have to wait until they arrive. Then the court won't be able to refuse the lawyers time to prepare the defense. That will take more months. After that, Adolf or Hermann or some of the lawyers might get sick, and the opening would have to be postponed. Anything can happen as time passes. One year, eighteen months, two years—we

know how fast things can change.

"The trial must start, I suppose, sooner or later. By then we shall be rested, and well prepared for the game. First the talking will be done by our lawyers; it is a legal case, and every legal case has technical problems. No jurist can deny that the technical legal problems of our case are especially tricky. There are no precedents, no Supreme Court decisions. Our lawyers will bring up hundreds of legal questions about which legal authorities could write scholarly volumes.

"And of course every word will have to be translated because it would not be 'fair' to conduct proceedings in a language the 'defendants' don't understand.

"The court will probably overrule the legal objections of our lawyers. Then we will accuse them of having broken their promise about a fair trial and of violating the fundamental principles of justice of Western civilization. We will ask for the withdrawal of all members of the court who are prejudiced against us, anyone who has ever stated that the Nazi leaders are criminals or who harbors any sentiment of hatred against the defendants. Some members of the court may really withdraw. If not, they will at least feel uncomfortable and try to be as 'fair' and just as possible. We will be free to give long explanations to the prosecutor. We will make speeches.



Dr. Goebbels

"What speeches! Naturally there will be microphones in the courtroom. Millions of people in all countries will sit at their radios and listen to us. I swear we'll make the cleverest speeches of our careers. And we won't speak as repentant sinners. We will shout to those millions that our enemies are hypocrites until they believe it themselves. Our crimes? We will prove, out of their own history books, that similar crimes have been committed everywhere, sometimes by men who are honored as national heroes. Violations of human rights? We will quote from American, British, French books about the Bolsheviks and Stalin. As for the Jews, people who dislike Jews will love what we say about them.

"We can bring up some-embarrassing facts, too. We will remind Anthony Eden of his agreeable behavior when he was negotiating that British-German navy pact which legalized the construction of our submarines. We will demand, as witnesses, all those fine gentlemen from England and America who seven, eight, ten years ago encouraged us to prepare a little crusade against Soviet Russia. Ribbentrop might also cite some pages of his diary having to do with his friendly talks with the Russians and his visit to Moscow six years ago just before we started the whole thing. We can tell some tales they've never heard and some they'd like to forget.

"After all, everyone has to die sometime. But by that time, who knows, we may appear as martyrs and heroes. And that would be our last dirty trick on the United Nations. We will leave them a nice mess of confusion, disunity, and bad conscience. We may even become the founders, in death, of a new world-wide Nazi movement. Heil Hitler!"

## The New French Press

BY ETIENNETTE GALLOIS

THE question which was put to us, as French journalists, most frequently during our visit in the United States was what is the new French press like. It was, of course, usually journalists and publishers who asked this question. The American public as a whole was interested in other things. But the new French press is a subject of real importance, and America should know more about it.

France has had to make over its press almost entirely since liberation. The pre-war press had to be discarded because it had failed in its mission, which was to inform the people, not as an irresponsible body outside or above the interests of the nation, but with a will to defend the true interests of France.

Formerly anyone with money could start a newspaper—to which there can be no objection in a free country. But it so happened that all the leading publishers in France were tied to big financial or industrial enterprises which were much more concerned to advance their personal and private interests than those of the country. As a result our pre-war press became closely involved in that unofficial collaboration with the Germans which was so prevalent in big-business circles and, wittingly or unwittingly—the responsibility is the same in either case—spread Nazi propaganda in France. Lawsuits about to come to trial against these papers will

### MADRID'S LITTLE RIBBENTROP

*Now that Foreign Minister Lequerica, with the help of Ambassador Armour, is busy making Spain the most democratic country in the world and a devoted friend of American democracy, it may be interesting to recall that on the day Manila fell, Lequerica, then Spanish ambassador to France, clicked glasses with the German and Japanese ambassadors in a toast to the victorious Japanese army.*

perhaps expose to what extent they accepted Hitler's money, so generously distributed by Otto Abetz through De Brinon.

It would be interesting to reread now the newspapers printed in France before the war. Only in a few papers would one find warnings against the fifth column, against that treason in General Staff, Cabinet, and administrative officials which was to bring about our country's downfall. Most of the leftist papers took no part in the poisonous campaign of the Nazis, but neither did they put up any such strong and continuous fight against it—perhaps because they could not believe in the danger—as that carried on in *l'Humanité* by Gabriel Péri and Lucien Sampaix against Abetz and the Brown House in Paris and Georges Bonnet, whom Péri used to call the "Foreign Minister of French Affairs." Péri and Sampaix paid for their patriotism with their lives, after terrible torture.

All this makes it very clear that the duty of the press is not only to inform. Of course, in Herr Hitler's view the French people were kept well informed, but they were told nothing of the imminent danger, of the treason being organized everywhere, which could be perceived by even the less acute journalists. French finance capital had decided to collaborate with Hitler; the French press followed suit and lulled the country to sleep with meaningless news.

France fell—not because its armies were defeated but because Hitler's supporters had sabotaged war production and military defense. The collaborators believed that Hitler would share the country with them. But Hitler took it all, and the French people were turned into starving slaves. France's stern measures against the men who were most responsible, men who put their personal interests before those of the nation and who accepted foreign pay to support fatal policies, are healthy and unavoidable. Neither those men nor the press which helped to demoralize the people has any claim to respect or consideration.

But what is the new press like? Almost every one of the new papers was born of the underground press, which was launched and carried on by men who refused to let their country bow to Vichy. After overcoming the difficulties of printing and distribution, the underground press succeeded in revitalizing the French people and, working with the armed resistance movement, gave them back, first, their spirit and then the means to resist the invader by fighting and sabotage.

Of course a purely informative press could not have done this. The underground press was a responsible press, responsible for its influence on the reader, ready to be judged at any time by its readers and even by the whole world. Mere information might have had a disastrous effect on the wearied, battered spirits of the people. It was a press full of fight, which

not only informed but comforted, which took a constructive view, which inspired its readers to action.

Out of the small clandestine leaflets came our present newspapers. They are still limited in size, limited in news-gathering facilities, being not yet able to maintain a network of correspondents all over the world. But they are determined to serve, or at least never to disserve, the interests of their country. If the aim of their country is to work with the Allies, no correspondent will want to give the impression that unity does not exist.

Journalists can of course express their personal opinions, but they cannot further a political line that is contrary to the people's interests. Each paper reflects a sector of public opinion and remains under its constant control.

The French press no longer belongs to one man or to a small group of rich men—at least it does not in my part of the country. Nor is it subject to government influence or control. The slightest pressure exerted by the government to influence the treatment of news has been immediately resented; newspapers today will not stand any censorship except that of military necessity.

The new press has steered clear of both dangers, governmental and capitalistic control, by the simple process of becoming a truly democratic press. The papers of my area all belong to political movements or parties which played a large

role in the resistance. They have a publisher who is legally responsible, but the effective control is in the hands of a board of directors who are responsible for the political line and morally bound to the party or movement the paper represents.

We shall not again permit papers to receive money from foreign agents or from industrial or banking groups. Even under present conditions, with circulations often of only 40,000 copies, our newspapers are able to make money. Toulouse papers, wishing to give as much news as possible to their readers and being limited to the half-sheet size, have carried only advertisements which were of real use to the people or the government. A paper's books and circulation lists are open to a government commission on which the Liberation Committee and the newspaper unions are represented.

Our press is free to criticize anyone and anything, as our ministers know, but criticism grounded on personal resentment or to serve private interests is ruled out. Neither individuals nor companies will get aid from the press in breaking a law which they consider prejudicial. Opposition and criticism must be constructive, used like the surgeon's scalpel, not otherwise. And if the press can build instead of undermine, praise instead of condemn, it will do that too. At all times it will reflect public opinion and lend its aid to all constructive efforts made by the people for the people.



"WELL, WELL, LOOK WHO'S HERE"

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## HAYEK: DIGESTED AND REDIGESTED

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

OPPONENTS of planning have lately drawn much encouragement and comfort from the writings of Friedrich A. Hayek, Anglo-Austrian economist whose "Road to Serfdom" was boiled down for popular consumption in the *Reader's Digest* of April, 1945, and reprinted for still wider distribution by the Book of the Month Club. Dr. Hayek repeats the familiar arguments for a free-market economy of the classical economists, but whereas they looked back to the eighteenth century for dreadful examples of the effects of "the dead hand of the state," he seeks his in contemporary Germany, Italy, and Russia. If, he asserts, all the means of production are vested in a single hand, whether it be that of "society" or a dictator, it means the exercise of total power and the loss of all democratic freedoms. He is therefore opposed to any conscious direction of the resources of society: in his opinion only the automatic action of the free market responding to supply and demand is a delicate-enough instrument to decide how they should be utilized.

But stout and able champion of the free market as he is, Dr. Hayek is not wholly opposed to government intervention in the economic field. In a passage which the *Reader's Digest* found indigestible and ignored he discusses "the supremely important problem of combating general fluctuations of economic activity and the recurrent waves of large-scale unemployment which accompany them." Its solution, he continues, "will require much *planning in the good sense*" (italics added), but unfortunately he does not give us his own views about the forms such planning should take. Instead he tells us: "Many economists hope, indeed, that the ultimate remedy may be found in the field of monetary policy, which would involve nothing incompatible with nineteenth-century liberalism." He also mentions large-scale public works, though with doubts about their efficacy and a warning of possible dangers. He adds, however, "In any case, the very necessary efforts to secure protection against these fluctuations do not lead to the kind of planning which constitutes such a threat to our freedom. The planning which has such an insidious effect on liberty is that for security of a different kind. It is planning designed to protect individuals or groups against diminutions of their income" ("The Road to Serfdom," p. 122).

In a later passage, after indorsing the idea of a basic minimum of sustenance for everybody, Dr. Hayek calls on us to admit "that with this assurance of a basic minimum all claims for a privileged security of particular classes must lapse, that all excuses disappear for allowing groups to exclude newcomers from sharing their relative prosperity in order to maintain a special standard of their own" (p. 210).

We have, then, a distinction between "good planning," which aims at expanding the total market, and "bad plan-

ning," which manipulates the market in favor of sectional interests and in the process tends to restrict it. The first, ideally, should give consumers more opportunity to exercise the "votes" that they cast when deciding how to employ their purchasing power; the second tends to gerrymander those votes.

As a witness for the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, Dr. Hayek appears something less than perfect. Moreover, his strongest words are directed against just that kind of government intervention which American business has not merely tolerated but instigated for 150 years. "Free" enterprise in this country has never, in fact, been willing to abide by the rules of the free market laid down by Adam Smith and restated by Dr. Hayek. Evasion of the rigors of competition is a deep-rooted habit in American business, and anti-trust laws have curbed but not cured it. Besides, private enterprise has constantly demanded government intervention and assistance. In the early days of the Republic, America's infant industries sought and received protection against foreign competition. *That* was planning for the benefit of industry at the expense of agriculture, *that* was interference in the free market, *that* was a conscious effort to direct the resources of society. Tariffs and subsidies have played a considerable part in establishing the pattern of American economy. They still do. Yet in any smoking-car one may hear men denouncing "planning" and demanding tariffs practically in the same breath.

One does not have to be a nineteenth-century liberal, accepting the dictatorship of the market over all social life, to agree that the creation of special economic privileges is usually a dangerous practice. Public props for particular trades hinder measurement of their relative efficiency, tend to produce a static economy, and thus lead to a waste of national resources. Moreover, it is the consumer who provides the real support. If supply and demand, instead of subsidies, determined cotton and silver prices, the capital and labor employed in the production of those commodities would shrink. But consumers who now must pay artificially high prices for shirts and spoons would be able to spend more of their incomes on, say, books and glassware, thus encouraging an expanded production of these articles.

This is hard doctrine, however, for those whose livelihood has been guaranteed by subsidies or tariffs and one they will find difficult to appreciate when widespread unemployment indicates a failure to make full use of national resources. When men and machines are rusting in idleness, who but a few orthodox professors of economics will dare to say that subsidies to cotton farmers or silver miners are inadmissible? Certainly politicians will not, no matter how hostile they are to the theory of a planned economy. As long as the

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fear of depression hangs over America, there can be no hope of cutting through the tangle of special privileges. A post-war slump will, in fact, magnify the problem, for during the war many new vested interests have been created. If the freezing hand of depression grips the land, both capital and labor will cling desperately to whatever shelters they have been able to secure; both will seek to preserve them by every means in their power, and in a democracy that includes political pressure. Only a dictator sharing Dr. Hayek's views could abolish special privilege in such circumstances.

To end planning for sectional interests, there must be planning in the interests of the whole community, planning that does not underwrite the standards of particular groups and individuals but seeks to maintain total consumption at a level making possible the total use of available man-power. Only when this end is achieved will it be possible to say to the silver miner: "You can no longer claim support from the public purse; other opportunities are now open." Or to the trade union: "With general security, the steps you took to limit entrance and thus protect your members' jobs are no longer necessary." Or to the shoe manufacturer: "We have enlarged your market by making sure everyone will be able to buy shoes; you, in turn, must get along without a tariff."

Dr. Hayek is now making a lecture tour of the United States in the course of which he will no doubt be lunched and dined by many chambers of commerce and other business groups. By talking about the tyranny of the state, the horrors of socialism, or the sins of trade unions he can win easy applause from the converted. But if he is really zealous in his mission to rehabilitate the free market, he should begin every speech by inviting his audience to come to the mourners' bench and make public confession of their crimes against the spirit of free enterprise. Let him denounce tariffs and other forms of protection; let him lash business combinations to maintain or increase prices; let him quote chapter and verse (the Department of Justice can furnish him with plenty of material) and not be content merely to preach "against sin." Such sermons may not be popular, but they will be good for the listeners' souls. And by studying the reactions of his audiences Dr. Hayek may learn a thing or two about the practice, as opposed to the theory, of American private enterprise.

## Carl Becker

MANY scholars fall in love with the eighteenth century, and not a few try to imitate its attitudes. What distinguished the late Carl Becker, who died on April 10, was his genuine kinship with the great men of the age he so much admired and the complete absence of anything like affectation in either his manner of writing or his manner of thinking. No one was ever less the sedulous ape, and if reviewers inevitably remarked an "eighteenth-century quality" in his books, it was because clarity, skepticism, moderation, and good sense came naturally to him, not because he had consciously adopted any pose.

Born in Iowa in 1873, educated at the University of Wisconsin and at Columbia, he had been for nearly thirty years professor of history at Cornell, and he was the author of various books on American history. His "The Heavenly City

## THE ONE PEACE PLAN That Has Always Worked

You have read and listened to so much about peace that you probably feel nothing remains to be said. Yet, realizing this surfeit of peace articles, we have chosen one for the lead feature in the May AMERICAN MERCURY. It is that kind of article—one that simply cannot be by-passed by editor or reader. The way to permanent peace is not via the Yalta and San Francisco routes, not by repeating the mistakes of World Peace I, not by a League of Nations with a new name, nor by an international police force nor a universal debating society. Emery Reves has an idea—new in the discussion of future peace, yet tried and tested through many centuries. This distinguished writer and thinker, author of the widely acclaimed "Democratic Manifesto," expresses a concept so fundamental that all other proposed peace plans must be measured by it. Read "The New League and the Next War."



## SHALL WE RETALIATE ON WAR PRISONERS?

The entire country is shocked, horrified, at the Nazi mistreatment of prisoners of war. Yet we hear rumors of extraordinary consideration for German prisoners in our hands. What is the truth of the matter? Precisely how do we handle our prisoners and why? Are they abused, mollycoddled, treated sensibly? Do they get food and privileges denied to our civilians? What is the effect of our policy upon German soldiers in the field and upon American prisoners in German hands? No less an authority than the Provost Marshal General himself, the officer in charge of all prisoners, describes our policies, methods, and results. This is the War Department report—official, authoritative, factual, detailed. Read "The Army Reports on Prisoners of War" by Major General Archer L. Lerch.

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Are the oil wells and strategic needs in the Near East brewing a fresh cause of war? Read *The Big Three in the Near East* by Andre Visson. Read *Senator Ball of Minnesota*, a frank analysis by Roscoe Drummond. *East and West* by Pearl Buck will help you to understand the Orient. *The Behavior of Pain* by Betsey Barton is an important aid in removing the psychological barrier erected about our wounded veterans. Claire Phillips tells her own story of her career as an American spy in the Philippines, and Stewart H. Holbrook produces a history of Dorothea Dix who, a century ago, waged single-handed war for humane treatment of the insane. Rollin Kirby, dean of the American cartoonists, writes an appreciation of Low, the great British caricaturist. Channing Pollack tells good-humoredly about *The Plagiarism Racket*. There's Willard Shelton on *The Wartime Press and Labor*. Leona Alberts Wassersug writes about *Prostigmine—A New Wonder Drug*. There's a typical Mercury story by Marjorie Stengel. And we have George Jean Nathan and Alan Devoc, both in fine form, and the usual departments, *The Library*, *Check List*, and *Open Forum*. Altogether a vibrant, stimulating issue—varied, thought-provoking, readable.



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of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers," published in 1932, introduced him to a new set of readers, and just last year "How New Will the Better World Be?" proved again how far he was from being a mere antiquarian, how conspicuously he was a philosopher who could bring the lessons of history to bear upon the problems of tomorrow.

No doubt the secret of Professor Becker's almost unique ability to be at home in two ages lay in the fact that what he took from the eighteenth century was not its specific beliefs or attitudes but its spirit and temper; so that, far from retiring into any past, he could think in modern terms about modern problems with the clarity and the lack of "enthusiasm" which he had recognized as congenial in Jefferson as well as in Diderot, D'Alembert, and Voltaire. It has been said that a conservative is a worshiper of dead radicals, but Professor Becker never forgot that they *were* radicals. He thought, not what they thought, but what they would have thought had they been alive today, and so neither caution nor a refusal to be stampeded ever made him either reactionary or even fundamentally conservative. His reasonableness, his urbanity, his lack of heat were the result of an assumption which his masters had made before him, namely, that his readers would be reasonable men, but he never supposed that his thinking should stop where his masters' had stopped or doubted that the man who is most like Voltaire is a man as near the forefront of his own time as Voltaire was near the forefront of his. No man was less likely to say what Shaw so shrewdly puts into the mouth of Roebuck Ramsden: "I was an advanced thinker before you were born."

Those who knew Professor Becker personally will perhaps remember best of all his modesty, his friendliness, his charm, and the absolute absence of any assumption of superiority. Anyone to whom he talked seemed to be his equal, and one may readily imagine that he was most at home, not in the classroom, but, like a true man of the Enlightenment, in a drawing-room.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## **BRIEFER COMMENT**

### **In Search of the Good Society**

IT IS A GOOD THING to read Dr. Harry W. Laidler's "Social-Economic Movements" (Crowell, \$5) if for no other reason than to be reminded that the search for the good society has been going on for a long time, that it has been attended by a great deal of conflict, suffering, and disillusionment, and that it has not achieved its objective. Perhaps socialism is old hat: an outstanding American Socialist told me the other day that nobody is interested in socialism. Perhaps Earl Browder is speaking for an important branch of Marx's heirs when he brands "defeatist" the suggestion that American capitalism might conceivably want to stem the tides of social revolution in Western Europe. Perhaps Keynes, Beveridge, and Hansen are today more immediately relevant than Marx himself. But anyone who has observed the eager gleam in the eye of the business man, banker, or industrialist who picks up the gospel according to St. Hayek knows that, alas, the age of social conflict has not passed.

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of a juster world and were prepared to fight for it. He sketches the work of the utopian moralists and visionaries, the solid building of pioneers such as Robert Owen, and the development of the monumental body of scientific socialist thought through the labors and inspiration of Karl Marx. The new sections of the book discuss in detail the development of the Soviet state, throwing considerable light on the evolution of its economic plans and foreign policies and relating both to the shifts of the "party line" in countries outside of Russia. It describes the growth of the labor parties in the British Commonwealth and the decline of socialism here. It has a good section on the cooperative movement.

Perhaps its greatest weakness is that it is long on description, short on explanation. We are told a great deal about the Social Democrats in Germany, Austria, France, and other European countries, not enough about the sources of their failure and the main drives of National Socialism. In America the social passion behind the party led by Norman Thomas was in the '30's redirected to the support of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. Why? Now it appears to be reawakening in a vague and undogmatic way in the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. But in the new progressive movements in this country are there many signs of the basic social and economic analysis that characterized American socialism at its best? Perhaps one must look north of the border to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada to discover a popular movement in the true succession.

Dr. Laidler has brought the story almost up to date; American progressives had better not delay too long in planning the next chapter.

J. KING GORDON

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## Life in Caracas

THE SCARCITY OF BOOKS ON VENEZUELA, rather than any considerable merit, earns notice for Olga Briceño's "Cocks and Bulls in Caracas" (Houghton Mifflin, \$2.75). One has the sensation, in reading it, of taking part in an interminable telephone conversation with a talkative woman whom one knows to be charming and pretty. There are vivid passages of description, though for the most part the text is merely vivacious, with a conventional, upper-middle-class point of view as to what is witty, humane, or interesting about a very limited range of experience. Servants, hair fashions, saints, cock fights, love, or at least courtship and marriage, convent education, cooking, men as Men, and other such things are the author's themes. In the book's favor it must be said that it really does give an impression of upper-middle-class life in Venezuela and of people with whom persons of that class might be expected to come in contact. The author's love for her own land is warm and engaging, but persistent and superficial contrasting of American with Venezuelan life becomes tiresome after a while. These are severe things to say of a book; so I will confess that a week after reading it I still had the sensation of having talked with a lively and charming person.

For "Our American Neighbors" (Public Affairs Press, \$3) I am afraid I cannot say a good word, and I mention it only because its provenance, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, might incline someone to buy this collection of pedagogic pamphlets. Not even in the public schools of Boston, I should imagine, does one need to be so evasive, not to say behind the times, as this book is.

RALPH BATES

## Art, Science, and Psychiatry

I. S. WECHSLER, one of the country's outstanding physicians and the author of a well-known textbook on neurology, has assembled a group of essays on subjects ranging from Sigmund Freud to Palestinian colonization and rather arbitrarily called it "The Neurologist's Point of View" (L. B. Fischer, \$3). His book gives evidence of considerable non-medical learning, is not without wit, and is marked on occasion by a felicity of expression and a Hebraic vehemence which are reminiscent of Morris R. Cohen. But it is a sad comment on the present state of psychiatry that it is the only branch of medicine whose practitioners, or commentators, intend most of their books for lay distribution. Most of what Dr. Wechsler says about psychiatry, as a matter of fact, is adverse. He makes, for example, the conventional statement that it is still more of an art than a science, though obviously if it were a fine art this would be praise—indeed, it would suggest the very type of resourcefulness the psychiatrist as an individual must possess. The significance of its successes would then be related to their infrequency, as it no doubt actually is; and psychiatry would perhaps even be doomed as a distinct profession.

Dr. Wechsler's most interesting suggestion is that nowadays, for social and cultural reasons, "the neuroses tend to manifest themselves at higher psychic levels rather than at the lower physical or somatic levels" upon which they appeared in former years; for the crudity of the chief psycho-

analytic concepts ("conflict, repression, the unconscious, the role of the sex impulse, transference") probably corresponds in some measure to the grossness of the disorders they were originally designed to deal with. Psychoanalysis, he seems to feel, will survive as a means of diagnosis rather than of therapy, though he fails to observe that it tends to commit the intellectualist fallacy of virtually identifying the two. He is not addicted to consistency, denouncing Adlerian psychology, which he applies with some qualification to the Jews, as an "evolution-defying concept that out of a biologic defect comes a biologic purpose," remarking later on, nevertheless, that "neurosis may . . . add to one's mental stature." Indeed, his negative attitude toward psychiatry is best exemplified by his insistence on the relation of talent to disability. This, of course, as Lionel Trilling points out in the current *Partisan Review*, is not merely a conventional notion but a highly questionable one; perhaps the most that can be said for it is that it recognizes the fact that though disorder is never the outcome of intellectual achievement it is often its precondition. In that sense art, in fact even science, may be said to go with "maladjustment"; but obviously psychic health means not simply "adjustment" but, above all, the *capacity* for adjustment.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

## Miniature Perspective

BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS of India are difficult, they lend themselves to countless analyses and solutions by countless experts. In "Strangers in India" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2) Penderel Moon has given a perceptive account of them through the eyes of a British Civil Service officer in charge of one of the peasant districts. The jacket blurb tells us that Mr. Moon spent fifteen years in the Indian Service, and if he does not give us a perfect report of the state of India, he does give us a creditable insight into how the British functionary thinks.

Mr. Moon considers freedom for India a post-war necessity, for better or worse; and a kind of hereditary monarchy the immediate form of transition to a democratic government. "Soviet democracy" and "bourgeois democracy" are incompatible with the complex social spiderweb. It is not that India is incapable of governing itself, but that it is incapable of governing itself according to superimposed standards from an entirely different civilization.

It is too bad that Mr. Moon chose a semi-fictional series of dialogues as a literary form. In an attempt to give a miniature perspective against the backdrop of the more immense problems, he has stilted and obscured a good deal of his argument.

JOHN SENIOR

## A Knotty Problem

ADMINISTERING THE INVOLVED systems of wage payment in use in many of our industries is one of the most difficult problems of union-management relations. "Union Policy and Incentive Wage Methods" by Van Dusen Kennedy (Columbia, \$3) is a pioneer investigation of this thorny problem, and the author has succeeded in making clear the difficulties that face both unions and managements in their efforts to speed production, reduce costs, and raise the earn-

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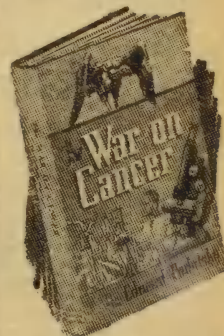
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ings of labor. Many manufacturing industries use either straight or intricate piece-work methods—usually called incentive systems—based upon analysis of the job and time and motion studies. Some of these systems are highly complex, and the difficulty of explaining them is increased by the suspicion among workers that they are devices for speeding up production, for reducing piece rates, and for undermining the solidarity of the group by stressing individual effort.

Improvement in techniques, arrangement of work, or flow of materials is usually followed by reevaluation of the jobs, and the setting of new rates. The problems rising out of this process are the most difficult which face the union leadership. The suspicion of the worker is often unfounded, but on the other hand some employers do misuse the incentive system to cut rates arbitrarily, thereby making the task of the union more difficult. Some of the labor groups which follow the Communist Party line are enthusiastic about the incentive systems, which they compare to Stakhanovism, but Dr. Kennedy finds widespread suspicion among the rank and file.

Dr. Kennedy makes a few modest proposals that may help to relieve the tension. A knowledge of job evaluation and time and motion studies on the part of shop stewards and union officers would enable them to explain to their members the basis upon which the rate for the job is set, thus eliminating unjustifiable complaints and at the same time preventing employer abuses. He also advises greater union participation in the setting of rates, but industry is in the main strongly opposed to giving labor a voice in such matters.

PHILIP TAFT

## MEETING

New York Nation Readers are cordially invited to the  
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# Films

JAMES  
AGEE

THE moving pictures of President Roosevelt made at Teheran and at Yalta and when he reported to Congress after Yalta are, I believe, the best records we have of him. In the first I had fully and with sympathy and deep respect realized, however belatedly, how much that had seemed frivolous and even silly in Roosevelt was the high-pitched nervousness of a vivid, sensitive intelligence, and was inextricable from an extraordinary gallantry, in part created by background and in part limited by it, which I have always venerated. In the Yalta pictures there is not only the frightening thinness and sickness, or portent of sickness, but also much more. President Roosevelt had long been a great and fascinating figure for reasons which seemed mainly external, historical; now beyond any question, it seems to me, he was himself becoming a great man. An exceedingly complex and in many ways devious personality was undergoing profound and very rapid change. It was becoming integrated on a level it had scarcely before approached. In the plainest, simplest senses of the words that I can think of, his face was becoming the face of a religious, even of a seer, without loss of its adroitness and worldly resourcefulness and its singular, triumphant, essential gaiety. I felt in the face an intimacy with death and with tragedy which I had never seen in it before, and through that quiet and resolute, cheerful intimacy, a wonderful kind of recklessness, of all save the best that might be perceived and endeavored for the good of all other men. In this curiously light, shining, calm recklessness; this sense that all personal scores were settled and dismissed, in this quality of heroism emergent at last upon its highest level and its grandest prospect, I felt hope of a kind it was impossible to feel in any other living man, and reverence, regardless of how sure I felt that the best hopes must be proved idle. In the moving pictures made when the President addressed Congress, I saw all these same newly crystallized qualities at ease within the gentleman, and was convinced that nothing could destroy them. Their only impermanence was in their great possible increase; now this possibility has been ended. I will not try to describe with what glacial implacability this fact and the following days cor-

roborated and enhanced my impressions.

If there is any possible excuse for my writing so subjectively, beyond the fact that I can hardly write or think of anything else, it lies in the fact that I was and remain fairly close to political agnosticism; and that if a person of my kind can be so moved by such a man, and such an event, that may be one more measure and one more expression of what the man and the event mean to those who have and who practice political hope and faith. For my own part I continue without much hope. But I doubt that I can ever again think of a man who works in politics, if his effort seems truly disinterested, without deep-seest respect.

So, too, I think of the new President. It is hard to imagine that history can ever have brought any man into a more terrible predicament. I realize too, as he does and as everybody does, that, forced to stand up and work his best under pressures which would fill the greatest and wisest of men with an annihilating sense of inadequacy, he is not very far, if far at all, from what we too contemptuously describe as mediocrity. But here again I am a sample of alteration which I assume applies still more powerfully in others. I have always believed, and still believe, in gifted individuals, and have trusted chiefly in their performance. But I have also always believed that the best that is in any ordinary man is illimitable; and now when that kind of faith is to be so severely tested, in the President and, just as acutely, in millions of others, I find it greatly fortified. Partly, it is because I know that greatness can emerge only under adequately difficult circumstances and that most people, including the great President who has died, find in themselves not the circumstances but merely the intellectual or still more important the moral adequacy to circumstance if it arises. Just as much, it is because sympathy, responsibility, love, magnanimity, resoluteness, and the obligation to selflessness, now more clearly than before, rest with great and equal weight upon all human beings who can so much as apprehend their existence. The wish that one might be of use is as great at least as the dismay, the shock, and the sorrow. The ways by which ordinary men can be of use are tragically limited, even in a democracy. To a great extent one is forced to fall back on a metaphysical yet very literal faith in unanimity and massiveness of spirit. I believe that this exists, and that if it is known to exist it can have very great power.



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# Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

WHAT an artist!" exclaimed the lady in front of me to her husband, after Lehmann, with a sudden explosion of emotional intensity, had blasted the concluding phrase of Schubert's "Täuschung" out of relation to what had preceded. That was what the explosion had been intended to get the lady to think; but the means which Lehmann used in much of "Die Winterreise" to impress her Y. M. H. A. audience with what an artist she was made the opposite impression on me. For they were not what I consider art in the singing of such songs. When the lady in front of me said "What an artist!" she meant "How intensely she feels!" But a song is a piece of music; hence a singer's feeling for its expressive content must operate through a feeling for the musical phrase, and the expressive effect of the phrases must be achieved, as it is in any other piece of music, by inflection and articulation which makes them part of a plastically continuous and coherent progression. That is what Lehmann has done in her Town Hall recitals of recent years; but at the Y. M. H. A. she reverted to her earlier practice of throwing emotions and voice around without regard for the damage to musical phraseology. She may have thought this necessary for success with her Y. M. H. A. audience, and can point out that it succeeded enormously; but I can answer that the audience would also have liked the flawlessly phrased singing that delighted her Town Hall audiences this season, and if she had won her success with good singing she would have done something an artist should do—which is to cultivate good taste in the public by letting it hear what is good and find that it is enjoyable.

But I don't suppose people like Lehmann think very much of such things. It was amazing to observe how in "Wasserflut"—to take only one example—in every one of the places where she was required to wait the three quarter-notes of the measure she shortened the measure to two quarter-notes. It could be a lack of rhythmic sense; but my guess is that it is rather a lack of concern for anything in the song but her own singing; and I guess that from her treatment of the piano parts of the songs. The piano, as Schubert writes for it, not only sets the stage and creates the atmosphere for the voice, but collaborates with it

in the development of the musical thought; but it does none of these things effectively when it is reduced, as it is by Lehmann, to a pallid whisper, and often it leaves the vocal phrase or Lehmann's vehemence without a context.

I should add that at the Y. M. H. A. the pallid whisper was produced from a piano which Steinway should have been ashamed to acknowledge as its own if it was not ashamed to send it to the hall. And, since I am speaking of such matters, the timbre of Lehmann's voice was sharpened and the effect of her vehemence increased by the excessive acoustic liveness of the Y. M. H. A. auditorium.

As for her farewell appearance in "Der Rosenkavalier" at the Metropolitan, I wish I had been content with my memories of her earlier performances. It may be that in them she did the same tragic flinging of her head back and her shoulders and arms around and I didn't notice it; but my recollection of those earlier performances is of something done with subtlety; and my impression is that whereas in former years she gave her performance, on this last occasion she gave a performance of herself giving her performance. It is the first act that I am thinking about; and I will complete my account of it by reporting that it suffered from the quavering bleat of Emanuel List, and Kurt Baum sang his Italian aria with a constriction which made me fear he would burst a blood-vessel, but that Rise Stevens's Octavian was excellent, and what I heard of Nadine Conner's singing in the second act (I left after her first duet with Stevens) was very good, and that Lothar Wallerstein contrived a good show for the first-act levée, and the music seemed to be well handled by Szell.

After the first American performance of Prokofiev's Eighth Piano Sonata by Horowitz at the Russian Consulate in New York I heard Szigeti say: "I found it a lit—tle atavis—tic," and then explain that it was "a return to the early Prokofiev." I took Szigeti to be referring to the finale—an explosion of motor energy in rapid figuration, in an ostinato interlude, and in the figuration again which it builds up to a terrific conclusion—as against the first movement, with its "modern" distorted lyricism such as one hears in Shostakovich's music. But a musician to whom I mentioned all this replied: "Why no; the phony lyricism is as early as the style of the finale; I can show it to you in

Prokofiev's First Sonata; that's where Shostakovich got it." Whether the "modern" distorted lyricism is phony or not it is there in the first movement; and then the second movement astonishes us with an un-"modern" undistorted lyricism which is even more sugary in its prettiness than the similar second movement of the Seventh Sonata; whereupon the question arises how Prokofiev can ask for our belief in both these things in one man at one time in one work. I should be interested in what the Russians make of the work and say about it.

## CONTRIBUTORS

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College, is widely known as a political economist. Among his books are "Europe on the Eve," "Night Over Europe," "Design for Power," and "International Politics."

PERCY E. CORBETT is professor of government at Yale University, a member of the Yale Institute of International Affairs, and author of "Post-War Worlds." He was on the staff of the League of Nations from 1920 to 1924.

SIDNEY WISE is a newspaperman whose experience before he went to Spain included work in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and other Latin American capitals.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN was for many years managing editor of the *Tagebuch* in Berlin and later became editor-in-chief of the *Pariser Tageblatt*.

ETIENNETTE GALLOIS before the war was on the staff of the *Dépêche de Toulouse*. During the war she did a great deal of writing for the underground press, and since the liberation has been on the staff of *Voix du Midi*, organ of the National Liberation Movement. She visited the United States at the invitation of the OWI.

RALPH BATES has long been a student of South American affairs. Among his books are "The Olive Field," "Rainbow Fish," and "The Fields of Paradise."

MARTIN LEBOWITZ has contributed to the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Kenyon Review*.

PHILIP TAFT teaches economics at Brown University.

# Letters to the Editors

## Test for Anti-Nazis

*Dear Sirs:* Writing in *The Nation* of March 24, your columnist Argus says that "Allied personnel can furnish no more than the skeleton" for the administration to be set up in Germany and that Germans will have to be used in large numbers. Of course, as he indicated, the question immediately arises — which Germans? Nazis are not to be used. So Argus is constrained to ask, What is a Nazi? And he answers, "The great mass of Germans, let us say 95 per cent, were in fact both Nazi and non-Nazi at the same time—in every possible degree, and gradation, and mixture. And, furthermore, there are practically no outward criteria by which they can be sorted out."

I believe that there is a decisive test which he has overlooked. The Nazis found their mass support in the German middle classes; they were financed by the upper classes. The overwhelming majority of the workers were outspokenly anti-Nazi before Hitler came to power, and certainly far more than 5 per cent remained opposed to the regime. The Allies can discover which ones have been anti-Nazi by a very simple method. Millions of foreign workers and prisoners of war have been employed in German industry. These foreigners have been in close and continuous contact with German workers. If they are carefully questioned they can indicate pretty accurately which workers are anti-Nazi and therefore fitted to serve as the framework of a new democratic Germany.

So far, to judge from reports, nothing of this kind has been attempted. Max Lerner wrote in *PM* for March 26, "Instead of exploring and encouraging the democratic strength that exists, we are giving power to former Nazi officials provided they are not 'ardent' Nazis, and we are encouraging the formation of a new business and professional governing class which is deeply anti-democratic in all its ideas and aims." In the same article he spoke of "the complete absence of workers, of Social Democrats, of Communists, of trade-union officials, of the Christian left from the important offices in the German civil government." And he adds, "There is no evidence of our having made an attempt to tap these groups for leadership. I have been as-

sured by competent sources that a list of people who might have been drawn on for running the local government was available to our authorities in Aachen but was not acted on. There were enough of them to fill the strategic posts. The workers in German cities already have shown signs of becoming bitter at seeing the very people who once were Nazis, the people who served as labor spies in Nazi factories, the people who were able to survive and prosper under the Nazis, now running things even after Nazi power has been destroyed."

The question who is an anti-Nazi will be comparatively easy to answer if the Allies really ask for cooperation from the German workers, a great latent force for democratic progress.

FRITZ STERNBERG

New York, April 3

## Report from the Pacific

*Dear Sirs:* Here is an account of one participant's reactions and experiences in a recent Pacific campaign. When the landings were made, my unit was the only hospital landed. The navy left immediately to thwart an enemy convoy coming in behind us. We were on our own. We set up a field hospital at once and moved along behind the division. Since hazardous sea communication interfered with evacuation rearward, we treated and held for some time all the wounded. I was forced to operate on cases that ordinarily require extremely specialized care, as brain, eye, and spinal-cord cases. We could not stay in one place, for as the infantry moved forward the rear was exposed to Jap troops. Once we moved over 200 patients. To the problem of operating on and caring for a big load of casualties there was the added necessity of tearing down and setting up a new hospital three times during the short campaign. And of course we were subject to all the hazards of rear troops.

A portable surgical hospital attached to us was capable, as we were, of running two operating tables constantly. I was in charge of our two tables and operated on one constantly. My two tables did about four hundred operative cases before General MacArthur called all organized resistance over. Sleep consisted of dozing for a few minutes while waiting for a plaster to be put

on, for an abdomen to be shaved, or for the assistant to finish the dressing.

The natives with whom I have come in contact have a refreshing dignity and self-respect. Here and there one sees a highly cultured native, as for example, a guerrilla leader who was a patient in my unit for a time. His diction, intelligence, and social sense marked him as an extraordinary man even before he told me of his life as a guerrilla. His experiences included night raids, trips among the islands under the nose of the Japanese navy, and the maintenance of relations between American forces in Australia and his homeland by radio and submarine communication. He is twenty-five, but already a military and political leader. Like all natives, he expects that liberation will automatically mean freedom, prosperity, and the benevolent philanthropy of the United States. Only large subsidies and technical help can provide the necessary education, sanitation, and reconstruction these people need to support themselves properly. It would be wrong for us to free them and leave them to their own devices.

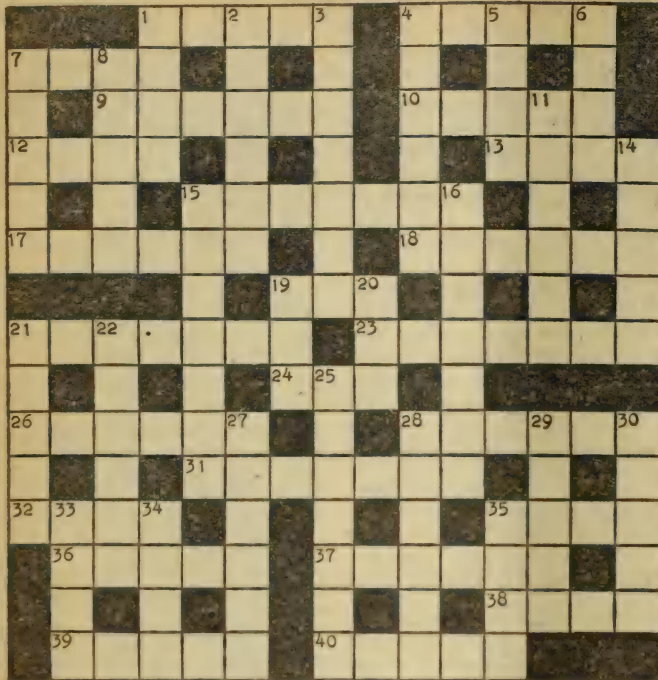
I am not optimistic about the length of the war. I have seen some of the difficulties of supply and bad terrain; that is what will prolong the war.

The men in this section of the army are much disturbed over reports of the American public's indifference to the war effort. A captain recently returned from a three weeks' furlough in the United States told us he felt that only people with relatives in the service were anxious for the war to end quickly. The others were too happy over the money they were making. He felt out of things in his home town and could not enjoy the dancing, dining, and free spending that went along with the gas-coupon chiseling. I pointed out that a large proportion of the population has friends and relatives in the service, and, frankly, I feel that his attitude was largely due to personal inadequacies. He may have expected to be welcomed as a conquering hero. But whether or not these reports are strictly true, they are believed. We are drifting into a cleavage of veterans and civilians that augurs ill for the future.

MAJOR —

Somewhere in the Pacific,  
January 18

## Crossword Puzzle No. 113 by JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Of worth maybe to the gambler
- 4 Two-legged animal, with or without feathers
- 7 A note the prime mover conceals
- 9 Majestic month
- 10 Ananias and Baron Munchausen, for example
- 12 German industrial district
- 13 She could easily be hurt
- 15 Palindromic pick-me-up
- 17 In the words of the song: "Over there!"
- 18 French seaside place
- 19 "The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive ---" (*As You Like It*)
- 21 Scottish dish to which the police seem extremely partial
- 23 "It ----- not how a man dies, but how he lives"
- 24 French five-franc piece
- 26 You have perhaps done this at bridge
- 28 Sort of dog that doesn't stay to see the end of the game
- 31 North-east African tribesmen
- 32 A bit long in the tooth
- 35 Invalid
- 36 Fiat
- 37 Britain's famous cartoonist in bed! Well, I'm -----!
- 38 Fiddlesticks
- 39 A cheese fancier
- 40 Sherry

## DOWN

- 1 If you split this trip it would still be a long way there
- 2 German baron who gave his name to a British news agency
- 3 Somewhat wet
- 4 Everybody in bed?

- 5 Conice or Sweet William, perhaps
- 6 What thou art and shalt return to
- 7 Twice blessed quality, sometimes strained
- 8 Much-quoted American admiral (1840-1914)
- 11 In this case it's all right for an M.P. to break the rule
- 14 When a friend asked Simple Susie if she liked French -----, she said she didn't know any
- 15 Promotions from one class to another
- 16 Rio to U. S. without a break! That's luxurious!
- 19 A direction
- 20 You must know this bird
- 21 Horse-headed snake
- 22 Purely floral
- 25 Enemy shell of the last war put to a domestic use
- 27 Plug of tobacco at bottom of pipe after smoking
- 28 Turkish Christian name
- 29 So about to ruminate on an old coin
- 30 Hollers
- 33 Cause of most of our ills
- 34 "---- et mon droit" (A royal motto)
- 35 Birds' beaks

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 112

ACROSS:—1 PERSONABLE; 6 ASPES; 10 ENDLESS; 11 INFANTA; 12 SCOTTISH; 13 LING; 15 CURVE; 17 AVICULAR; 19 NOMINATED; 21 SPURN; 23 MARAT; 24 LARKSPUR; 27 CHARITY; 28 INDIANA; 29 LOTS; 30 SLEEVELESS.

DOWN:—1 PIED; 2 REDUCER; 3 OVERT; 4 ASSAILANT; 5 LEITH; 7 SUNDIAL; 8 STAGGERING; 9 AFFLICTS; 14 ECONOMICAL; 16 EINSTEIN; 18 UNDERMINE; 20 MORDANT; 22 ULULATE; 24 LOYAL; 25 SIDLE; 26 PASS.

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# THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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## *San Francisco Clears Its Decks*

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

*San Francisco, April 29*

WHEN I saw the headline "GERMANY QUILTS" in the press room of the Veterans' Building yesterday I threw away the copy I was writing. That headline running across the front page of Mr. Hearst's *Call-Bulletin*, white on bright red six inches tall, was a lie, but it stopped proceedings at the plenary session still going on at the Opera House next door. It stopped me. Lie or truth, it was a reminder that Hitler's eleven-year reign of terror was fast collapsing in blood and shattered stone and that the events in the last few days in San Francisco should be considered in the glaring light of the final battle on the plains of Europe. Beside those monstrous events the bargainings of statesmen in hotel lobbies or behind the closed doors of the steering committee take on more modest dimensions. Suppose that Molotov annoyed his colleagues by demanding four presidents instead of gracefully accepting the single chairmanship of Stettinius. Is it worth arguing an afternoon away trying to figure out whether this action implied something more sinister than a bid for equal authority? While the Russians and Americans unite in tumultuous joint celebrations in the midst of the shambles of Berlin, it seems more pertinent to concentrate on the job of welding the Soviet Union into the security set-up. One experienced observer said this morning: "The more completely Russia forces its way into the show here and the more responsibilities it takes on the better chance there is of successful cooperation. This is the only way to wipe out the effects of twenty-five years of hostility and suspicion culminating in the freezing out of Russia at Munich. Once the Soviet delegates convince themselves that they needn't prove their power on every issue they will quit taking the offensive."

This does not mean, of course, that Russia will suddenly yield on points of major significance. No power here shows any sign of subordinating its interests to over-all ideas of justice or international community. It does mean that Russia will probably be a fully integrated member of the big-power coalition which must form the core of the security organization as soon as its delegates become convinced that their every gesture is not played up in sensational headlines and viewed with suspicion by commentators and editorial writers. Unused to the happy irresponsibility of the uncontrolled press, they find it hard to evaluate the fantastic interpretations of certain reporters covering the conference or the nonsense cabled back from Madrid by Hearst's Von Wiegand.

Molotov's press conference, followed by his able and genial appearance as chairman of yesterday's plenary session, has done a lot to offset the impression created by his demand for coequal chairmen and for the immediate seating of delegates from White Russia and the Ukraine. But hostility to Russia is still strong enough to endanger actual progress toward unity. Kingsley Martin, who is here reporting the conference for the London *New Statesman*, told me he had been astounded and frightened by the strength of the anti-Russian feeling he had encountered as he came across the country. The feeling exists in England among similar groups, but there it is mitigated by the universal realization, first, that the Red Army saved Britain, and, second, that only a close permanent relationship with Russia would prevent another war.

Whether viewed as a hope or a menace, Russia is certainly the pivot around which this conference revolves as well as the object of endless gossip and local excitement. Yesterday I saw for the first time a crowd of people, mostly women and girls, waiting outside the door of the St. Francis Hotel for a glimpse of the Russian delegates. My taxi driver said contemptuously: "Do they think Molotov has three legs or what?" The doorman had told the people that the Russians weren't expected to appear, but they stayed on anyway. Today in the corridors of the Palace Hotel, where most of the press is housed, I heard two reporters exchanging views on the whereabouts of the White Russian and Ukrainian delegates. "Sure, they're here," one of them said, "just waiting to take their seats. Uncle Joe knew he would get them in. Perhaps they're keeping them out on that Soviet ship in the harbor."

But gossip and bargaining alike seem pretty trivial when you consider them beside the mighty tasks facing this conference. They are important only in so far as they impede these tasks. And by this time it is clear that the conference will at least survive its differences. It will not blow up over the issues of power or over Poland or Argentina. Within a few days it will begin discussing the problems for which it was called together. And the lines of discussion have already been laid down in several of the speeches that have been so far delivered. The conference will survive, and the international security organization will be set up. This is certain now, though it was uncertain a few days ago.

Only a confirmed anarchist or isolationist will dare question the value of this assurance. The security organization

will at least provide the instrument which, assuming the United Nations remain united, can be used for peace as the present alliance has been used for war. Without it there is nothing. With it there is a hope and a machine. Whether the new organization will be only a power alliance with democratic trimmings as Frederick Schuman predicted last week in *The Nation* or an alliance modified in some real measure by the established rights of the lesser states remains to be determined. Already several delegates have proposed changes in the Dumbarton Oaks plan which would greatly extend the powers of the middle and smaller nations. This, of course, is the chief constitutional problem facing the conference. It is immensely important, but it is less important for all than the unity of the Big Three. If a contradiction lurks in this fact, it can only be worked out through the patient weighing of one set of values against another, not by thundering oratory about the rights of small nations or the menace of the great.

The truth is that only a well-balanced cynic can avoid cynicism at San Francisco. The person who hopes for too much is going to emerge with very little. A person of shrewdly limited expectations will be able better to appreciate the accomplishments likely to be chalked up in the next few weeks. For this conference will do no more than put together the framework structure of security. It will not create international government. It will not produce justice as between nations comprising the security organization. Least of all will it move toward a more democratic society which would provide safe ground for such a structure to stand on. One may be sure, for example, that Argentina will be admitted to membership, and it seems almost certain that an Argentine delegation will be seated in the conference. The efforts of the Friends of the Spanish Republic to prevent the admission of Franco Spain to the security organization on the basis of technical neutrality will be seriously hampered if Perón and Farrell, Franco's quislings, are given seats. And, as Del Vayo points out elsewhere in this issue, the presence of fascist states in the new international set-up would again open the door to the fatal tactics of appeasement. Beyond these possibilities lies the still greater problem of creating or permitting the creation of genuine anti-fascist states throughout the world. No one with sense expects San Francisco to accomplish this work of political regeneration. But none the less it is alarming to look down the list of delegates and discover how few are the new men, how many are the left-overs of old and discredited governments. It is alarming to see how few labor men are included. Across the bay in Oakland the administrative committee of the World Labor Conference is in session with Philip Murray as chairman. Yesterday Russia asked that representatives of this body be invited to attend the sessions here as observers. One can imagine how little this proposal will appeal to the State Department. Nevertheless, labor should be here, not to observe but as an integral part of every delegation. The liberation movements as a whole are also poorly represented. What sort of peace shall we have if the men and women who contributed so bravely and effectively to the freeing of Europe are all but shut out of the process of building the machinery of peace?

## The Shape of Things

THE WAR DEPARTMENT HAS ISSUED, FOR THE guidance of discussion leaders in camps at home and abroad, an "orientation fact sheet" on fascism and fascists which ought to be printed in full in every newspaper in the country and then clipped out and saved by every citizen. It contains as good a brief analysis as we have seen anywhere of the beginnings, the methods, the aims, and the inevitable results of fascism—under such headings as Fascism and Business, Small Business Betrayed, Why Fascists Are Anti-Union. To the question, Can It Happen Here? it answers yes. And in a section headed, Three Ways to Spot United-States Fascists, it gets right down to the fascist business of anti-Semitism, red-baiting, labor baiting, and opposition to any form of international cooperation. It is sound and sensible and plain, exactly the sort of thing we have a right to expect from the War Department of a democratic country—but seldom get. It should, as we have said, be very widely distributed among civilians as well as soldiers. And we should like the privilege of reading it aloud to the striped-trousers division of the State Department and to every official having anything to do with the governments of liberated countries.

★

ARGENTINA IS LIKELY TO REMAIN A SUBJECT of controversy during the whole period of the San Francisco conference. Some of the Latin American delegates are insisting that if the representatives of White Russia and the Ukraine are immediately given seats, as Molotov demands, then Argentina should be invited to join the United Nations and to attend the conference. Why the Latin American countries and particularly Mexico should be fighting this most unpopular battle to bring a fascist regime into the new international organization has puzzled many people. Actually the reason is an obvious one and is linked to the role played by our State Department. In Mexico on the eve of the Chapultepec conference many Latin Americans wanted Argentina to be compelled to appear before the assembled delegates and reply to the charges that had been made of open complicity with the Axis. Such a demand would have put Farrell and Perón on the carpet and could easily have provoked an internal crisis in Argentina which would have brought a democratic regime into power. The United States said no. Under no circumstances could Argentina be invited to Mexico. The veto sounded very impressive. But as many Latin Americans had suspected, our firm stand ended in a polite invitation to the Argentine government to reform and sign the charter of Chapultepec. Since then the mysterious travels of Avra Warren to Buenos Aires and back by bomber and the dispatch of a cruiser and an American military delegation to the Argentine capital to thank Farrell and Perón for having abandoned Hitler when Hitler was already being abandoned by the German army showed how events were developing. And so the Latin Americans are saying that if Argentina is finally to be accepted, they are not going to wait until Washington presents them with another fait accompli. If there is a diplomatic success to be scored, the enterprising Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla does

not intend to let it slip out of his hands. But not even this record justifies any delegation that seriously supports democracy and peace in trying to smuggle fascist Argentina into San Francisco.

✕

**WHETHER OR NOT THE SPANISH QUESTION** will formally come before the conference is not yet clear but one thing is certain, it is one of the questions most actively discussed in the corridors. When the news of Mussolini's execution broke, several people said in various words: "Today Mussolini, tomorrow Hitler—the day after Franco." The unpopularity of the Spanish regime is such that when an important radio forum planned a broadcast on the subject "Should Franco Spain be admitted to the new international organization?" it could not find two reputable persons to argue the affirmative. One thing that contributed to making Spain a live issue at the conference was the release on Monday of the memorandum submitted to every delegation by the Friends of the Spanish Republic. This document, prepared for the purpose by Ralph Bates, exposed the services Franco has rendered to Hitler during the past five years and established the case against his admission to the world security organization. It is now a question whether any delegation will take the initiative in raising the issue when the status of neutrals comes under consideration. If so, it will be easy to demonstrate that Franco Spain was never a neutral but a non-belligerent ally of Hitler, while Republican Spain has been an active belligerent on our side whether the State Department and the Foreign Office admit it or not. Among the nations participating in the San Francisco conference five never recognized Franco—Russia, China, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, and New Zealand—while Guatemala broke with Spain immediately after the recent overthrow of the dictator Ubico. Any one of these countries would be in a strategic position to press the Spanish issue but Russia's attitude on this point as on others is being awaited with particular interest.

✕

**FOR HENRI PHILIPPE PETAIN, LATE MARSHAL OF France,** the war has been a long time coming to an end. Back in 1940, on May 28, according to Janet Flanner's brilliant sketch, he remarked to De Gaulle: "We must capitulate. What you say to the contrary is stupid and childish. I am old and experienced and know that England is lost. The war is finished." One June 16, as Premier of France, he asked Germany for peace. Now, as the war really finishes, but with a difference, the old man of eighty-nine returns from Germany to France to meet trial for treason. There are many in France, in England, in America, who will not be happy to see him back. It would be more convenient for this ancient ghost to fade out in exile and carry with him his own and others' secrets. Not so venal as Laval, Pétain is a high symbol of appeasement and collaboration. Anti-republican, counter-revolutionary, friend of the authoritarian state, he became the natural heir to the appeasers who assisted Hitler to power. Their half-forgotten accents will be heard as he presents his defense; they will be in the box beside him. And they won't all be Frenchmen. It is an interesting suggestion that Admiral Leahy may be called as a witness for the defense. Certainly Pétain had no stauncher American friend.

Perhaps it is an awkward time for our State Department to be reminded of its Vichy days. Perhaps not, for we have yet to give Europe proof that we are squarely behind those democratic forces that Vichy strangled for so long in France and that Allied policy has consistently frustrated in other liberated areas of Europe. There is a danger that Pétain's return may split France: the legend of the "hero of Verdun" is still strong. And there will be some who will want to make Pétain the scapegoat for all the guilty ones whose basic treason began months and years before Hitler's divisions rolled into the Low Countries. That would be a pity; there are more active and more subtle traitors who seem destined to die in bed. The trial must mark the eradication of Pétainism from the life of a nation. Already the results of the first French elections in nine years show the rugged strength of the new France which Vichy tried in vain to kill.

✕

**IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT GREECE HAD ONE** of the strongest and most effective resistance movements in Nazi-occupied Europe, no representative of this important factor in Greek political life is to be found among the members of its delegation at the San Francisco Conference. This reflects the situation existing in Greece today, which is vividly described by Hal Lehrman elsewhere in this issue. The only liberal in the present government is John Sofiano-Poulos, head of the Greek delegation to San Francisco. His position is that of many liberals who have been induced to cooperate with reactionary governments in order to save what they can for the people. They usually do no more than strengthen the position of the reactionaries.

✕

**PRIVATE PHILIP PERLMUTTER OF BROOKLYN** arrived at the Danube one day last week and discovered, rather to his disgust, that it isn't blue. Next thing you know we'll be hearing from G. I. witnesses that the Black Forest is not black, that the watch on the Rhine has run down, that red Russians aren't red, and that there's no such place as Berlin.

✕

**TO GET FOOD GET YOUR POLITICS STRAIGHT.** This seems to have become the Allied slogan for administering relief to the lesser nations of Europe. Albania is the latest case in point. The UNRRA organized an Albanian mission in Cairo as early as July, 1944. So far the Albanians have got nothing, and now it is announced that the original \$20,000,000 program has been indefinitely postponed. The trouble is political. The Premier of Albania is a mild-mannered professor named Enver Hoxha. He heads up the left-wing National Liberation Front which chased the Germans out and with them a number of their pals in the nationalist movement, adherents of the erstwhile King Zog. These latter escaped in some numbers across the Adriatic and are now snug in British sanctuary near Bari, although the Albanians want them back to answer charges of collaboration. In keeping with early policy in Yugoslavia and late policy in Greece, the Allies are holding up recognition of the Hoxha government and setting up conditions for relief administration under outside direction that make the Albanians very suspicious. They are afraid that what is happening across the border in

Greece may well happen to them. Meanwhile the Albanians are desperately in need of medical supplies, clothing, and food which the UNRRA is equipped to give were not politics a chief consideration.

✱

FROM A MILITARY HOSPITAL BEHIND THE LINES came two letters dated "Italy, April 14." Pfc. B. L. wrote, in part, as follows:

The death of the President was a shock to all of us. I felt sort of empty when I heard the news. For he has been President half our lives and stood for, and was, the vital, dynamic America that we knew from the time we first became aware of the world. I disagreed with much that he said and did. Particularly in matters of foreign policy I think he could have made a more daring stand for fighting democracy in the case of Spain, Vichy France, and Greece. But now his loss is irreparable. The man who held the liberal dike is gone and the flood-tide of reaction will come—the reactionary wave that has started once again to trickle in America will swell to a torrent. Unless every liberal in America starts to get on the damn ball and work, we are going to have to admit some day as we start to remobilize that this war was in vain and that people who have suffered must suffer again and again and again until man either becomes extinct or intelligent enough to develop the resources of all the countries in the world for the common good of men everywhere. For all my love of the graceful, comfortable life, I have seen enough savagery, misery, and apathy to make me want these things for all men—for every Yank, every Chinaman and Negro and Jew, every Jap and Pole, every plumber, barfly, and scholar. And I won't take no for an answer. I can't stand the sight of human pain—mental and physical. I am tired of digging in. I want to build.

And Pfc. A. A. adds this:

Unconsciously we all feel like this: that something solid has been suddenly jerked from under us, and not a little confidence is gone. Not in winning the war, but in what follows. On the credit side, of course, is the faint hope that those of us who leaned too heavily on Roosevelt will wake up to think for ourselves.

✱

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER WILL BECOME President Emeritus of Columbia University on October 1. For many years he has been the type and symbol of the College President, and there is no living executive holding a non-political office whose name is so well known to the public. Of the large private universities Columbia has come, for many reasons, to seem the most completely American, and President Butler has been so closely identified with its rise that to praise or attack the institution has inevitably been to praise or attack him. When he was first elected president in 1901 the enrollment was something over four thousand and the budget for the year something over \$1,000,000. During its peak year, just before the effect of the war began to be felt, the student body numbered more than thirty-one thousand and the budget was more than \$15,000,000. But it was not size alone which gave Columbia its hold upon the popular imagination. Under Dr. Butler the growth of the various professional schools and, even more importantly perhaps,

of the summer session and the Department of Extension, made resources of the university meaningful and accessible to many thousands of those in all parts of the country to whom university education would otherwise have seemed the exclusive privilege of those specially fortunate in one way or another. *The Nation* has criticized some of Dr. Butler's policies and pronouncements. But there is no doubt either that his has been a prodigiously successful career or that the university is faced with a difficult problem in finding a successor. Probably no other college president of our time has, by his policy, so successfully refuted the contention that in present-day society the private as opposed to the state university is an anachronism.

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## The Breaking Up

THE junction of American and Russian troops on the Elbe spells the imminent end of Hitler's Germany, yet in the present chaotic state of military affairs it is impossible to predict just how that end will come. It may well be that the unconditional surrender of the Germans will have been announced by the time this issue of *The Nation* reaches your hands, and it may equally well be that isolated resistance will drag on for weeks, with Allied soldiers losing their lives long after any rational basis for defense is gone.

It is thus a peculiar concomitant of the present military situation in Europe that rumors of the wildest character should be given wide circulation. In an impossible situation the most impossible stories will be believed. The extraordinary performance in San Francisco last week-end, when baseless reports were widely credited, will no doubt be repeated over the entire Allied world at frequent intervals before the final declaration of unconditional surrender is released.

In a certain sense it is well that this should be so. The false reports and false demonstrations of joy may serve to relieve public feeling to the point where the authentic declaration will be received with gravity, with recognition of the fact that when so much has been irrevocably destroyed public merrymaking is a travesty of good sense. There is little cause for turning cartwheels over the crushing of a tarantula, especially when another tarantula remains to be crushed, and long after the Germans have been stripped of power the Japanese will remain to be dealt with.

Recognition of these essential facts does not detract from the profound feeling of satisfaction that Germany is split in two. Military history knows nothing comparable to this great spectacle of power amassed on opposite sides of the world and projected toward a common enemy. If proof were still needed, it is proof indeed that we live in one world when power brought from the Golden Gate joins on the Elbe with power brought from Stalingrad, crushing the aggressor in the process. Last week's manifestations of that power have brought the Germans very close to complete disintegration. The joining of Russian and American troops means that the defense of the Third Reich is now vestigial, incoherent, and without hope. What remains to the Allied armies is a large-scale mopping-up process rather than a military campaign. The outstanding German forces in the field are left without centralized control, without sources of military strength, without bases of supply, without lines of communication. They can fight on as separate entities, but they cannot continue to function as a coordinated mass of resistance.

Even as this massive juncture in the center of Germany was robbing the enemy of his means of coherent defense, the energetic blows of Allied troops in the north and in the south were robbing him of his hopes for protracted resistance in the highly defensible redoubts prepared for his retirement after the loss of Berlin, that erstwhile nerve center now being fast reduced to ashes and rubble. The British capture of Bremen and the Russian capture of Stettin have greatly diminished the value of the northern redoubt, exposing both its flanks to drives inward toward its base across

the foot of Denmark, and the same process has been carried through on an even larger scale in the south. There the astonishingly rapid Allied advance across the line of the Po River in Italy has eaten deeply into the southern boundaries of the redoubt, and the encircling of Bohemia and Moravia, coupled with Patton's penetration of Austria, has broken through its northern boundaries.

The great drama of the "Thousand-Year Reich" is thus unquestionably reaching its bloody and sordid close. We are witnessing the final breaking up of military power which once terrorized the civilized world. The utter disaster to Germany signified by this breaking up points an obvious moral to any would-be aggressor in the world today, just as the costly triumph of the powers which have brought it about points an obvious moral for delegates at San Francisco who are interested in the future security of the world.

## Italia Resurrecta

IT IS fitting that it should be the Partisans who disposed of Mussolini. For the spiritual heirs of the murdered Matteotti had the right to deal swift justice to this sawdust Caesar, this strutting egotist, this small-scale dictator who destroyed a nation to build his tinsel empire. The carrion remains in the market place of Milan, where twenty-six years ago Mussolini founded the Fascist movement, are an ignominious symbol of the completion of a cycle.

Now a new spirit is stirring in northern Italy. For eighteen months the Italian Partisans have made a magnificent contribution to the Allied effort in Italy. They have fought alone, engaging the enemy in battles of such scale that the Germans and the Fascists were forced to make ample use of tanks, big guns, and air support. Aneurin Bevan, before the House of Commons, revealed that "it is on record from Field Marshal Alexander that the resistance movement in Italy has been more effective in fighting the Germans than any other resistance movement in Europe. More than 250,000 Italians have lost their lives in that movement." *The Nation* has already mentioned the statement by a high Canadian officer that "without the efforts, big and small, of the Patriots, our task would have been doubly difficult and three times as costly." And even Mr. Churchill was forced to admit that "very desperate battles" were being waged by "brave men who have been fighting and maintaining guerrilla warfare in the Alps."

No one can therefore deny the tremendous contribution of the Italian Partisans to the Allied cause. But this great contribution has been hidden as much as possible from the peoples of the Allied nations—the above mentioned declarations, with the exception of Churchill's, did not appear in the American press. The reason lies in the fact that the Partisans speak with the voice of democracy, which is quite out of tone with that of the Fascism now represented by the House of Savoy and its supporters in and out of Italy. The Partisans are organizing the first local governments in regions they have liberated, and the Committees of Liberation are military as well as political bodies. Behind these committees stand not only the Partisans but the great majority of the Italian people. Without such help the Partisans could not have carried on their fight for eighteen months. The workers

especially, with their strikes and sabotage, have supported the activities of the Partisans.

As our forces sweep northward they are confronted with a popular movement which the international reaction concentrated in Rome tries to suffocate. The Partisans are disarmed when they are found within the Allied lines, unless they enter the army of the King. The Partisans distrust the old military bureaucracy of a state in disintegration and claim that they represent the strongest and most faithful army of the new Italian popular state. But the Allied administration when it arrives immediately tries to build up sympathies for the Italian monarchy. The same day that we read about the liberation of Milan, Turin, and Genoa, and of the probable capture of Mussolini, the *New York Times* carried a dispatch from Bologna telling of the "acclaim" that greeted a visit of Prince Humbert. It seems strange that during the fifteen

minutes of his appearance in public the Prince found "500 assorted Bolognese" ready to mill around him, when, a few days before, the same paper in a dispatch from Bologna carried the following: "Queries throughout central Bologna today evoked the response that the Socialists and the Communists were the strongest parties, with the Actionists third. Moreover—and vitally indicative—all who replied said they were strongly anti-monarchist and did not expect the House of Savoy to survive the Constituent Assembly." A powerful state machine is being built for the monarchy, and the tragic result may be a civil war. In view of the importance of the events in Italy today, and of their bearing on the future not only of the Peninsula but of Europe, we feel that this plot should be made known. Future issues of *The Nation* will carry a series of articles on the subject, explaining the Allied policy in Italy since the fall of Mussolini.

## The Same Old Codgers

BY I. F. STONE

*San Francisco, April 28*

THIS is a splendidly vigorous and beautiful city. Its lofty hills, great bay, clear skies, and fresh breezes make it an exhilarating place. The cable cars that crawl up and down its steep streets provide almost as exciting a ride as the chute-the-chutes of Coney Island, and the view from luxurious Nob Hill, where one feels closer to the stars at night, goes to one's head. For the press this has been a glamorous week spent scooting around between press conferences and plenary sessions. We saw and heard the bright, bird-like Dutch Foreign Minister, Van Kleffens; the school-masterish Deputy British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee; the monolithic but quick-witted Molotov; Nehru's fragile but intense sister, Mrs. Pandit; dapper Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, who looks more like a care-free boulevardier than an underground leader; and, of course, Mr. Stettinius, our matinee-idol Secretary of State, whose press conferences are remarkable chiefly for his extraordinary facility in remembering the faces and names of reporters. It's the old apple sauce, but we lap it up just the same.

The press is housed in the huge Palace Hotel, on Market Street, down near the wharves, and the correspondents, for whom this is a kind of old-home week, obtain much of their mysteriously authoritative inside information by interviewing each other at the crowded bars and in the high glass-ceilinged dining-room. We are perpetually in transit, like skating bugs, from the Palace to Union Square, which is neat and fashionable and quite unlike its New York namesake; there, at the St. Francis, the Russians and the French are housed. Thence we go to Nob Hill, where the British and the Chinese are in the de luxe Mark Hopkins, with its famous rooftop bar, and the American delegation in the equally plushy if less famous Fairmount. Down hill again we speed to the domed Opera House, where the conference sessions are held, and the big Veterans' Administration Building next door, which is the "press room" of the conference; there are batteries of

typewriters and telegraph machines and a most delightful clatter.

Hollywood, as though fearful of being outshone, is well represented here. Your correspondent, as goggle-eyed as any movie fan, was introduced to Charles Boyer by a member of the French delegation and later that night in the lobby of the Palace to Edward G. Robinson. "Well," Robinson asked, with that overtone of quiet menace for which he is famous, "is our side going to win?" It was definitely an "or else" question, and I hastened to assure him that all would be well.

The main event, the opening of the conference Wednesday afternoon, might have been an M-G-M opening. Crowds strained against the ropes for blocks around the Opera House to watch the arriving notables; the press flashed its cards with pride; the foreign delegates poured out of their black limousines, trying hard to look dignified and unmoved. Within, in an interior that seemed to have been done by Maxfield Parrish, floodlights lit up the gilded gesso, red plush, and stainless steel; against the blue background of the huge stage stood four brown pillars, symbols of the four freedoms, connected at the top by what appeared to be large segments of a boa constrictor. The press was with difficulty confined to the triple-tiered galleries by the feminine élite of San Francisco, among whom many heart-rending battles were fought for the honor of ushering at the occasion. But down below camera men swarmed among the delegates of the forty-six nations, kneeling in the aisles and all but hanging from the boxes to get their shots. Flashlight bulbs kept going off like summer lightning, and statesmen obediently composed their faces for the camera.

The affair itself was sobering. The speeches at the opening session were as banal as the juke-box music which was piped into the Opera House as the delegates arrived. The President's address was disappointing. The occasion called for either Lincolnian eloquence or plain, common-sense statement. Mr. Truman is fully capable in private of the latter, but he seems

to have been prevailed upon to indulge instead in windy moralisms, turgid periods, and the kind of untruths which are regarded as inspirational. I pick one of many examples from the speech. "None of us doubt," Mr. Truman said, "that with divine guidance, friendly cooperation, and hard work we shall find an adequate answer to the problem history has put before us." Mr. Truman would never talk that way in private to a visitor. Why does he in a speech? The statement is not true; some of the wisest of the delegates here certainly do doubt whether we shall find the "answer to the problem history has put before us." The rhetoric is false, the effect is hollow, it is hokey. In private Mr. Truman would say, "It's a tough job. I'm not sure we can do it. But we're going to try our best." Why not say that in public? That kind of plain talk inspires confidence. The tawdry and flatulent rhetoric which marked most of the speeches depressed one. The occasion was so momentous; the danger so grave; the need so great; the utterance so mediocre.

The San Francisco conference is as important as Versailles or the Congress of Vienna. But one's first impression of it is how mediocre is its leadership. The second is how little the cast of characters has changed since Geneva. To be quite frank about it, the conference, for all its glamour, is a meeting of pretty much those same old codgers to whose fumbling we owe World War II. They are still dishing out the same old platitudes and thinking in the same old terms. And so, I suspect, are many of the people they represent. The war, for all its terror and destruction, has not brought about that long-overdue revulsion against nationalism which can alone

provide the basis for world order and security. The delegations assembled here indicate that the political parties and the dominant classes of the Western countries and of China are emerging from the conflict momentarily sobered, perhaps, but little changed. Except for the French and Yugoslav delegations, there is no sign here of the new men and forces which welled up from underground in continental Europe to fight fascism. The basic idea at San Francisco is that the big powers must stick together to maintain the peace; this was Metternich's idea in 1815; it is the kindergarten stage in education toward world security. The problem is how to keep the big powers together; it is the problem that these same men—the Halifaxes, the Edens, the Paul-Boncours, the Van Kieffenses—failed to solve at Geneva. Given the same men, the same parties, the same social systems, can one expect a different result?

These men lost the last peace, and unless they are replaced they will some day lose the next one. They can give us the first tentative framework of a world order; it is the job of progressive forces to take over from there as soon as possible. For whatever these men do on paper, they do not have the capacity to withstand and deal with real crises. The weak handling of the Polish issue, the clerical power politics focused upon it, the covert anti-Soviet urges associated with it, are indicative of the stresses and strains which peace will put on the relations of the big powers. It will take new leadership, deeper understanding, and firmer resolution if big-power unity is to be maintained when peace comes and trouble begins.

## Geneva Casts a Shadow

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

[J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic, was Spain's representative on the Council of the League of Nations from September, 1936, to January, 1939.]

San Francisco, April 27

**D**URING this inaugural week at San Francisco Geneva has thrown long shadows on the wall. Perhaps those who are sharing for the first time in the attempt to organize peace for the world do not feel themselves haunted by this shadow. But for those who were participants in or witnesses of the failure of the League, memories of Geneva are impossible to escape. After all, Geneva and San Francisco are stages along the same historic route. The immediate landscape has changed, but the end is the same—world peace. Those who know why the wrong road was taken at the earlier stage should not now remain silent.

Unfortunately, there are few who can tell the story. Of those who sat at the Council table in the last three fatal years of the League, some cannot speak because they still occupy official positions; others will not speak because they are directly responsible for what happened and have little desire to revive unpleasant memories. In the Council were saboteurs

of peace like the Polish Colonel Beck, Hitler agents like Georges Bonnet of France, men like Anthony Eden who were honestly convinced that international law should be respected but who were restrained from action by the policy of their governments, anxious appeasers like Lord Halifax, for whom the most important thing was not the fact of aggression but the political color of the victim; if the color appeared red in his eyes, as in the case of the Spanish Republicans, the aggression itself looked a little like the fulfilment of the will of God. In the Council fighting against totalitarian aggression and for collective security were only the representative of Russia and the representative of Spain. Nobody could tell that story with greater authority than Maxim Litvinov, but his official position prevents him from doing so. I, on the contrary, am perfectly free to establish the inevitable comparisons between San Francisco and Geneva.

For me the most important task in the creation of a new security organization is rigidly to maintain the principle that no nation whose political regime makes it unfit to work for peace should be admitted to membership. No fascist state can be taken in without endangering the whole structure. By the

simple fact of being fascist, every fascist state is potentially an aggressor, and Geneva offers conclusive evidence that to attempt to hold together aggressors and non-aggressors is to paralyze the machinery of peace.

Even after Germany and Italy left the League, not because they were expelled but because they felt they could prepare for war more comfortably outside than in, even then the Council was paralyzed by the fear of offending them. Addressing the Council in 1938, I said bluntly: "Here the friends of the League are continually sacrificed to its enemies. It would seem as if we had only one aim—to make happy those who are engaged in destroying the League and peace." In the secret meetings of the Council, in the conversation of its members, in the innumerable intrigues of the Secretary General, Joseph Avenol, one of the greatest living war criminals, even more than in the public discussions, it was evident that the insane desire to win back Hitler and Mussolini condemned the League to inaction and discredit. The deserters from the League dominated it even in their absence. In the Assembly and even in the Council Hitler and Mussolini had their quislings. It made no difference whether they were little quislings or big ones. They became the vehicles of all maneuvers, the rallying points of all defeatist tendencies. In each commission, in the secretariat, throughout the various chan-

celleries, their poison spread. At the most crucial moments of decision the Council put off its meetings as a result of these maneuvers. One could not get the draft of a resolution drawn up without its content becoming known in fascist capitals before the Council could make a decision. The expression "fifth column" was coined in Spain, but in 1936 Mussolini had already used his fifth column in the League, and its chief, Pierre Laval, to ruin the first serious attempt to apply sanctions against an aggressor.

Until Munich the League could still have regained strength and used it against aggressors. It has been said many times, but one must repeat it this May, 1945, when a new organization is coming to life: it was not the defects of the Covenant, not the lack of an international police force, not the voting procedures, but the capital vice of attempting to maintain the peace by working with the aggressors that produced the tragic failure of Geneva.

That is why in San Francisco the question of the admission of Argentina is of much greater significance than are the problems of multiple voting, of the rights of small nations, or even of trusteeship. These are all most important, but any error committed in regard to these matters can be made good later on. The recognition of a country ruled by a regime like that of Perón and Farrell can hardly be made good.



IRONING OUT THE CREASES

With the admission of Argentina, fascism is admitted to the peace organization. The war, which President Roosevelt said was waged "to secure the destruction of fascist tyranny," misses its chief aim.

In view of all the maneuvers going on to take in Argentina, it was not surprising that the word fascism was not pronounced a single time at the inaugural session, as it was not at Geneva. In every motion adopted by the Council in regard to the act of aggression I fought to have the aggressor mentioned by name. I never succeeded. The names Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, whose armies had invaded Spain, a member of the League, were never spelled out. Since the majority of the bosses desired only to win back Hitler and Mussolini, they refused to name them even in a weak resolution of reproach. Similarly those who are working for the admission of Argentina believe that to use the word fascism would show a lack of international courtesy.

Again, as at Geneva, "friends are sacrificed to enemies." The friend of the United Nations, the Argentina we should welcome into the new organization, is exiled in Montevideo or shut up in prisons and concentration camps (conditions in these camps were recently described in *The Nation* by John W. White and were such that the security organization would be justified in appointing a special committee of investigation to report on them). This democratic Argentina includes the people who intend to go into the streets on the day of the fall of Berlin in spite of the government's threat to use violence to suppress any demonstration.

If the Argentina of the Perón government is taken in, the precedent created will be fatal. One fascist state will be fol-

lowed by another. The admission of Argentina would give great encouragement to Franco to continue the farce of democratization. Already we know that Franco has other reasons to feel encouraged. Indeed, it is time to speak the entire truth. Within the last few weeks very influential British conservatives have again come to the conclusion that Franco must be kept in power, and in this effort the American ambassador is warmly cooperating. Of course they would have preferred Don Juan, but the poor reception given his manifesto has convinced them that the hour of monarchy in Spain has passed. They would accept a General Arendt, a Maura, or another intermediate figure. What they do not want is power in the hands of the people of Spain, united and as firm in their anti-fascist convictions as during the years of war. They do not want Spanish Republican unity, and they are doing everything in their power today to prevent Republican leaders who want unity and can achieve unity from meeting and working together.

I know how these Tories are talking now. They talk as they did in the best days of appeasement, on the eve of the Munich betrayal. They say, "We don't want the Russians west of Gibraltar." To them it is not so important that the Nazis are already west of Gibraltar inside Spain. The main thing is to keep the Spanish "reds" from ruling the country. As in 1938, as at Geneva, to prevent the Spanish people from holding a well-merited seat in the new security organization these people will be ready when the proper moment arrives to put Franco in that seat. Not now; there are already too many headaches at San Francisco. Later. For the moment Argentina will be enough.

## The "Discovery" of Buchenwald

BY ALAN BARTH

*Washington, April 27*

THERE is always a danger in war that the culture of the conquered will prevail. This is particularly true of a culture that is debased. For war, which is itself a denial and debasement of civilization, sets in motion a curious variation of Gresham's Law on currency: inferior values tend to drive civilized values out of circulation. We have successfully overcome Nazi arms; we have yet to prove ourselves invulnerable to Nazi ideas.

One of the dominant Nazi ideas is the doctrine of German racial supremacy. This doctrine was used to justify all the hideous acts of savagery within Germany which have lately come to light. It was quite in order for the master race to torture, starve, and exterminate such inferior creatures as Poles and Russians and stateless European Jews. Indeed, the savagery was not widely recognized as sadism until we discovered its application to French and British and even American prisoners of war. Now, strangely and ironically, we are beginning ourselves to interpret this savagery in racist terms. Some people in reacting to recently disclosed German war crimes attribute them directly to defects in German genes. Here we have the typical Nazi confusion

between race and nationality; the assumption of German racial inferiority is as unintelligent as the Nazi doctrine of racial supremacy.

This sort of thinking was implicit in a recent statement by Representative Ed Izac of California, a member of the House committee which will inspect prison camps in Germany. The German atrocities, he told a reporter, could not be laid solely at the door of the Nazi system or of Hitler. Rather, he said, they were the result of something innate in the German people. Perhaps Representative Leonard Hall of New York suffered from a similar confusion after viewing the horrors of Buchenwald. "You have to see Buchenwald," he said, "to realize fully what debased beasts the Germans are."

Representative Luce, on the same occasion, was enigmatic. "The most important thing to remember," she declared, "is that this could happen to us in twenty years. Only a few years ago some were talking about there being good German people. After seeing this, one wonders whether there is good in any German people."

One also wonders, if this could happen to us in twenty years, whether there is good in any Americans. And one

knows, when one thinks of Georgia chain gangs and Florida sweat boxes and riots in Detroit and West Coast attacks on Americans of Japanese ancestry, that Mrs. Luce is quite right—it could happen here. No people is altogether without elements of savagery and sadism. These elements are sublimated or unleashed, depending on the cultural environment.

The most important thing to remember, Mrs. Luce might have said, is that the horrors she witnessed were manifestations of German culture—that is to say, of Nazi culture, which has become the dominant culture of Germany. It is true enough, as Mr. Hall observed, that the Germans, or at any rate those responsible for the horrors, are "debased beasts." But it is vital to understand that the debasement stems from the ideas and values with which those Germans were indoctrinated, not from any biological peculiarity. To understand this is in no sense to condone their guilt; it is merely to distinguish the real root of the evil. The distinction is essential if we are to overcome the problem they present. The evil that men do undoubtedly lives after them; but there is scarcely a biologist outside of what is left of Hitler's Reich who would hold that it lives in the chromosomes and is genetically transmitted.

The way in which men who have plenary power treat those who are in their hands and helpless is as good a criterion as any of their civilization. We may justly call the Germans debased because they used their power over prisoners bestially. But we had better be on guard against the contagion of debasement when we hear talk of retaliation against the German prisoners now in our possession. The record of the War Department in this connection, it should be noted, has been exemplary.

Nearly all the stir about "pampering" our prisoners of war has come from civilians. And it is generally from sheltered and delicately nurtured folk that one hears the suggestion that after the German army has been beaten we ought to let the Poles and Czechs and Russians wreak the bloody vengeance they are presumed to desire on the German populace. As a rule, to be sure, the sponsors of this idea prefer to have their rapine committed by foreigners, as though they recognized it to be, somehow, slightly un-American. One is reminded of C. E. Montague's observation that "hell hath no fury like a non-combatant."

Perhaps the outstanding sample of racist reasoning was offered a couple of weeks ago by Paul V. McNutt. He remarked in the course of a speech at Chattanooga that he was in favor of "extermination of the Japanese—in toto." Asked if he meant extermination of the Japanese army or of the people, he replied that he referred to "the people." Mr. McNutt, no doubt, thinks of the Japanese as uncivilized.

We have waged this most serious of all wars, on the whole, with notable sobriety. The national hysteria which accompanied our participation in World War I has not this time tainted our attitude to all things German, although it has been reflected in our treatment of Japanese Americans. But hysteria sometimes comes when the battle is ended, as a release from tension. That is when its dangers are greatest, for it may subvert the values for which we fought. Ideas are the last weapon remaining to the Nazis, but the weapon is a powerful one.

## From the Record

*[The concentration camp has been a standard part of the Nazi apparatus from the beginning. The following descriptions, published by The Nation, forecast the discovery of Buchenwald.]*

**CRIMES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED** whose very magnitude stifles protest because the mind is stunned into incredulity. It was weeks before the atrocities of the Brown Terror became known to the outside world, simply because the editors of responsible papers abroad could not believe that even their picked reporters were not being misinformed or carried away by their own emotions. It must be categorically stated that even today there is no conception of the barbarism which has prevailed and which *still continues*.—August 2, 1933.

A YOUNG GERMAN told me this story. . . . "Three months ago they arrested a man in East Prussia. They found my address among his papers. The next morning I was in a concentration camp. The S. A. asked me what I knew. I said that I hadn't participated in revolutionary activity since such activity became illegal. That was an 'unsatisfactory' answer. So they beat me for three hours until I crumpled up on the floor. Then they took me away from the concentration camp to a special station for torturing stubborn prisoners. I was carried into a small room with only a bed in it. The door to the main room was slightly open. I could hear the wails and screams of a man who was also 'stubborn'—he was refusing to betray his comrades. After two hours I heard him break down. He whispered the names of two men, very faintly. The S. A. brought him in and threw him on the bed, smeared all over with blood. Then they took me in."—EVELYN LAWRENCE, September 5, 1934.

THREE HOURS at Esterwegen change a man from a normal product of twentieth-century culture into the lowest of creatures, helplessly exposed to shame and brutality. Pity him who is sentenced to "dark arrest" for weeks. These poor devils are bound with chains and left in the dark. They can neither sit nor lie. Their arms and feet become swollen and infected. Only every third day do they get the usual prison fare; the rest of the time they have only bread and water. And they are subject to frightful tortures. The silence of the night is shattered by their cries. The prisoners, used to suffering and mistreatment, grow pale and tremble when they hear their screams.—JOHANN SCHMIDT, September 12, 1936.

THE GHASTLY HORRORS of the German concentration camps, related in the new British White Paper, cannot, unhappily, be written off as baseless war-time propaganda. Incredible as the facts may seem, they have been confirmed all too amply by other sources. . . . With documents of this kind in its archives, how was it possible for the British government to maintain for so long that there was nothing in the nature of the Hitler regime which precluded a deal, or even friendship, between the two countries?—November 11, 1939.

# *New Hope for the Jewish People*

BY SUMNER WELLES

THE tragic decades through which we have just passed constitute the blackest period of modern history. Little by little we have seen vanish almost every one of those standards of international conduct and of humane civilization which had gradually been built up during preceding centuries. We have seen the entire face of the earth burst into the mightiest conflagration that peoples have ever known. We have seen warfare assume the most frightful guise which mankind has ever yet devised. But worst of all, we have seen humanity itself sink to its lowest level.

The crimes committed by the Nazis and by their accomplices against the Jewish people are indelible stains upon the whole of our modern civilization. They are stains which will shame our generation in the eyes of generations still unborn. For we and our governments, to which we have intrusted power during these years between the Great Wars, cannot shake off the responsibility for having permitted the growth of world conditions which made such horrors possible. The democracies cannot lightly attempt to shirk their responsibility. No recompense can be offered the dead. The effort today to right the wrongs which have been committed will be of all too little avail to the bereft, to the orphans, to the homeless, and to the wanderers on the face of the earth. But such measure of recompense as can be offered surely constitutes the moral obligation of the free peoples of the earth as soon as their victory is won. And that measure of recompense lies in the assumption by all the United Nations of the obligation to make such reparation as is still possible to the sufferers, wherever they may be found.

Seven years ago Franklin Roosevelt was the only chief of state who saw with clear vision what the needs of the future would be. True humanitarian that he was, he assumed the leadership in creating the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, which was intended to become the sheltering arm of the democracies for millions of distressed human beings. After it was set up the committee encountered vast practical difficulties when it undertook to cope with the tragic problem placed under its jurisdiction. That it has failed to accomplish any substantial portion of the duties with which it was charged cannot be denied. Certainly in some instances its efforts brought about the escape to places of refuge of some of the persecuted, but the number of persons saved pales into insignificance when compared with the number of those who perished. The creation of the committee, however, at least accomplished one great objective. That was the establishment, through the participation of many governments in the committee, of the principle of collective international responsibility. It seems to me that at this moment that is a principle which none of us can permit to fall into abeyance.

For that reason I have greatly welcomed the proposals put forward by many democratic organizations urging the Conference of the United Nations at San Francisco to designate

international commissions to frame an International Bill of Rights, to deal with the problem of migrations, and to cope with the great question of those who have no present national status. These basic issues are truly international. They can never be fairly or permanently solved save through a sincere, wise, and common effort on the part of all the United Nations. They are issues which vitally affect the very foundation of the new world order we must create.

I firmly believe, and I am confident that enlightened public opinion throughout the United Nations will also maintain, that one of the immediate responsibilities to be assumed by the international organization, as soon as it is established, must be the carrying out of effective plans to take care of the refugees who have been driven from their homes by Nazi persecution, so that they may be afforded the opportunity of living out their lives in safety and with every possible chance to find security and happiness. It is regrettable to find some in authority in other countries already insisting that all that is required is to make it possible for these refugees to return to the places of their origin, safely and without fear of renewed persecution. Under the conditions which today exist we all of us know that that is not enough.

When refugees who have been cast adrift by the tides of war wish to return to their original homes, they must, of course, be given not only full assurance that they can do so but the chance to start life anew in those homes in such a manner as to be secure until they can once again become independent. There are countless numbers of refugees, however, who will not wish to go back to the scenes of horror from which they escaped. And it is the plight of this category which in my judgment constitutes the gravest and most pressing problem.

Some of them undoubtedly will wish to come to the Western Hemisphere or to other new scenes of opportunity. Here again that opportunity can be given to many hundreds of thousands of them if the international organization coordinates common action between the countries which are underpopulated and which wish to encourage desirable immigration, and the agency which must supervise the settlement of refugees. I cannot overemphasize my conviction that if coordinated action is not undertaken, and measures are not carried out through intergovernmental action to tide these immigrants from the Old World over the difficult period of their readjustment in new homes, only an infinitesimal part of the needed rehabilitation work will be satisfactorily accomplished.

For it is evident that unless this flow of immigration is regulated, and safeguarded by competent agencies of the international organization through the negotiation of practical and individual arrangements with each government which desires suitable immigration, harm rather than good will result. The unregulated flow of unselected and destitute emigrants, under

post-war conditions, to new and undeveloped regions will inevitably stir up new difficulties and new frictions. By the negotiation of agreements between the international agency and each government which wishes to stimulate desirable immigration, however, such dangers can be guarded against. In this way the immigrants will be qualified for the new homes to which they go; they will not be a charge upon local communities during the months before they can become self-supporting; and they will have a fair chance to grow into useful and welcome citizens of the land which offers them a new life.

Finally, of course, there is that great number of refugees who will wish to find shelter in the homeland of Palestine.

Among the vital questions which must imperatively be solved, justly and practically, when the international organization is established and peace settlements are made, there are few which possess such intrinsic significance and at the same time hold so many elements of danger as those involved in the decisions which must be reached with regard to Palestine. In the whole of the world today I know of no other region which contains so many potentially explosive forces as that area of the world in the center of which Palestine is located. That sacred spot, from which stems the civilization of our Western World and the civilization of vast reaches of other continents, must never again find itself submerged in the whirlpool of antagonistic rivalries. Those who, like myself, know that the establishment of an independent Palestine as a National Jewish Homeland is an ideal which represents the spiritual conviction of many millions of people throughout the earth, and who also believe that it is an objective inherently right and just, cannot but be profoundly concerned over some of the political developments of recent times.

But I would be remiss were I not to take this opportunity to say once more what I have already publicly stated—that the views which Dr. Weizmann has expressed as to the manner in which this great objective can best be eventually attained are views which seem to me to be wholly sound and altogether wise. Dr. Weizmann has demonstrated the highest qualities of statesmanship. I think that he has never better demonstrated those qualities than in the various public statements which he has had occasion to make during the past few months.

I do not think that the creation of the Commonwealth of Palestine can ever be advanced by violence, or by the threat of force. On the contrary, I am convinced that the attainment of that objective will thereby only be retarded. I am further confident that only through the initial creation of an international trusteeship over Palestine by the coming international organization to replace the present British mandate will a just solution of the problem of Palestine be effectively furthered.

For the purpose of advancing world stability and increasing the effectiveness of world organization, I am a believer, as I have often said, in the establishment of regional systems of states under the supreme authority of a universal international organization. If a Pan-Arab League is now established under the supreme authority of an international organization for the purpose of furthering the legitimate political, cultural, and economic interests of the people of the Arab states, and if the functioning of that league demonstrates that those are

in fact the sole objectives sought, I would most certainly regard the creation of such a regional system as of great positive value in the world to come. But if such a league is founded in part as a means of exercising greater pressure against the realization of that kind of solution for the problem of Palestine which I have long upheld, its functioning must inevitably result in further hostility in this already sadly distraught world.

If, however, the international organization exercises a trusteeship over Palestine during a transitional period, until all outstanding international problems in the Near East can be equitably solved and the Commonwealth of Palestine can be prepared to enjoy its independence, I would regard the entrance of Palestine, during that transitional period, into some form of economic federation with its neighbors—with Syria, the Lebanon, and Transjordan, for instance—as a development which would be wholly wise and wholly desirable.

Some of us have read in recent years able technical works which demonstrate, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the tremendous development of Palestine which can be effected by the scientific use of its natural resources. By the proper utilization of these resources, many hundreds of thousands of additional persons can profitably be assimilated into the body politic of Palestine. And many of us are equally convinced that if Palestine and its neighbors formed the type of federation to which I have referred, not only could a far greater utilization be made of water and power resources, but large development projects similar in character to our own successful experiment in the Tennessee Valley could be advantageously carried out.

This is not the moment for me even to touch upon the highly intricate and controversial question of the relationship of the Jews and Arabs at present within Palestine. That, it seems to me, is a problem which can undoubtedly be solved in a spirit of justice as soon as the main lines of an over-all solution are established. But certainly upon one point I am confident, and that is that should the international organization, as I so earnestly hope, establish an international trusteeship over Palestine, the number of Jewish immigrants permitted entry into Palestine would in the future be limited solely by the capacity of the land profitably to take care of them.

It may be that direct negotiations with a view to the settlement of these basic questions can be successfully carried out between Jewish leaders and the leaders of the Arab world. In my considered judgment every possible effort should be made to advance such negotiations. But they should be undertaken only under the auspices and with the assistance of the international organization. The great powers must press for the success of such negotiations. By doing so they will provide the best assurance that a just, and a final, solution will be found.

These are the immediate issues as I see them. We can but recognize that, until they are settled, one of the greatest and most difficult problems of the world will remain unsolved. It is not too much to say that, until it is solved, the peaceful, the stable, and the progressive world which we envisage will not exist.

And here again is one of the great questions in which the

government of the United States, within the world organization to come, must exercise its effective leadership. Our country has no selfish interests at stake. It can here utilize its unquestioned influence to bring about the creation of a new member of the family of nations, a member which at the same

time will be one of the oldest of them all. It can here once more give evidence of its devotion to the cause of international justice as the surest foundation of world peace.

[This article is taken from a speech delivered by Mr. Welles on April 16 before the New York chapter of Hadassah.]

## Canol, the War's Epic Blunder

BY EDWARD A. HARRIS

THE sorriest chapter of the American war effort on the home front has just been completed with the casual announcement by the War Department that the \$134,000,000 Canol (Canadian oil) project will be discontinued by next June 30. The decision to abandon the whole undertaking was reached "because of the anticipated improvement of the tanker situation, as well as the greatly improved military position of the Alaskan area supplied by the refinery, in the light of American progress in the Pacific war." Thus hundreds of miles of pipe line, laid by thousands of troops and American laborers, are being abandoned in the army's most colossal blunder. Despite the attempt of the War Department to whitewash the whole affair, the story of Canol contains certain pertinent lessons that should serve as warnings in the future.

As late as December, 1943, testifying before the Truman investigating committee, Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, chief of the Army Service Forces, said the project should not only be completed but expanded. He expressed sharp disagreement with Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes and others who urged its abandonment without spending any more of the taxpayers' money. Now, three years after the project was started and less than a year after oil and high-octane gasoline began pouring through the pipes to fuel our air bases in Alaska, General Somervell is in full accord with the decision to write it off as a bad investment.

Somervell admitted that he had authorized the venture on the basis of a one-page memorandum submitted to him by his dollar-a-year civilian technical adviser, Dean James H. Graham of the University of Kentucky School of Engineering. He said frankly that he agreed with Graham's testimony before the committee that "from an economic standpoint the whole project was cockeyed from the beginning," but explained that early in 1942 the military situation looked perilous and military expediency dictated Canol.

He told the Senators further that at the time he gave the green light to the project his time schedule called for completion of the 600-mile line from Norman Wells in Canada to White Horse and construction of a refinery there by the fall of 1942. "I knew that the time schedule was very optimistic," he went on. "In fact, I knew it couldn't be done." The Joint Chiefs of Staff did not approve the enterprise until October 26, 1943; this, of course, was after the Truman committee had announced its intention of making a probe.

Canol was really a combination of two projects. The first was for the construction of storage and docking facilities for oil products and pipe lines for their distribution at a cost of \$35,000,000. The second, involving a total expenditure of

\$99,000,000, included the prospecting for oil and development of new wells in the vicinity of Norman Wells at a cost of \$17,000,000; construction of a 600-mile four-inch pipe line to transport 3,000 barrels of petroleum a day from Norman Wells to White Horse, at a cost of \$31,000,000; the transfer of a refinery from Corpus Christi, Texas, to White Horse, in Yukon Territory, at a cost of \$24,000,000; and the construction of winter and summer transportation facilities for freight over the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River route at a cost of \$27,000,000.

One cannot take issue with General Somervell's insistence that the perilous military situation in the Far East dictated the launching of the project. Major General T. M. Robins, deputy chief of United States Army Engineers, after studying Somervell's original directive, commented that ten times the volume of oil delivery contemplated under the project could be made by barges and tankers available on United States rivers at one-tenth the cost and effort of Canol, but when the phrase "military expediency" is raised in war time, the door is presumably closed to civilian criticism. No one could question, for example, the statement of Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson before the Truman committee in November, 1943, that the success of Canol might determine the "size and extent" of an air offensive aimed at the heart of the Japanese Empire.

But in the light of the record it is not only permissible but important to point to some of the glaring errors that were made once the project was decided upon. Never satisfactorily answered before the committee were the following questions: Why was the refinery built at White Horse, in Canada, instead of at Fairbanks, Alaska, where it would have been better placed for the war against Japan? Why did General Somervell rely on a one-page memorandum from a technical adviser in deciding to start the project, and why did the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as late as the fall of 1943, refuse to turn over to the Truman committee their "confidential file" on the undertaking? Why was Ickes not consulted in advance? Why did Somervell ignore the pipe-line route advised by the noted Arctic explorer, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who Patterson said had "fathered" the Canol idea and who told the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* that his simpler, less costly route would have placed the refinery in Alaska? Why was a four-inch pipe line built from Norman Wells to White Horse instead of a pipe line of greater capacity? And, finally, why was the contract between our government and Imperial Oil, Ltd., a Canadian company that is controlled by Standard Oil of New Jersey, so drawn that the War Department was obliged belatedly to take steps to safeguard our interests?

The final report of the Truman committee pointed out that Imperial Oil controlled an "oil field" at Norman Wells consisting of five wells, two of which were dry at the time the War Department contracted with Imperial for expansion and development of the field. Imperial furnished nothing for the \$1.25 we paid per barrel of oil except the right to drill on its property, subject to its supervision. "The \$1.25 per barrel," said the report, "is in substance a royalty, and should be contrasted with royalties of about 15 to 20 cents per barrel paid for oil in the United States. The contract is really too favorable to Imperial Oil, because in addition to being paid the royalty, Imperial Oil, at the end of the war, will own the wells drilled and the oil reserves proved at the expense of the United States." The report also pointed out that the contract failed to contain the usual provision requiring renegotiation under the Renegotiation Act.

An agreement reached with the Canadian government at the start of the project provided that the crude-oil pipe line and refinery would be appraised at the close of the war, and that Canada would be given first option to purchase the property at the appraised value. It was specified that if Canada failed to exercise the option, the property could be sold to any other bidder. Since the Canadian government already has indicated its disinclination to take up the option, Standard Oil, through its Canadian subsidiary, will presumably be in a position to acquire the pipe line and refinery at a fraction of their actual construction costs. With title to the wells and proved reserves at Norman Wells automatically reverting to Imperial Oil at the end of the war, this fortunate company will find itself in an enviable oil-producing position in Canada. Yet it is one of the anomalies of the entire bizarre Canol episode that technicians of Standard Oil advised the War Department against the undertaking three years ago. The "unfavorable" provisions in the contracts with the oil company and the Canadian government, said the Truman report, were inserted, not because those parties to the contract "were greedy and sought to take advantage" of the United States, but on the suggestion of the War Department.

In retrospect it becomes painfully clear that Canol was ill conceived and ill executed, and that responsible War Department officials clung stubbornly to their mistake. Even as the sponge is tossed in, with the announcement that operations will cease in June, there is no confession that a staggering blunder was made, and persisted in, despite repeated warnings by the Truman committee, by Ickes, and even by the Navy Department, which frowned on the undertaking from the start. The story of Canol, in short, is an indictment of decisions based on one-man snap judgments, of the unwillingness of the War Department to seek the advice of other government officials more familiar with the matter under discussion, and of the obstinacy that army men so often exhibit when they can use the excuse of "military security." After Canol the country is poorer but wiser.

The futility of the Canol undertaking is all the more deplorable in view of the rich possibilities in the full development of Alaska and the Canadian Northwest. The region not only contains great pools of oil but is certain to become of tremendous importance as the new air gateway to Asia and northern Europe. "Go north, young man," may well become the modern substitute for Greeley's historic advice.

## In the Wind

HERE ARE SOME FIGURES (1) for those who grumble about rationing and (2) for those who hint darkly that the bureaucrats are shipping most of our meat to Canada. The Department of Agriculture's "Report on the National Food Situation" shows that meat consumption in the United States last year was 147 pounds per person; in Canada, where meat is not rationed, consumption was 138.8 pounds per person.

FORMER CONGRESSMAN Martin L. Sweeney of Ohio celebrated his sixtieth birthday on April 16 by denouncing "British imperialism" for "dragging my country into war," at a meeting of the Intelligent Voters' League in Cleveland. He received birthday greetings from Gerald L. K. Smith, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

ADVERTISEMENT in the Lincolnshire, England, *Chronicle*: "Owner of tractor . . . wishes to correspond with widow who owns a modern Foster threshers; object matrimony; send photograph of machine."

I. J. FOX, the New York furrier who used to advertise by sky-writing before the war put a stop to such use of airplanes, recently started advertising war bonds that way at the request of the Treasury Department. So many protests poured in, however, that he has dropped the idea.

A SURVEY of 150 soldiers discharged in New York City revealed that only 13 were still able to get into their old civilian clothes.

WEST IS WEST: The January 21 issue of the *Forum*, an Indian nationalist weekly published in Bombay, has just reached us. This is from its review of M.-G.-M.'s "Kismet"; "A part of 'Kismet' is meant to be purely sex-appeal business. . . . Marlene Dietrich is now too old a dame for all this. . . . [It] is a hotch-potch of romance and Oriental splendor. . . . The whole bunch of Western players should not have been made to play Easterners' roles."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: The \$500,000 appropriation of the FEPC will expire June 30, and the next fiscal year begins July 1. Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri is chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, which is now pondering the question whether to renew the FEPC's funds. . . . The House Judiciary Committee, headed by Hatton W. Summers of Texas, is sitting on H. R. 7, a bill to outlaw the poll tax. The committee will have to let the House vote on the bill if 218 Representatives sign a petition for the bill's release. At this writing the petition has 178 signatures. Senator Claude Pepper of Florida has promised to introduce a companion measure in the Senate if the House passes H. R. 7.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Athens Calling

BY HAL LEHRMAN

*Athens, April 24*

IN THE six months since its liberation Greece has had three governments and sixty-one Cabinet ministers. The country's biggest business is politics. Very little else is done. Prices are astronomical, wages microscopic. The war-shattered economy is moaning for first aid but getting only large doses of political oratory. Some 150 persons have been killed by the rightest terror since the Varkiza accord of February 12, and according to the E. A. M. 7,500 have been killed. The truce which followed last winter's civil war, when 11,000 persons died and \$250,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, has suffered too much violation through pro-fascist lawlessness, abetted by official indifference to continue to be a sound international investment for a Balkan peace.

If the Yalta decision concerning liberated territories means anything at all, the place to apply it is Greece, and the time is now. President Roosevelt told Congress in his last message that Britain, Russia, and the United States had agreed "to join together during the temporary period of post-hostilities to help the liberated peoples solve their [political, economic] problems through democratic processes." Greece certainly has tremendous problems. And no democratic processes are operating. Moreover, it is torn by complex feuds which may explode at any moment into fresh hostilities.

The highest American official observers here during the first days of the December uprising were convinced that further bloodshed could be avoided only by an Anglo-American or tri-power commission. They still hold this opinion. So do many Greeks of various persuasions. The leftists have long been demanding an international inquiry into Greek affairs, and one of the unpublicized acts of the late government of General Plastiras, who was no leftist, was to ask the British to arrange for tripartite supervision of the plebiscite which was to decide between the monarchy and a republic.

In terms of United Nations policy, unilateral intervention in Greece has failed. This is not intended as British-baiting. The individual Briton in Greece is sick of the whole adventure and would like to get out. Official British policy is the usual muddle, whether its purpose is still to restore the monarchy—as only a few now believe—or to settle for any regime favorable to British strategic interests, or merely to establish order so that the Greeks may choose the form of government they like. The British brought back Plastiras from exile, and billed him as an impartial strong man. Everyone else in Greece knew that Plastiras was a good general and king-hater but not a good politician. He appointed men to office because they had been his republican friends twenty years ago, ignoring their subsequent political divergences and the question of their fitness. As a result, right and left began to assail him, especially the royalists because he refused to set an early date for the plebiscite. The British found him "inconvenient." A fortnight ago, under cover of a scurrilous

monarchist charge that he had been pro-Nazi in 1941, Plastiras was fired. The circumstances indicated British pressure on Regent Damaskinos—which automatically made Plastiras a popular hero again and Ambassador Leeper a villain. If the royalist maneuver had been ignored, there is reason to believe that the Regent would have dismissed Plastiras later anyway. Damaskinos, who is credited with anti-royalist sentiments himself, feared the Premier's lack of suppleness might eventually provoke a genuine crisis and really upset the republican apple cart. But the British were blamed.

Whom did they select to succeed Plastiras in the work of soothing the country and preparing for the plebiscite? Admiral Voulgaris, whose last noteworthy deed was the suppression of the Alexandria mutiny in April, 1944! The choice again underlines London's penchant for somersaults: the Admiral was once prominent in Churchill's little black book because of his dubious activities in the Middle East, particularly his connection with the Greek arms manufacturer Athanassiadis Bodossakis, whom the British locked up for a spell.

One item in the British program, however, is difficult to explain as mere confusion. The Greek army is now being reconstructed with the aid of a British military mission, and the British are furnishing first-rate modern equipment; during the recent Independence Day celebration a display of mechanized armor and pursuit planes dazzled the Athenian crowds. The Greek General Staff is methodically welding this army into a political weapon, loading it with royalists from the ranks to the top command. Quisling security battalions and monarchist mountain and sacred brigades are being incorporated en masse. Eighteen to twenty-six of the brigade colonels of the National Guard are royalists. Conscripts suspected of an E. L. A. S. taint are rejected for "medical" reasons; former E. L. A. S. officers are not given even that excuse.

National guardsmen sent to the provinces to restore "order" have been responsible for innumerable acts of violence. The Communist press may exaggerate, but enough instances have been authenticated to justify the charge that E. A. M. adherents, republicans, and sometimes just plain people who neglect to adorn their homes with the King's portrait are being arrested, beaten, and even murdered. When the guardsmen themselves do not join in the man hunt, they and the local gendarmerie look the other way while illegal pro-fascist bands smash printing presses, burn organizational headquarters, and torture non-converts. (Among these bands is the notorious gang called "X," after the two crossed gammas which are the initials of George and his Glücksberg dynasty.) Peasants are taking to the hills as in the days of the Germans.

If the terror is less evident in Athens, it is only because the capital is larger than a village. I saw the fresh bloodstains on an Athenian sidewalk where Michael Milos, owner of a coffee house, was shot dead by X-men in the middle of

the day because he had Communist papers in his possession. Last Wednesday police, escorted by armed civilians, arrested my friend Statis Someritis, liberal Socialist leader, because he had a rusty Italian pistol in his home. These are characteristic, not isolated, incidents. But collaborationists stroll about freely or continue to hold high posts.

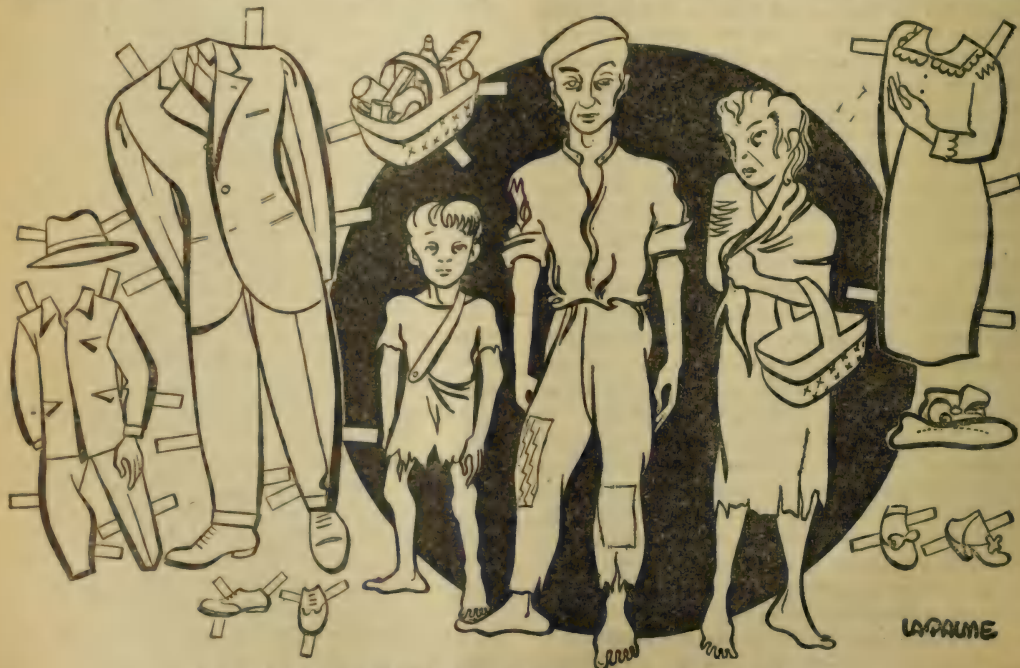
During the Plastiras regime officials dismissed reports of terrorism as Communist propaganda. The Voulgaris government at least admits "a number of incidents throughout the country." The police have been vainly instructed to protect the sale of left-wing newspapers. The Premier has shaken a menacing finger at pro-royalist political associations within the army. But no effective measures have been taken or are planned; and rightist violence is still explained as the natural reaction to earlier E. A. M. excesses. Though such excesses have been magnified in the telling, it is undeniable that atrocities did occur. They were committed, however, during the civil war and largely by uncontrollable criminal elements, and do not justify official toleration of a nationwide vendetta.

The Voulgaris Cabinet, composed of technicians and university professors, is a service government without party roots. It is a stop-gap until the plebiscite. The royalists are demanding a plebiscite within three months in order to profit by the popular reaction against the December disorders. The republicans, expecting a renewed democratic trend once the memories of December have faded, protest that a plebiscite cannot be arranged quickly. Electoral lists must first be drawn up—and Greece has not gone to the polls for more than ten years. Communications are still paralyzed. Tens of thousands of refugees must be returned home. Many districts lack adequate police and administration. The Voulgaris government,

which represents nothing save expediency, may go down in the struggle over the plebiscite's date.

The Greeks, it is said, would spend less time on politics if they had more work. Four-fifths of the country's pre-war industrial workers are jobless. Anticipated 1945 agricultural production is 40 per cent of normal. Confidence in the national currency is nil. The value of the gold sovereign, established by military fiat at 2,400 drachmas, reached 10,000 this week. These sovereigns could be bought for \$20 in Cairo and sold for \$60 in Athens. Factories lack raw materials and machines lack power. Farms need plows, chemicals, and draft animals; half the animals in the country were killed during the war. Industry and agriculture alike need transport; in all Greece less than a dozen locomotives of ancient vintage are operating over a few miles of surviving track; yesterday's newspaper said that the government had "asked the UNRRA for trucks and iron bridges." Unless the powers contribute several days of their war budgets as a free gift to Greece the UNRRA is its only hope. But the UNRRA agreed to furnish supplies and let the government distribute them. The mechanism for this was set up after long negotiation, and then Plastiras fell. Now the whole process must begin again.

Without a stable government Greek economy cannot revive. Unless the people can make a reasonably free choice between monarchy and republic, no Greek government can be stable. Without benevolent Allied joint intervention no plebiscite can be minimally safe or honest. A loud silence greeted the Stettinius statement that the Greeks had consulted the British ambassador during the Plastiras crisis but not the American. Our habit of offering criticism while avoiding responsibility is resented. As for the Russians, they named



YOU MUST HAVE SOMETHING THAT WILL FIT

a minister to Athens but sent him to Brussels. It does no good to point cynically to the situation in Bucharest or Sofia or the Polish morass. Greece is the test par excellence of future peace. Here Britain and the Soviet Union are squarely face to face, and America is there to link their hands. Athens is where Yalta should begin.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

CONCENTRATION camps were established in Germany in 1933, immediately after the Nazis came to power. In the twelve years that have passed since then the horrible conditions in these camps were always well known. Hundreds of books, reports, and signed and sworn-to documents gave a detailed picture of the tortures, the starvation, the murders in such camps as Buchenwald, Esterwegen, and Dachau. The authenticity of these accounts was finally recognized officially: in the winter of 1939-40 the British government published a White Paper in which were collected a number of the most terrible reports.

None of the atrocities which the progressive occupation of these camps has disclosed to a horrified world are therefore really news. It is true that the picture familiar to us for the past twelve years has been filled out with some new details. What one might call the normal standardized horrors were intensified in some camps during the weeks of military collapse. Methods that were once apparently restricted to concentration camps were extended to some camps for war prisoners. But essentially nothing has been uncovered that was not established beyond the shadow of a doubt a long time ago. The indignation and rage, twelve years overdue, which have now broken forth, only prove that people react much more violently to what they see with their own eyes than to what they read about, and are incomparably more outraged by atrocities against their own kind—that is, against American and British prisoners of war—than against foreigners, such as Jews, German political prisoners, and slave workers from the occupied countries.

This belated indignation revives the old unfruitful debate about whether the Nazis alone or all Germans should be blamed for such horrors. One of the last Swedish correspondents to leave Germany, a Mr. Jaegerlund of the Stockholm *Tidningen*, has attracted international attention with some articles vigorously defending the German people. After observing them for twelve years, he holds that they "are far more Christian than their government." He wrote, for example, that "the German people had nothing to do with the persecution of the Jews; everyone living in Germany after 1933 could testify to the reaction of Germans to the anti-Jewish drive." And not only did the average German, according to Mr. Jaegerlund, disapprove of the persecution of the Jews; he was kept in ignorance of what was actually done to them. "After the Jews disappeared from Germany, their extermination proceeded without the public's knowing anything about it. Most Germans never had the least idea what became of the Jews, except that they believed them to be concentrated in large eastern camps. I myself did not know what happened in those camps."

Mr. Jaegerlund's statements were received in Sweden as "an outburst of pro-Germanism" and vehemently contradicted. In America and England only a few cautious voices have been raised in defense of the Germans, but as the war draws to a close and the excitement ebbs, it is easy to foresee that that point of view will find expression. In Russia, if appearances are not deceptive, the former intransigent anti-German attitude, of which Ilya Ehrenburg was the official exponent, has recently been abandoned and a sensationally softer "line" has been adopted.

That not all Germans are Nazis is too obvious to be seriously disputed. Germans not only invented concentration camps but formed their most numerous inmates and victims. Before 1940 there were only Germans, and German Jews, in these butcher pens. That alone, in simple logic, refutes the assertion that all Germans are Nazis. Of course no one can figure out the percentage of non-Nazis among the Germans. There are no statistics on the subject and none can be gathered, for there is no clear-cut dividing line between Nazis and non-Nazis. But however large or however small the percentage of non-Nazis may be, some certainly exist.

The fact, however, has no practical application. The problems to be solved at the end of the war are, first, how to prevent another war, and, second, how to obtain reparations for the damage Germany has done in this one. Whether all Germans or only some Germans are Nazis has no bearing on the solution of these problems. The measures that must be taken to assure protection and compensation will of course hit the relatively guiltless, the non-Nazis, as well as the others, but it has always been true in this imperfect world that collective measures can scarcely ever be taken against a group without the innocent suffering. Indeed, the innocent are often hit by measures against other individuals. Society imprisons an arsonist or an embezzler although terrible suffering is thereby inflicted on his innocent wife and still more innocent children. Consideration for these innocent victims has never influenced lawmakers or courts to forgo action protecting society from arsonists and embezzlers.

Germany is an analogous case. It is quite clear that perfectly innocent non-Nazis are to be found there, in greater or smaller numbers. But it is also clear that in practice this fact cannot be taken into account. The realities of human existence, its incurable imperfections and contradictions, compel the innocent to suffer inescapably along with the guilty.

In some fields, of course, it will be possible to make a distinction between good and bad Germans. When, for example, the battalions are formed which are to furnish reparation in the form of labor, individual innocent non-Nazis should not be mobilized indiscriminately with individual guilty Nazis. All action against individuals can be differentiated. But it is a great error to think that the presence of non-Nazis in Germany should influence the general, collective, national peace regulations. This error arises from the tendency to drag the notion of "guilt and expiation" into a problem which should be regarded as a purely practical one. The understanding and the moral instincts of men cannot be trusted at a time like the present to assign the blame justly in Germany or to determine the proper punishment. Let us content ourselves, more modestly, with finding the right way to obtain protection and compensation.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

**A**NGRY PENGUINS, you will remember, is the Australian magazine which last fall published with great éclat the poems of "Ern Malley," only to discover that both poems and poet had been invented by two Sydney writers, McAuliffe and Stewart, bent on "debunking the modern literary movement." In *Angry Penguins* for December, just received, is another Ern Malley section, in which the editors defend the "substantial correctness of our judgment" and print a series of comments for and against. The section leads off with a cable from Herbert Read:

I TOO WOULD HAVE BEEN DECEIVED BY ERN MALLEY, BUT HOAXER HOISTED BY OWN PETARD HAS TOUCHED OFF UNCONSCIOUS SOURCES INSPIRATION. WORK TOO SOPHISTICATED BUT HAS ELEMENTS OF GENUINE POETRY.

A. R. Chisholm, dean of the Faculty of Arts and professor of French at Melbourne University, also maintains that the hoaxers hoaxed themselves and "lapsed into poetry more often than they intended"; a psychiatrist rules that the poems were "an unwitting projection of [the] separate secret wishes [of the two inventors], fashioned in the unconscious admiration of a modern surrealist poet," which should put the inventors in their places. Another commentator says the poems which McAuliffe and Stewart wrote for Ern Malley are better than anything of their "own." Several note the glee of the philistines of press and public in using Ern Malley as a stick with which to beat modern literature and art in general. It all adds up to a rather interesting discussion of the writing and judgment of poetry. It doesn't, however, vindicate the perspicacity of Max Harris, one of the editors of *Angry Penguins*, who went so far overboard for Ern Malley. One critic, Dorothy Green, suggests that the editors deserved and were bound to be taken in sooner or later because of their longstanding lack of critical responsibility, which enabled them "to despise those who did not see eye to eye with them" and "to reserve to themselves the last word on all matters of criticism of the arts, while neglecting often to make their criticisms even grammatical." It's quite possible that a little humility might have saved them, first, from mistaking the concoction of McAuliffe and Stewart for authentic poetry, and, second, from proclaiming so dogmatically that it was superior poetry. "The literary life," says Miss Green, "has been too easy for Mr. Harris." Another critic, Nettie Palmer, has this to say:

We are passing through a period when forms are being loosened or superseded. This places an exceptional responsibility on writers and critics. For unless standards are continually defined and maintained, the escape from the old Latin proverb, "Art is long," may be only toward the other, "The market for monsters is always open."

The Ern Malley affair turns out to have been instructive as well as entertaining. Certainly it does not, as the philistines

would have it, discredit modern poetry. It does show how critics like Mr. Harris, who is obviously short on real perception and long on the desire to be way out in front, may be hoist with their own avant-gardism.

**SUNDAY HAS ITS DEFENDERS** South and North. In Alabama both the *Montgomery Advertiser* and the *Gadsden Times* took me politely to task for my remarks about it, and the Gadsden paper went to the trouble of suggesting how I might spend the day happily. First I mustn't stay up too late the night before, though the editor admitted that "working girls like Miss Marshall will want to indulge themselves some on Saturday night." A leisurely breakfast, the Sunday paper, and a second cup of coffee; then the "rush for church" in my Sunday best. Then Sunday dinner, "which is quite an event in itself." After that a walk or a visit; and at twilight "one can get several friends or kinsmen together for scrambled eggs or waffles, or in case of maiden ladies, perhaps those pale salads they seem to like so much."

A correspondent in New Hampshire is much sterner about my confession to the Sunday neurosis. "It would be too much," he says, "to commend Emerson to you after your sad and contemptuous reference to Sunday. And yet it is interesting that anyone could say as he did in that memorable address: 'the jubilee of the whole world, whose light dawns welcome alike into the closet of the philosopher, into the garret of toil, and into prison cells, and everywhere suggests even to the vile the dignity of spiritual being.'" Emerson, I admit, is very persuasive, and I'm quite ready to believe that the trouble lies with me and not with Sunday. But a letter from a soldier which tells me that he hates Sunday too makes me feel at least less lonely.

**VERCORS HAS TURNED UP AGAIN**, this time in a letter from Kay Boyle which I find so interesting that I print the pertinent parts. And even those readers who may feel, at mention of his name, that this is where they came in, will find it worth staying for.

I believe that Lincoln Kirstein, among others, is quite justified in being shocked at our questioning of the ideological source of the book, and of Jean Bruller's integrity—I was of the same opinion as you, and expressed it in my review of Vercors's book in the *New York Times*.

Where I think Kirstein errs is in his defense of Jean Bruller as "a serious writer" on the evidence alone of "The Silence of the Sea." (Incidentally, it reads no better in French than in English, the translation being admirably done.) No serious writer, I am convinced, could have treated the subject of enemy occupation with such faltering conviction.

I met Jean Bruller in Paris two months ago. There is not the slightest doubt that he was a man of courage and of the Resistance, but his book remains for me an apologetic little book. I talked with several French writers who know him well, and they stressed the point which I think cannot be made too often in any discussion of "The Silence of the Sea"—that it was written in 1941 at a time when the Germans were being, for the French at least and because they

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- He exposes the machinations of selfish interests which have so far successfully resisted large-scale efforts to rebuild the slums from which they derive huge profits.  
—Albert Deutsch, *PM*
- Nathan Straus puts the quintessentials of his unusual experience in private and public housing into this timely and helpful book.—Cleveland *Rodgers, Saturday Review of Literature*
- Through the sheer strength and logic of his presentation he disproves the myths.  
—Edward E. Clark, *Chicago Sun*
- He has managed to turn innumerable fiscal and factual statements into a book that ranks well in interest among current non-fiction works.  
—Architectural *Forum*
- This is by all odds the best book on the philosophy of public housing now available.  
—American *Journal of Public Health*
- Clear, concise, challenging.  
—Harper's *Magazine*
- Should command the attention of every forward looking and thinking citizen.  
—Boris Shishkin, *American Federationist*
- Popularly written, excellently documented and illustrated and filled with facts. A *must* book for all interested in a decently housed America.  
—Harry W. Laidler, *Survey Graphic*
- The writing is simple, direct, and on the whole sweetly reasonable. Mr. Straus marshals facts in a way that should appeal to a businessman or civic leader seeking light.  
—Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
- A very valuable contribution to international thought on low-rent housing.  
—Sir Ernest Simon, member of the Economic Advisory Council of Great Britain
- It is a relief to find the fundamental A B C's stated so sharply and to see the current hysterical blitz on public housing answered with such exact documentation and lucid common sense.  
—Catherine Bauer
- I hope it will be widely read throughout the country.  
—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
- The most thorough and authoritative discussion of what is going to be one of our acute postwar problems.  
—Ted Robinson, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*

had been instructed to be so, the "correct" and even gallant gentlemen. "The Silence of the Sea" was not written *after* the deportation of French labor into Germany had begun, and *after* the Resistance had developed into an organized movement. It was written at least two years before.

Jean Bruller has *un petit talent*, as it was put by one French author whose name I obviously cannot disclose. And *un petit talent* I think explains Bruller's irresolute and unforgivably sentimentalized approach to a situation which demanded almost any other kind of treatment but that. My amended and perhaps even clarified verdict on the book now is that Jean Bruller wrote in a rather engaging way an ailing little story which, there is not the slightest doubt, did a great deal of harm *outside of France*. I spoke of the book to an active Resistance man in Paris and he seemed rather taken aback that, with so many vital issues afoot, I should have troubled to mention the book at all. "*Mais, ça ne compte pas,*" he said.

In Italy I met at a lunch party an Italian count who was obviously convalescing from a prolonged and violent case of Fascism. During our conversation at table he said to me that he had had the good fortune to procure a French book recently—a book that was a "poetic masterpiece" and at the same time the only reliable book about the Germans which he had seen produced during this war. He had met in Italy a hundred Germans like the hero of this book, he said, and he, as a cultivated man, had certainly more in common with them than he had with the pure home-product of America.

I think you will see what I mean.



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SEVERAL PEOPLE have informed me that chives are a cultivated product and that what I took for chives on the Capitol grounds were really wild onions. No doubt they are right. In a word, if it were June and if there were cows on the Capitol grounds, we might expect June butter, if there were any butter.

THE MOST AMUSING COMMENT on President Truman that I have seen so far was contained in an A. P. dispatch from Lamar, Missouri, which read as follows:

The second best-known native son of President Truman's home town is Arthur Aull, editor of the *Lamar Democrat*, who says what he pleases at all times, and is nationally famous for his unorthodox daily.

Aull was not exactly lavish in his comment on Truman's ascendancy to the Presidency. He said: "We are not unfortunate in having Truman for President. He wants to please. He is conversant with statecraft, and he is likely to do pretty well. He is a man of fair judgment and real patriotism. We expect to see him succeed reasonably well at his giant task."

## Education Can Be Interesting

TEACHER IN AMERICA. By Jacques Barzun. An Atlantic Monthly Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

IT IS rare to pick up a book the whole of which persistently contradicts the first statement in it. Mr. Barzun begins: "Education is indeed the dullest of subjects, and I intend to say as little about it as I can." He then proceeds to write the wittiest and most amusing as well as one of the soundest and most penetrating books upon that theme that I have ever read. The reason is, of course, that he is writing about the real process of education, the living contact of teacher and student. His book is, throughout, inspired shop talk about the *art* of teaching; there certainly is nothing in it of that battery of doctrines, formulas, and statistics, masked by a smoke screen of "pedagogue," by which the professional "educationist" tries to prevent the reader from coming to a clear view of the subject.

Writing out of the intimacy of his experience, Mr. Barzun never loses sight of the supremely obvious points that while there may be a philosophy of education, it will never be a science; and that teaching, in contrast to certain kinds of training and instruction, is a personal relation and education a personal affair. "Teaching is not a lost art, but the regard for it is a lost tradition." That art has greatly changed as our society has changed. What is teaching like now, what should it promise, and what can it perform?

The layman has the resentful illusion that while he works a solid eight or nine hours a day, the college teacher graciously meets two or three classes in the morning and spends his afternoons on the golf course and his evenings reading out-of-print books or playing bridge. In contrast to this Mr. Barzun vividly describes what teaching is really like. When one adds to the tension and strain of conducting classes the long hours on committees, in counseling students and superintending their advanced work, in study and research, the fact is that teaching is among the most arduous of professions and "steady teaching is a task that would fray the

nerves of an ox." Good teaching, he quotes a dean as saying, is really a matter of basal metabolism.

What does all this expenditure of energy accomplish? Here again certain illusions should be corrected. Some people believe that by making changes in the school system the world can be reformed. More people think that the teacher should at least instill certain attitudes and mold the characters of their students. These are sadly exaggerated claims. "No one in his senses would affirm that schooling is the hope of the world"; and the more modest demand, that the pedagogue shall make his pupils moral paragons, comes down to the fact that attitudes, so far as they are teachable at all, are communicated indirectly to the young by the example of everyone with whom they come in contact. It is not possible to teach tolerance or democracy as such. Only skills and subjects are teachable. Teaching is primarily intellectual; character is a by-product.

Mr. Barzun accordingly proceeds with a series of chapters on skills and subjects. Foremost come the three R's. They are the basic skills in which the student must be retrained on every educational level. He has sound advice to give on "How to Write and Be Read" and "How to Read and Be Right"; and mathematics, he thinks, might become more intelligible if its teachers took pains to show its applications and to translate it into the vernacular of common sense.

These are the basic skills which should be the ingredients of every education. On the side of content there has been, he thinks, a great deal of over-pretentious to-do about the organization of the curriculum. The clue is obvious. We start not from the college but from the world. A liberal education should be framed in such a way as to unify the most fundamental cultural interests of the society in which we live. If we ask what are the broad divisions of thought and action in that world, it becomes apparent that the curriculum should be organized around three basic foci of interest—the mathematical, physical, and biological sciences, history and the social sciences, and literature and the fine arts. Exposition of subjects should be in terms of these great divisions rather than in terms of a number of diverse departments and a multitude of separate courses. During the first two years every student should have the same basic education, one that would prepare him to specialize in any one of these three fields.

Columbia College, in which Mr. Barzun teaches, affords, he thinks, the clearest example of a curriculum organized in this way. It is increasingly evident as one college after another publishes its post-war plans that while there will and should be a great variety of individual differences among the colleges, this is becoming the predominant pattern that will gradually be imposed upon the disorder provoked by the elective "system."

One does not have to wish that this book will be read. It is too good and too delightfully written not to become well known. Perhaps even some college and university administrators and trustees will read it. If they do, it should greatly help us to get off to a new and better start in the post-war period by enforcing the lesson that education is not a matter of panaceas or gadgets but of bringing gifted teachers and able students together under the most favorable conditions.

GAIL KENNEDY

## What We Laugh At—And Why

This book by Dr. Isaac Goldberg is not only a study of the meaning of humor and the sense of humor but is the repository of hundreds of illustrations in the form of jokes, wisecracks, stories, and the like. The book contains the following chapters:

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5. ASPECTS OF WIT. Rhymes With—and Without—Reason. Repartee—"Staircase Wit." Charlie Chaplin's Comicality. Negroes and Their Humor.
6. PUNNOLOGY. Punish Perpetrations and Atrocities. Famous Puns. Malapropisms. Examples.
7. FORMS OF RACIAL AND NATIONAL HUMOR. Scotch Jokes—How Scotch Are They? The Negro Joke. Jewish Wit and Humor. Humor and Social Class. American Humor. Humor and Madness—And Gertrude Stein.
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## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Family Resemblance

JAPAN'S MODERN EMPIRE-BUILDERS, like those of Germany, are being currently reduced to their proper proportions, somewhere below the superman level. It is still useful, nevertheless, to have a good look at their mentality, as provided by Otto D. Tolischus in "Through Japanese Eyes" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2). By the liberal use of direct quotations the author has permitted leading representatives of Japan's ruling cliques to expose their motivations and ambitions. The "incredible" character attaching to this material bears a strong family resemblance to much that is in "Mein Kampf," and has proved to be no less mischievous for the world at large. In its exposé of the imperial mythology this little volume does its neatest job. It will take an expert apology to show how these tribal concepts can continue in a world that is to be organized for peace. The most timely quotation is from Shigenori Togo—once more the Foreign Minister—on December 8, 1941, in a reply to Roosevelt's message to Hirohito: "Establishment of peace in the Pacific, and consequently in the world, has been the cherished desire of His Majesty, for the realization of which he had hitherto made his government continue his earnest endeavors. His Majesty trusts that the President is fully aware of this fact."

T. A. BISSON

### Brief and Brilliant

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe in a brief review the very great merits of "A Miniature History of the War" by R. C. K. Ensor (Oxford, \$1.50). In about 18,000 words it provides a survey, which may be fairly described as brilliant, of the whole of the war, from its preparation down to the recapture of Paris. The lucid and vernacular, yet never "popular" style is adapted to carrying a great quantity of fact. The author's selection of material has been controlled by a single principle—the desire to show the progress of the war from the economic and military standpoints alone. There is little reference to the political aspects of events, and while the underlying political philosophy is clearly conservative, it is never allowed to color the author's analysis. There is no better way to indicate the guiding concept of the book than to give the titles of Chapters I, II, and IV: "How Germany Prepared Her Advantage," "How Germany Exploited Her Advantage," and "The Allies Free Their Hands." The integration of the economic account with the military narrative is beautifully accomplished. A brief epilogue satisfactorily refers to matters of minor importance omitted in the main body of the book. A chronological table of events is provided.

RALPH BATES

### Medicine and Commerce

A SPECK OF MOLD wandered into the laboratory of the English bacteriologist Alexander Fleming one day in the fall of 1928, and it took the war to make anyone interested in its tremendous significance. In 1939, through the work of H. W. Florey in England and a host of research men in the United States, the difficult extraction of penicillin assumed

practical proportions. J. D. Ratcliff in "Yellow Magic: the Story of Penicillin" (Random House, \$2) gives a swift, dramatic account of this "greatest medical discovery of the age." He uses the drama of medical witchcraft to hide what can only be called criminal negligence—for all this could have been done fifteen years earlier. Mr. Ratcliff applauds American industry for gambling on the commercial venture of saving human life, and ignores the implication that without the promise of tremendous returns as a result of the war emergency this would not have been attempted at all.

JOHN SENIOR

ONE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT of New England's founders has waited three centuries for his deserved recognition. Clifford K. Shipton now gives him his due in "Roger Conant—A Founder of Massachusetts" (Harvard, \$3). From scattered sources Mr. Shipton has reconstructed much of the life of Roger Conant and has skilfully portrayed him against the background of his times. This interesting volume is written with imagination and logic, as well as from a depth of accurate knowledge.

IN "THE BIBLE AND THE COMMON READER" (Macmillan, \$2.50) Professor Mary Ellen Chase provides an enthusiastic book-by-book exegesis which many will find useful. She quotes, she summarizes, she fills in a historical background, she brings the Bible into the realm of common-sense discussion. All of which is only to note that she fulfils the promise of her title.

## FICTION IN REVIEW

I AM not sure I know who the ghostly lover of the title of Elizabeth Hardwick's "The Ghostly Lover" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50) is. It might be the shadowy young Southerner—is Kentucky the state?—who appears early in the story to offer Miss Hardwick's heroine a questionable love which he later backs up with the money for a year's study at Columbia. Or perhaps it is the equally shadowy but rather more commonplace youth whom Marian meets in New York and whom she contemplates marrying in order to have a point of security in a peculiarly rootless life. More likely, though, it is Marian's mother, Lucy, one of a pair of the most elusive parents in fiction, for whom Marian lives and dreams in a curiously inverted child-mother relationship.

Of course the appropriateness of a novel's name is not necessarily of any moment in judging the novel, and if I begin my review of "The Ghostly Lover" with a statement of my confusion about its title, it is only as a token of my larger confusion in regard to Miss Hardwick's book as a whole. For by any of the usual tests "The Ghostly Lover" earns only a poor score. It lacks drama and even a coherent story direction; many of the characters are not given their narrative due; there is no unity of prose rhythm; a large part of the book is dull reading. Yet—and however paradoxical strong praise may seem after such a strong indictment—it has sporadic evidence of more real talent than a dozen current novels which can boast all the manifest skills which Miss Hardwick's book lacks.

I often think that the chief path being followed to the destruction of the modern novel is the path of sensibility. The ability to clothe fastidious insights in fastidious language is the modern literary stock in trade, and by Miss Hardwick's talent I most emphatically do not mean the sentences or paragraphs of fine writing of which "The Ghostly Lover" has its fashionable share. Indeed, I mean precisely the opposite—the quite fierce creativeness of which Miss Hardwick is capable when she leaves off being concerned with pursuing insight to its last pointed syllable. The general tone of "The Ghostly Lover" is a twilight tone of sensibility; yet it has a way of every now and then suddenly bursting into the full crude light of a rare imaginative intensity. Scattered through Miss Hardwick's book are perhaps twenty or thirty pages that would be remarkable from the maturest writer. There are the amazing moments, for instance, when Marian's grandmother, a delicate, invalid Southern gentlewoman, is all at once revealed as mesmerized in her dream of the possibility of violence between the sexes; and there is a scene between Marian's mother, Lucy, and a Negro rifling her refuse cans which has more bleak concentration of terror than almost any scene I have ever read out of the South; and there is the conception of Lucy's relation with her husband—Lucy's need to find the land beyond land where she can finally absorb all of her husband's masculinity into herself without the intrusion of any other human relationship. These are the moments in which Miss Hardwick passes beyond, say, Eudora Welty at her beginning best, to come close to the slashing courage of D. H. Lawrence.

It is worth noting that the inspiration for these grand occasions seem to be the South. When Miss Hardwick moves her heroine to New York, "The Ghostly Lover" is no longer either somnolent or flashingly brilliant. Instead, it is merely accurate, sensitive social reporting. Although, to me, Miss Hardwick's social observations are only conventionally interesting, in the opinion of her publishers her picture of a graduate women's dormitory at Columbia is the especially distinguished portion of her novel, and I am afraid there will be enough others to agree with this judgment to tempt Miss Hardwick to forfeit her larger powers in favor of what should be merely an adjunct of her creative imagination. D. H. Lawrence, too—let me adduce him again, since I have once already—had the reportorial gifts in sufficient abundance. He learned to subdue them to the intensity of his larger creative vision.

In the reviewing vocabulary "promising" is a favorite word to use of first novels. So far as I can recall, I have never used the word—and not only because I wished to avoid jargon, but because I have never felt the propriety of projecting a present merit into a hypothetical future performance. In the case of Miss Hardwick's novel, however, the disparity is so great between talent and a kind of romantic literary mediocrity—the high points are so really high, as well as so much higher than what surrounds them—that it is only in the light of a possible future fulfilment of Miss Hardwick's gifts that the book impresses itself upon me. Yet even here I hesitate; for in order to bring her talent to fulfilment Miss Hardwick has a tremendous task ahead of her. She has to learn to make her

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prose her servant, not her mistress; she must use her powers of observation in the service of her powers of imagination; she must find stories big and open enough to allow her imagination its full intensive play. And nothing in "The Ghostly Lover" tells me whether its author has either the understanding or the energy to choose this course. DIANA TRILLING

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# Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

**CAROUSEL** (Majestic Theater) is the second-best musical show of this or several seasons. If that seems an ungracious way to begin a review, it is also, I am afraid, very nearly inevitable, for in the theater at least success is harder to live down than failure. Already the public has probably forgotten the lesser efforts of the Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein, but it will be years before either can write anything for the stage without having this same public ask first of all, Is it as good as "Oklahoma!"? In time they may come almost to wish they had never produced that cheery and ingratiating piece. They may even begin, as authors in a similar situation have sometimes done, to disparage their own most popular work and to persuade themselves that they prefer some brain child whose merits seem insufficiently appreciated. But they will probably be wrong, and when worst comes to worst it may be wiser for all authors to say as Swift said on rereading "A Tale of a Tub": "What genius I had when I wrote *that* book!"

Partly no doubt in order to discourage comparison, "Carousel" carefully avoids being too much "like 'Oklahoma!'" The scene is again America, but the story follows quite closely that of "Liliom," from which it is taken.

Molnar, as nearly everybody will remember, begins with a story told in the mood of sentimental pathos and then, a little past the middle of the play, switches suddenly to what is commonly called fantasy but might in this particular instance be more accurately described as theatrical bravura. Both the composer and the librettist recapture for themselves the two moods the playwright had established, and they negotiate very successfully the abrupt switch; but neither of them, I think, really finds in either the pathetic or the bravura passages anything to provide him with one of his happiest inspirations, and I base this judgment on the fact that the three best lyrics and the three best melodies are all gratuitous additions quite independent of anything the playwright had suggested. Two of them, "June Is Bustin' Out All Over" and "This Was a Real Nice Clam Bake," are buoyant with the same hearty cheerfulness which made so many thousands happy to hear or to sing, "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning." The third, "There's Nothin' So Bad for a Woman," is more or less in the manner

of the comic songs in "Oklahoma!"

I believe that both Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Hammerstein grew up in New York City. So far as I know, neither of them has ever had more than casual contacts with "the great open spaces," and I see no reason for supposing that either should find in rustic rather than urban backgrounds their happiest inspirations. But I do suspect that both are at their very best when the occasion calls for something fresh and cheery and youthfully innocent. In the course of a casual meeting with Mr. Rodgers I once had the temerity to ask if he had ever thought of providing a musical setting for Elmer Rice's comedy "Two on an Island." He replied that he had, but he raised technical objections which I readily grant him competent to judge. I still think that he needs some story more buoyant than "Liliom" to provide the occasion for his best and most characteristic music.

Despite all this, my readers will, I hope, not forget what I said at the very beginning, namely, that "Carousel" is still second only to "Oklahoma!" among all the musicals current. By comparison, the very best of the others seem limping and childish, mechanical and tawdry. Mr. Rodgers's music is written, not contrived; the story, despite certain difficulties in the first of the two acts, is told, not merely dragged in from time to time; and Mr. Hammerstein's lyrics have freshness and wit. The most ambitious of Agnes de Mille's ballets is charmingly danced with Bambi Linn in the leading role, and a newcomer, John Raitt, has both the physique and the voice for Liliom. Another newcomer, Jan Clayton, plays Julie with great charm, though her pleasant voice is rather small; and Jean Darling is very engaging indeed as the girl friend who married "a good man."

As for the production as a whole, it is extremely lavish, possibly even a little too splendidous. And that leads me not only to end as I should not on a slightly querulous note but also to risk the scornful disagreement of nearly everyone connected with the theater by saying that the direction of Rouben Mamoulian seems to me something less than perfect. His besetting sin—and it cannot be blamed on Hollywood since it was exhibited before he ever had any traffic with the movies—is what I am tempted to describe as a tendency toward nimety or a too-muchness. He loves to crowd the stage. He will never use three girls or three urchins or three jugglers or three what-nots if five can be possibly be crowded in. Being a specialist in handling crowds, he seems al-

ways anxious to exhibit his virtuosity and to complicate the maze by adding a few more figures. And with it all, the groups begin to be too studied, too obviously effective to be really so. If my memory serves, it was Mr. Hammerstein himself who said shrewdly in an article about "Oklahoma!" that the first thing he and his collaborator decided was that they would not begin with a chorus of cow-girls. The opening scene of "Carousel" is a little suggestive of just that sort of thing.



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## Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

A REACTION against what was called the "formlessness" of impressionist painting cast a pall for a time over the reputations of Claude Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley. There now seems to be a reaction against that reaction. We have discovered more "form" than had been supposed in their pictures.

Cézanne detected a lack of three-dimensional structure in their painting, but this lack became really compromising only in the work Monet turned out in his last period, when he went off in a direction tangential to that of all art. His ambition to note, record, and make permanent the most transitory aspects of nature was an extra-aesthetic one that had more to do with science than with painting. It meant an unwillingness to consider the work of art as a complete event in itself. The picture became only one notation in a series, with the artist hurrying on to the next. In the poem that furnishes the epigraph to the catalogue of the spectacular Monet show now running at Wildenstein's (through May 12) Henri de Régnier says with much insight:

Et pour vous, o Monet, le plus beau  
passage

Sera toujours celui que vous peindrez  
demain.

Coincident with the notational fallacy was the equally serious if more aesthetically relevant one of chromaticism. As Debussy would often present the mere texture of sound as the form itself of music, so Monet in his last period offered the mere texture of color as adequate form in painting. Monet, logical nineteenth-century materialist, forgot that art is relations, not matter, and that it exists primarily by virtue of rela-

tions, while all that matter can do is repeat itself: thus clusters of lily pads, masses of foliage, gray mists, and watery reflections—the canvases on which Monet painted them look like segments cut from much larger pictures.

But the earlier Monet is something quite different. Brought up as a painter under Boudin's tutelage, but with Manet's the decisive influence, he was already producing first-rate painting in his middle twenties in a somewhat eclectic style that betrayed the influences of Corot and Courbet as well. The broad, heavy earth tones of the latter, the gray lighting of the former, and Monet's sharp value contrasts alternated or were combined. Pursuing naturalism and the effects of light, Monet worked into the photographic impressionism of atmospheric darks and lights and summary definitions that Manet was the first to devise; and then, along with Renoir and the other impressionists, he arrived at the divided tone and the colored shadows which became the hallmarks of high impressionism—that is, the fusion of colors optically by juxtaposition on the canvas instead of by mixture on the palette and the recognition of the fact that objects cast shadows in colors complementary to those of their lighted surfaces. Gone for good were the gray and brown half-tones that had been the glory of painting since the Venetians. The style of the divided tone reached its full blossom in the eighteen-eighties in Monet's landscapes (some of the best of these, though now in this country, were for some reason not included in the otherwise so comprehensive show at Wildenstein's). Their yellow luminosity, feathery definitions, delicate surfaces, and solid, simple design make a perfection the painter did not attain before or after that time.

It is the pictures Monet turned out between 1870 and 1890 that earn him greatness. The strongest item in the present show, the still life *Vase de Capucines*, was painted in 1880 at the exact middle of this period. He produced an occasional strong painting after 1890—a startling *Haystack*, for instance, at this show, which anticipates Vlaminck—but on the whole his design disintegrated progressively and his color thinned out and lost its juice. His pictures became exercises in his particular technique of notation—mere instances of his style but not works of art. There may still be something to savor in these things, but to do so one has to work oneself up to a very high and unendurable pitch of sensitivity.

Monet followed the impressionist logic in too straight a line and too tenaciously. Pissarro, on the other hand, swerved away for a time to pursue Seurat's pointillist technique, and after he abandoned that he felt refreshed and went on to paint some of the best pictures of his career—even though his color, too, had begun to lose itself in atmosphere and turn gray. (Incidentally, Monet and Pissarro, the two painters who more than any others relied on their sheer eyesight, both suffered from cataracts in old age.)

Monet was a *flat* painter, and the first concern of his *métier*—a concern that leads from him straight to Mondrian—was to maintain plastically the equilibrium that the surface of the canvas already possesses physically. Impressionism meant naturalism as understood in the terms proper to painting rather than to literature. The impressionist painter, once he found his "motif," took care to slice it out naively, without posing it and without differentiating his interest in its various parts. There could be no high-lighting or dramatic centering; the corners of the picture were to show with the same clarity and come as close to the eye as the middle, and the projected field of vision was not permitted to blur toward its horizontal and vertical limits (in this respect impressionism violated its own naturalistic tenets and introduced, before cubism itself, the multiple point of view). Thus the impressionists brought back into painting a flatness not seen since the Italian primitives. Monet's style after the seventies shows such consistency and continuity because he stays so willingly inside this flatness. Renoir and Cézanne struggle in each picture to transform it as much as possible before surrendering to it, whence the drama and complexity. Monet surrenders almost in advance. Thus his pictures stay in their places on the wall much more quietly, even as their creator stayed within his style.

But at the same time light moves inside them, dissolving objects and attacking identities. Monet saw the world as sadly reconciled to itself, with all its conflicts eliminated by the inevitable working out of atomic mergers. The uniform surfaces and texture of his paintings, built up—atmically—with small touches of pigment, and inhering in and creating the objects depicted, make everything finally one—in contrast to the strata of varnish under which the Renaissance painter usually protected his objects and their separateness, and in contrast, too, to the

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impasto'd surfaces of Courbet which emphasize the corporeal identity of things. But Courbet was an earlier and more optimistic materialist than Monet, who had begun to feel the pathos of such a point of view. Like another late materialist, Mallarmé, he knew that the flesh was sad in the end.

The Wildenstein show, said to be the largest or most representative Monet exhibition ever assembled, contains eighty oils and three drawings. It is being held for the benefit of the children of Giverny in France, the town on the Seine in which Monet spent the last half of his long life—dying there in 1926; and there is an admission charge of fifty cents.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

IF YOU have not read Virgil Thomson in the New York *Herald Tribune* you should acquire the collection of some of his daily reviews and Sunday articles in "The Musical Scene" (Knopf, \$3). He has been writing the only newspaper music criticism worth reading in recent years; and the book contains some of the most penetrating and brilliantly phrased comment on music and musicians that has been done in this country or any other.

If I say this I must add that it also contains writing which in its own way is as bad as any that has been done—bad both in quality and in effect. The difference between good and bad can be made clear by two examples. On the one hand Thomson will write that "Mitropoulos has taken over the Philharmonic-Symphony concerts like an occupying army," and refer to his "Panzer division tactics"; on the other hand, having described the members of the New York Philharmonic, the Boston Symphony, and the Philadelphia Orchestras correctly as "expert instrumentalists, internationally trained, prepared to meet any emergency of technique or of style according to accepted formulas," he will write: "These elements are as mutually replaceable and as anonymous as members of the Roman Catholic clergy. And the summum of their integrity, their consecration, and their efficacy is as beyond question." In the first example his figure of speech has a connection with the fact of the situation; it expresses vividly and forcefully a perception of something real—that in Mitropoulos's performances "all is dis-

cipline, machine finish, tension, and power," and "he makes every piece . . . sound nervous and violent." In the second the figure of speech has no such relation with fact; it represents not a perception but a playing around with fine-sounding ideas and words without regard for the realities of the situation, which in consequence are misstated. The Boston and Philadelphia Orchestras could not exchange their famous solo wind-players or even a considerable number of their rear-rank players without a loss of what, in the functioning of each orchestra, is the result of the long working together of its members. And while "the summum of their integrity, their consecration" has some relevance to the Philadelphia Orchestra, it is laughable in its irrelevance to the New York Philharmonic. The volume contains considerable writing which is bad in this way—which misstates or invents the facts it needs for its spinning out of ideas and phrases.

As for the bad effect of such writing, this column's favorite correspondent included in a letter from Belgium a couple of months ago a "Note on the critic as pedagogue," in which he observed: "The critic can perform many functions, but if he has the courage of his convictions, or any convictions at all (and he is not worth the paper he is printed on without them; *vide* the so-called music critics now functioning in N. Y. C.), he must have at least the interest in leading his fellows out of darkness and error that a good revivalist has." To this I would add that whether or not the critic performs a "pedagogical function by intention he does so in practice. That is, he cannot write about a piece of music or about its performance by a violinist or a conductor and orchestra without expressing ideas about music, about performance, about violin-playing, about conducting, to readers who are assumed to know less about these things than he and who are intended to benefit by his ability to hear and understand more than they can. And Thomson sometimes leads such readers into, rather than out of, darkness and error.

There are, then, in this volume constructions of thought—about the personalities of the great eastern orchestras, about what was wrong with the New York Philharmonic and how it could be made right, about how we really cannot understand the music of a hundred years ago though we think we do but really do understand the music of today though we think we can't, about Toscanini, Ormandy, Schnabel, Hofmann,

about the French style or the French anything—which deal with these things as they exist in a private world of Thomson's, and which are so remote from the realities of our world as to be worthless, and in some instances not to make coherent, understandable sense even in their own terms. But there are also occasions—when Thomson is dealing with Stravinsky's Concerto for two pianos alone, with works of Hindemith, Shostakovich, Roy Harris, David Diamond, Samuel Barber, with performances by Koussevitzky, Artur Schnabel, Horowitz, Szigeti, Heifetz, Jan Peerce, with youngsters like Kapell and Isaac Stern, with the methods and performances of the Metropolitan—occasions when his sharp ears and mind are applied to what is actually happening, when his writing in consequence is brilliantly illuminating by its insights and its phraseology, and the results are superb pieces of criticism which I would be glad to have been able to write myself.

When you consider the kind of writing about music with which newspapers are content to disgrace themselves and mislead their readers it is astounding and wonderful that one newspaper should feel impelled to publish writing like Thomson's.

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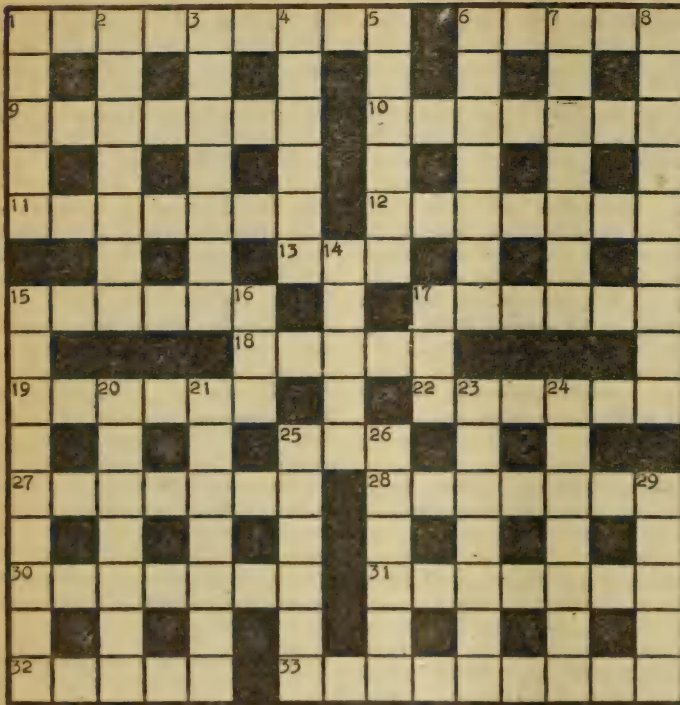
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## Crossword Puzzle No. 114

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 You can't get rid of the darned thing!
- 6 Demanded in every tavern in the town — in England
- 9 A French wit called them disguised vices
- 10 Disease of which all old men sicken
- 11 Comparatively poor
- 12 Simple Susie was horrified when she read that Mr. and Mrs. Blank had ----- clothing of every description (two words, 4 and 3)
- 13 A starting point
- 15 Good kit-bag material
- 17 Is anything given so profusely as this?
- 18 Eat one a day and keep everybody away
- 19 "On his bold visage middle age Had slightly pressed its ----- sage" (*Lady of the Lake*)
- 22 Code of Jewish civil and economic law
- 25 Expressive of repugnance
- 27 An Irish lass
- 28 Turn Florence Nightingale into "Flit on, cheering angel," and you have one
- 30 Might have made Poe sore
- 31 Town of New Jersey
- 32 The three-card trick is not strictly according to him
- 33 Bewhiskered lord in *Our American Cousin* — a role created by the actor Sothern

## DOWN

- 1 Fagot of brushwood
- 2 Myself (as a king or queen might express it)

- 3 Deceptive
- 4 "Those who know most ----- the least"
- 5 Often directed to leg, at cricket
- 6 Despair (anag.)
- 7 I rob Ian in an East African place
- 8 Not U. S. steel
- 14 Giving a monarch a letter is undeniably stretching it a little
- 15 Clout
- 16 His wife turned to salt — or was it to rubber?
- 17 "Go to the ---, thou sluggard"
- 20 "A greenery-yallery, Grosvenor -----, foot-in-the-grave young man" (*Patience*)
- 21 A sty, maybe
- 23 He plays for the fun of the thing
- 24 A light operatic Countess (that is, the opera is light)
- 25 Straighten up and relax
- 26 Hurry
- 29 Rabelais called the lack of it a disease

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 113

ACROSS:—1 THROW; 4 BIPED; 7 MEMO; 9 AUGUST; 10 LIARS; 12 RUHR; 13 RUTH; 15 REVIVER; 17 YONDER; 18 DIEPPE; 19 SHE; 21 COLLOPS; 23 MATTERS; 24 ECU; 26 BALKED; 28 GUNSHY; 31 SOMALIS; 32 AGED; 35 NULL; 36 EDICT; 37 BLOWED; 38 DOWS; 39 MOUSE; 40 XERES.

DOWN:—1 TOUR; 2 REUTER; 3 WETPISH; 4 BALLED; 5 PEAR; 6 DUST; 7 MERCY; 8 MAHAN; 11 RUMPLE; 14 HEBELS; 15 REMOVES; 16 RIOTOUS; 19 SSE; 20 EMU; 21 COBRA; 22 LILLED; 25 COALROX; 27 DOTTLE; 28 GIAOUR; 29 SCUDO; 30 YELLS; 33 GERM; 34 DIEU; 35 NEBS.

## CONTRIBUTORS

SUMNER WELLES, former Under Secretary of State, is chief commentator on the San Francisco conference for the Columbia Broadcasting System. He is the author of "The Time for Decision."

ALAN BARTH is an editorial writer for the *Washington Post*. He has contributed to *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and other magazines.

EDWARD A. HARRIS is a Washington correspondent for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

HAL LEHRMAN is *The Nation's* accredited correspondent in the Mediterranean area.

GAIL KENNEDY is a member of the department of Philosophy and Religion at Amherst College.

T. A. BISSON, a member of the staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is the author of "Japan in China."

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## *This Is The Day*

THIS is the day for which free men of all nations in the world have longed and prayed and given up their lives. Fascism as a system of power and terror is dead. The black night is over. It is strange, then, that after the first lift to the spirit which the news of victory in Europe brings, the mind sinks back into the foreboding that has become its habit for more than a decade. Partly it is the realization that the other war in the Pacific must now be brought to its peak of effort. But perhaps it is also that we are unprepared for victory. To us in America, with our cities unbombed, our shores untouched, the lights cannot appear so bright as to the citizens of London, of Moscow, of Paris. Perhaps we have supped too full of horrors: the concentration camps, the pulverized cities, the millions of torn bodies, have used up our imaginative emotions so that the words of victory have lost their meaning. Perhaps, with Max Lerner, who wrote the most perceptive piece we have seen on Hitler's death, we realize that if Hitler was himself evil "he could not have succeeded had there not been evil potential in men"; if Hitler had a hysterical will he would have failed "had not the collective will of the world been ready for fragmentation." If we have overwhelmed Nazism we have yet to eradicate the evil in our civilization from which it issued as a plague. It may be that in this hour of victory our minds are divided between General Eisenhower's headquarters in Europe and the Opera House in San Francisco. The shock to the average decent American of the admission of Argentina to the United Nations went very deep. The anxiety over the Polish issue was more than a fear that we might break with a great nation whose armies have shared the glory of victory with our armies. Failure at San Francisco would make meaningless much of the victory in Europe. For in these days we think back to beginnings—to Ethiopia, to Spain, to the first victims of concentration camp torture who were Germans and Austrians, to Czechoslovakia betrayed, to the shameful days of appeasement, to the relief of war after the months of frayed nerves. We think back to the small heroes of the war, whose names never reached dispatches, who piloted the little boats across the Channel on the day of Dunkirk, who fought fire and carried on rescue work during the worst days of the London blitz, who organized and kept alive underground resistance in Norway, in the Low Countries, in France, in Yugoslavia, who manned the merchant vessels on the Murmansk run, who fell on the beach at Dieppe a year and a half before the final D-Day. This hour belongs to them: many of them are not here to celebrate it. This is the victory they worked and fought and died for. Rather it is the beginning of the victory.

THE BREAKING UP OF THE MODEL MONOLITHIC state on such a titanic scale was bound to be awe-inspiring. What could not be foreseen was that the smash would come so quickly when it did come. The great complex of German armies, armaments, supply systems, lines of communication, defense zones, and integrated administration appeared too formidable to be broken with such suddenness. But the pressure of Allied arms, skilfully directed against a Germany badly overstrained from the ceaselessly damaging attacks of Allied bombers, proved irresistible. So the terrible Hitlerian nightmare ends in the darkness from which it sprang. Death and destruction have been visited upon Germany in the highest degree, and everywhere the tired, beaten soldiers are filing into prisoner inclosures. Yet so completely was the German state organized for war that even this great breaking up does not occur in one day or two: "Total victory" has already taken more than a week as this is written. The facts of this defeat and the vistas opened for Europe's future are too overwhelming to allow of any prolonged celebration. There can only be deep satisfaction that the bloody business is finished and high praise for the men who did the job.

✱

PIERRE LAVAL, WHO LANDED CONFIDENTLY IN Franco's Spain the other day, was surprised and hurt to discover that Spain had promised to turn over war criminals to the United Nations. Indeed, he said that if he had known it he wouldn't have come. We sympathize with him in a way. How was he to suspect, in Germany, that Spain had gone over to the Allied side? Even in this country there are those who haven't been convinced.

✱

THAT LEON BLUM AND LARGO CABALLERO ARE free and in Paris is wonderful news. The absence of their names from the earlier list of leaders, including Herriot, Reynaud, and Daladier, rescued by the Allied armies, had filled us with deep apprehension. Among the prominent hostages Hitler had brought into Germany these two men were the most exposed to last-hour vengeance at the hands of the Gestapo. As a Jew and a Socialist Blum was bitterly hated by the Nazis, while the former Spanish Premier, a labor leader and also a Socialist, surely reminded them of Spain's magnificent resistance to their first offensive against the democratic West. During the German occupation of France both had shown extraordinary courage—Blum by reversing the roles of accused and accuser at the Riom trial, where he launched a brilliant attack upon the traitors of Vichy; Caballero by refusing to make use of the visa which the American government on the plea of hundreds of liberals had granted him. From a purely human point of view the safe return of these two leaders is profoundly moving. One is seventy-three, the other seventy-eight, and according to reports the elder, Caballero, is in remarkably good health. The return of Blum, like that of Herriot, is bound to have an effect on political developments in France. The post of leader of the Socialist Party has been held open for him, and, from the first number printed after liberation, *Le Populaire* has carried the name of Léon Blum on its masthead as director in exile. As for Caballero, it seems certain that he will become an important factor in the efforts to bring

together the Spanish Republican groups. Though he was in frank opposition to Negrín much has happened since then which may have influenced a man known for his stubborn character but also for his unquestionable integrity.

✱

THE ALREADY FAMOUS CARTOON BY LOW which is carried in this week's *Nation* points up the significance of the announcement that a German anti-Nazi prisoner from the notorious Buchenwald camp has been selected to be the Mayor of Weimar. Perhaps the most diabolical aim of the Nazis was to eliminate entirely the group from which a new free Germany might some day arise. Only last July they made their final attempt to round up all those who held minor positions in the former Social Democratic, Communist, and Catholic parties. The bodies of many of these are to be found in the pitiful heaps in the courtyards of the charnel houses. But some survived. How difficult will be the task of recreating a decent society out of the physical, economic, and moral waste that is Germany is beyond the power of the human mind to grasp. The summary justice meted out to the most flagrant Nazi criminals will be the merest beginning. Afterward there is the long road not back but forward to something more robust than the well-meaning but spineless Weimar Republic. It is good to know that our military-government authorities recognize the best guides for that road. But they will need our support if Nazism is to be utterly abandoned and the goal of a new European democracy is to be reached.

✱

ONLY A FORTNIGHT AFTER VIENNA'S LIBERATION by the Red Army the Russians announced the formation of a provisional Austrian government headed by Dr. Karl Renner, a former right-wing Social Democrat. Renner, a septuagenarian now, was Chancellor in 1918-20 when a coalition of Social Democrats and Christian Socialists organized the Austrian Republic. Both London and Washington showed "surprise" over the new government; it is said that the Russians violated a pledge to let a tripartite inter-Allied commission administer Austria. The new government is again a coalition, but now of Social Democrats, Communists, Christian Socialists, and some non-partisan experts. Renner himself is a well-proved democratic statesman who was always in favor of constructive cooperation with the Christian Socialists. The two outstanding Christian Socialists of the new regime, Leopold Kunschak and Rudolf Buchinger, also over seventy, have been leaders of the Christian Socialist Workmen's Association and of the farmers' cooperative movement, respectively. Corresponding with Russia's position of power in Austria, the Communists hold the Ministry of the Interior (with police and gendarmerie) and probably also the Ministry of National Defense. The key position of Minister for Public Instruction and Religion is also held by a Communist, Ernst Fischer, who has been the Austrian voice on the Moscow radio during the war years. He will obviously become the propaganda minister of the new regime. The Americans, British, and French will probably restore the traditional regional governments in the Austrian federal lands outside Vienna and thereby oppose a federalist system to the centralism to which the Russian-sponsored Renner government

in Vienna might be inclined. Always midway between East and West, Austria may well become the test case of cooperation between Russia and the Western allies.

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THE KEY TO THE DEADLOCK IN THE HOUSE on Mrs. Norton's bipartisan bill for establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee is to be found at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. A few days before last fall's Presidential election Mr. Truman said to a Liberal Party rally in New York: "President Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent job discrimination. The President now proposes permanent legislation to maintain the open door in industry. I have always voted in favor of appropriations for the FEPC." This was not only an unequivocal assertion of support for the proposal but also a significantly accurate description of its purposes. It is as good an answer as could be devised to those who seek to sabotage the Norton bill by likening it to Prohibition and calling it moralistic legislation designed to outlaw racial prejudice and promote social equality. The bill is of course nothing of the sort. It aims simply to outlaw the *effects* of prejudice in the practical realm of economic opportunity. As such, it is, for Negroes in particular, a touchstone to test the real meaning of American democracy. Negroes will judge President Truman by what he does on this issue. A word from him would quickly bring the additional signatures necessary to complete Mrs. Norton's petition for release of her bill from the reactionary Rules Committee. We hope that he will speak this word soon.

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IT WAS AN OPEN AND SHUT CASE. THE THREE defendants, two of whom were A. W. O. L. privates, had been on a two-day drinking party and one of them had had a bright idea. "There's some Japs here I don't like," he said. "They've got a packing shed. Let's burn it down." At the trial in Auburn, California, the defendants admitted setting fire to Summio Doi's shed; they did not conceal the fact that after Doi and his parents beat out the flames they returned the next night in an attempt to dynamite the shed. Facts and witnesses were offered by the prosecution but not by the defense, which proudly denied no charges. It didn't have to. After all, this is the U. S. A. and the defendants were loyal white Americans—nothing yellow about them. They stood their ground and relied on Defense Attorney Floyd Bowers's summation, which relied on the Bataan Death March, other Japanese atrocities, and the fact that "this is a white man's country" to do the trick. It did. The jury took two hours to return a verdict of not-guilty. Not long—but after all it was an open and shut case.

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THE FREE MAN IN AMERICA WAS FOUND IN Mexico City's garbage heaps at about the same time that Argentina was invited to the San Francisco Conference. But don't be alarmed. "The Free Man in America" is a book written by Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla, the very same who moved to extend the invitation to Argentina. Delegates to the recent Mexico City Conference that paved the way for Argentina's come-back were presented with autographed copies. Most of the delegates stayed at the Hotel

Reforma, and most of the several hundred scrapped copies were found in that hotel's garbage heap. No reflection on the book or subject, we are sure, but simply a demonstration of the fact that diplomats must travel light these days; "The Free Man in America" was obviously excess baggage.

## Conference Notes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

*San Francisco, May 7*

VICTORY in Europe has brought overwhelming relief rather than excitement to San Francisco. The end, coming as it had to come, in separate surrenders of scattered armies spread over days rather than in a general surrender by a single high command, emphasized the total collapse of the great centralized tyranny that was Hitler's Reich. Now at last, after twelve years, the prison doors are blown open and the world's most efficient terror is over. Now the job of recovery begins. It involves punishment of the Nazi hierarchy, rehabilitation of the people, reconstruction of a ruined continent. But more than these it means creating a society proof against the rise of new fascist tyrannies and new wars. Part of this job is being attempted here in San Francisco. But the difficulty of agreeing upon even the basic principles of international order shows how much remains to be done before the world, even the western world, conquers the enemy still in the field—political reaction and the economic power it defends. Victory over these forces, tougher and more aggressive than Hitler's Wehrmacht, is still ahead.

The Argentine decision let loose a whole swarm of nasty consequences, some of which are mentioned by L. F. Stone in his story this week. One of the most unfortunate is the widespread impression that the American countries, minus Canada, now form a solid voting bloc which will outnumber any other probable grouping in the Assembly of the world security organization. I talked to many newspapermen and a handful of delegates, and every one of them raised this issue of balance of power. One very conservative correspondent said seriously that the vote on Argentina had ended the chance of creating a system through which the smaller states could influence policy, while it had cracked open the nuclear alliance between Russia and the West. A delegate of a "middle" power said that Russia would be justified in demanding sixteen votes instead of three "and even then it couldn't match the American bloc." A Canadian remarked cynically: "Where is that famous British bloc the Russians were so worried about? It never existed, but now perhaps we'll have to invent it." A French Communist correspondent said almost the same thing. He added: "It startled us Europeans. We'd never thought of the Americans as a unit—especially a reactionary one."

This interpretation is an exaggerated one, as *Nation* readers will realize. Even the unanimous vote on Argentina concealed an intricate background of maneuvering—Latin American suspicion of State Department intentions, resentment of unilateral decisions, fear of Argentina itself, a whole complex which cannot be understood without a detailed study of the record. Few non-American delegates know this

record. Worst of all, the Russians don't know it. But the truth is that the Latin American nations have never been and are not now united, among themselves or with us. The influence of the State Department is compounded of one part good-will to about four parts lend-lease. While we may use our immense power to hold those countries more or less in line and continue to cooperate with the Catholic church to prevent revolutionary change, the chances are that both money and propaganda will largely dry up after the war. In that case the Latin American republics will fast revert to normal, which means that they will be anxious to assert their individual claims as sovereign states and to appeal to the new world organization over the head of their domineering big neighbor. Their action in the case of Argentina cannot be taken as a fair sample of hemispheric solidarity.

A ghost appeared at the Argentine feast the other day—not the ghost of Banquo but of Franco. It could not be exorcised, though the presiding hosts did their best. Even in the meeting of the Steering Committee, where the Argentine deal was shoved through, one of the delegates (I wish I could give his name, for he deserves credit, but I must protect both him and the person who told me) asked directly whether the admission of Argentina would not establish a precedent which might make it possible for Franco to come into the security organization later on. Anthony Eden raised his hands in a gesture of horror and repudiation and said, "Oh, oh!" But afterward he admitted that an awkward situation might develop if Franco or one or two other neutrals—he was thinking of Eire—tried to get in on the same grounds. The question of Franco was also raised in the Executive Committee. All this is gratifying since the chief obstacle the friends of the Spanish Republic had met before the Argentine incident occurred was the bland assertion, especially in high British and American quarters, that the whole question of Spain was irrelevant and could not possibly become an issue at San Francisco. It is an issue now, as everyone knows who has been listening to the radio this past week. It will become even more acute within a few days.

Everybody is surprised at the rather ineffectual role played here by the French. It is not hard to explain. First, France was not included in the inner group of powers; it was the Big Four, not the Big Five. Second, Bidault is not on the best terms with De Gaulle, and so perhaps hesitates to take positions on controversial questions. Third, his delegation is not a strong or a young one. Too many pre-war names appear on the list. Fourth, France is shattered, disorganized, hungry, stripped of its wealth and man-power, and terribly dependent on the United States for material help. As the result of all these things France has not assumed in San Francisco its proper position as leader of the new democratic Europe, the Europe that resisted Hitler through four years of occupation and terror. It follows Britain and the United States, works to get itself recognized as a great power, but does little that would stamp it as great. I hope and believe the vote in the recent elections will serve as a reminder to the delegation that it is not enough to stand up stoutly for the acceptance of French as one of the two official languages of the conference and then fail to vote against admitting

Argentina in spite of an obvious wish to do so. France will be great in the years to come only if it represents the whole meaning of the resistance movement. There are many French men and women here who know that, delegates, labor men, and writers. They analyze the policy of the delegation with sharp realism, but they do not direct policy.

## Feeding Our Friends

**R**ELIEF for liberated Europe is a problem in publicity as well as in the allocation of scarce supplies. Judge Rosenman took note of this fact in the final recommendation of his report last week to President Truman. "Since allocation of civilian supplies to liberated countries, in all probability, will cut into the ration of the American consumer," he said, "a widespread official and public campaign should be undertaken to inform the American people of the gravity of the needs of our allies in liberated Europe."

A campaign of this sort has been made imperative by the irresponsible scare talk about over-all food shortage, even famine, in America which has emanated from some of the food trades, from the old-line farm agencies, and from meat packers and big livestock men. The Farm Bureau and the Grange have resisted full production out of a fear of post-war surpluses; the slaughterers and cattle growers are seeking additional profit incentive to produce. Their spokesmen on Capitol Hill, especially in the Senate's food-investigating committee, preach the new isolationism by projecting vague fears of disaster for the nation if we play a responsible part in meeting the world's need.

Sending food to Europe entails no danger of hunger for America, not even any impairment of our nutritional standards. It does entail continued rationing—even more stringent rationing in some items—and a renunciation of some of the delicacies to which we are accustomed but which we do not actually need. The magnitude of the sacrifices we shall be called upon to endure was suggested just lately in the announcement of a 25 per cent cut in the value of sugar-ration stamps. For a people notoriously sweet-toothed, whose average consumption of sugar increased from 87.3 pounds in 1921 to 103.6 pounds in 1941, this is undoubtedly an inconvenience. But surely we can endure it, and with good grace, when we understand that it will enable other human beings to live. The picture must be presented to the American people in perspective. No one can make the presentation so effectively as President Truman himself.

"The most immediate and urgent needs common to all northwest European countries," says the Rosenman report, "are certain types of food, coal, coal-mining equipment, and the means of internal transportation." These are indispensable to restoration of any measure of self-sustenance. The furnishing of these touches our self-interest quite as intimately as it touches our generosity. Judge Rosenman put it very simply:

The needs of northwest Europe's liberated areas are grave, not only from a humanitarian aspect, but because they involve internal and international political considerations. The future permanent peace of Europe depends largely upon restoration of the economy of these countries,

including a reasonable standard of living and employment. United States economy, too, will be deeply affected unless northwest Europe again resumes its place in the international exchange of goods and services. Furthermore, a chaotic and hungry Europe is not fertile ground in which stable, democratic, and friendly governments can be reared.

But the moral aspect of the matter is also worth remembering. The people of northwest Europe are not merely unfortunate victims of the war; they have earned our help. In the Netherlands, for example, D-Day was the signal for a transport strike that seriously hampered German troop movements, but at the same time exposed Dutch cities to famine. Americans who understand what the people of the occupied countries have contributed to the Allied cause are unlikely to begrudge them a portion of our bounty.

## Looking to the Pacific

WITH the collapse of Nazi resistance in Europe our attention will increasingly be focused on the vast unfinished task in Asia. Although we face great handicaps imposed by vast distances, wretched climate, and a fanatical foe, the campaign in the Pacific from a military point of view is undoubtedly going well. The whole of the Philippines have been liberated, presumably months ahead of schedule. The capture of Rangoon not only assures the swift liberation of Burma with its treasure of rice, oil, and lead but presages the early opening of direct rail and road communications with China. Seizure of Iwo Jima and the larger part of Okinawa gives us important bases well within Japan's inner defenses. The Tarakan landing assures us that one of the world's principal oil fields will be denied Japan and ultimately utilized to supply our forces. Only in China is the military situation generally unfavorable for the United Nations, and even here there are indications of increasing Chinese resistance.

Although the Pacific campaign will continue to be pushed at the accelerated pace that has been evident in the past few months, we cannot expect the end of hostilities in Europe to speed it up immediately. General Eisenhower has vetoed any immediate cut in replacements for the European theater, and while hundreds of thousands of men will ultimately be shifted from Europe to Asia, from four to six months will elapse before substantial forces can be moved, regrouped, and in some instances retrained for the Pacific war. The transfer of planes, tanks, and other equipment may take even longer.

The next phase of the attack will not, however, await the transfer of forces from Europe. As a result of our recent achievements we have effectively cut Japan off from its empire in the south. The reduction of its war industries by air is well under way. Until recently it had been generally assumed that the next stroke would be a landing somewhere on the China coast. This is still possible. But in recent weeks there has been increasing speculation that our next attack may be against Japan itself. There are several reasons for this. The inability of the Chinese to reach an agreement providing for unified military operations of the Kuomintang and Communist forces imperils such a landing and makes it difficult

to work out a strategy utilizing the advantages of continental bases. Moreover, the elimination of the Japanese fleet as an effective force and the decimation of the Japanese air force make an attack on Japan far more feasible than could have been anticipated a year ago. An important element in the picture, of course, is the date of Russia's entry into the Pacific war. Early Soviet participation would make an extensive American campaign in China wholly unnecessary. It is doubtful, however, that the Soviets are prepared to undertake the responsibilities of a major campaign in Asia soon after the completion of their tremendous effort in Europe. The granting of air bases to the United States seems more probable.

Popular attention will undoubtedly be focused chiefly on military developments in the Pacific. But in Asia, fully as much as in Europe, what seems at first sight to be primarily a military problem has many political ramifications. We have already noted this in connection with China. The creation of an effective national government in China, representing all the leading political groups, is vital not only for speeding up the war but for the assurance of post-war security in the Pacific. That this is the view of Russia and Britain as well as the United States was confirmed recently in an official statement made by Ambassador Hurley after visiting Washington, London, and Moscow.

Another political problem with obvious bearing on basic military strategy is the ultimate disposition of the islands and colonial areas reconquered from the Japanese. Is each of the United Nations to retain its conquests from Japan, or shall we have joint action in most areas, followed by a sharing of bases in the post-war period? This issue is likely to be settled by the decisions taken at San Francisco in the near future. Of pressing importance also is our understanding of the enemy. Many of the men who know Japan best believe that the big-business groups, the *Zaibatsu*, will make a determined effort to save Japan from the destruction wrought in Germany by eliminating, or seeming to eliminate, the present dominant power of the militarists. In seeming preparation for such a move the last two Japanese Cabinets have contained increasing representation from the *Zaibatsu* groups. It is quite possible that they are prepared to offer peace terms which will seem attractive to the elements in this country who still believe that we can do business with Japan. It must be recognized, however, that the *Zaibatsu* not only have cooperated closely with the militarists in their expansion program but have been the principal barrier to the economic reforms that are necessary to the growth of a genuine democratic movement in Japan. A peace which leaves the *Zaibatsu* in power would merely restore the unhealthy conditions existing in Asia before 1931.

Before we can deal wisely with the basic political problems of the East, we shall probably have to undergo a profound readjustment in our habits of thought. Throughout our history, in peace as well as in war, America has been European-minded. It has taken a war to show how little we know of the basic facts of Far Eastern geography. We are even less aware of the fundamental political and economic forces at work in the Pacific area. If we are to meet the challenge successfully we shall have to transfer our minds and our interests as well as our armed forces from the Western to the Far Eastern front.

# Anti-Russian Undertow

BY I. F. STONE

*San Francisco, May 6*

IT IS time the American people became aware of what is really going on in San Francisco. On the public plane a charter is being written for a stable peace. But in private too many members of the American delegation conceive this as a conference for the organization of an anti-Soviet bloc under our leadership. And it is no exaggeration to say that not a few of them are reckless enough to think and talk in terms of a third world war—this time against the Soviet Union. That this is the basic pattern of the United Nations Conference is the conviction not of myself alone but of many astute American and foreign correspondents here and of progressive members of the American delegation and its entourage. If this is kept in mind, it will be easier to understand the Argentine and Polish issues, and to be forewarned and forearmed against a rightist turn in American Far Eastern policy and a softer attitude toward the future of the Reich. If this dual aspect of the San Francisco conference is brought forcibly to public attention, it may yet be possible to stem dangerous undercurrents which have the gravest potentialities for the future.

I do not know the full facts about the arrest of sixteen Polish leaders in Poland, but I know enough to advise American progressives to keep their shirts on. Explanations are due in San Francisco as well as from Moscow. The way in which the news of the Polish arrests was given out to the press by Stettinius, and the timing, lead one to suspect that some people may have deliberately sought to torpedo a Polish settlement just as one was in prospect. Friday morning's papers brought the news that Mikolajczyk had been invited back to Moscow. There was renewed hope of a reorganized government in Warsaw satisfactory to the Western powers as well as to the U. S. S. R. Such a reorganization means the political death of the London government, for the only Poles in exile acceptable to the Russians are those who, like Mikolajczyk, have resigned from the London government to accept the Yalta decision on Poland. On Friday the pro-London and anti-Soviet Polish-American Congress asked Mr. Stettinius to press the Russian delegation for information on the fate of the sixteen Polish leaders, about whom there have been questions in the House of Commons.

Friday evening Mr. Molotov told Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Eden that the sixteen had been arrested on charges of diversionary activity against the Red Army. The information was given in confidence but leaked out to Frederick Kuh of the Chicago *Sun* and *P.M.*, who filed the story that night. I have no doubt that it was permitted to leak out deliberately, and the leak was made the excuse for a press conference Saturday morning at which Mr. Stettinius gave out a statement on the arrests while Mr. Molotov was away on a tour of the Kaiser shipyards with Ambassador Harriman. Mr. Molotov did not know that the story was to be given out and did not know it had been given out until several hours later,

when he returned from the shipyard tour. That afternoon the Moscow radio reported that the sixteen had been arrested for installation and maintenance of illegal radio transmitters in the rear of Soviet troops and for acts which had cost the lives of more than a hundred Red Army officers and men. These specific charges were given to Kuh and used by Kuh the night before and were known to Stettinius. One wonders why, in fairness to the Russians, they were not included in the Stettinius press release, which created the impression that the arrests were wholly arbitrary and the charges significantly vague. One wonders about another point in the Stettinius release. It referred to those arrested as "prominent Polish democratic leaders." Abe Penzik, press representative of the Lublin government, said at the press conference that two of the sixteen—he gave their names—were anti-Semites and fascists and asked Mr. Stettinius how he could describe them as "democratic." Mr. Stettinius complained that the Russians were not supplying enough information. Mr. Penzik then asked why, in the absence of sufficient information, Mr. Stettinius described these arrested men as democrats. To this there was no satisfactory reply.

Sources in the American delegation which constantly let anti-Soviet reports leak to the press spread word that the Russians had said more would be known when the guilty were tried. The implication was of condemnation before trial. The Moscow radio said, "All of these persons or some of them, as investigations may warrant, will be committed for trial." The difference is obvious. There is another significant point in the Stettinius press release. Earlier reports from the London Poles said that the sixteen had been invited to negotiate with the Russians and that Marshal Zhukov had sent a plane for them. That implies a safe conduct. But Mr. Stettinius did not say the sixteen men had been invited to negotiate. He said only that these prominent Polish democratic leaders in Poland had met for discussion with Soviet authorities. I advise suspension of judgment until we learn more about the circumstances. In the light of what is known of the London government's attitude and of the operations of Sosnowski's forces in Poland, it would be very unwise to assume, as so many newspapers do, that the arrests must have been arbitrary, unjust, and another example of Soviet high-handedness. This is exactly the position into which the anti-Soviet press is trying to stampede public opinion.

From the standpoint of the London Poles, the sensational character of the disclosures served to block a settlement of the Polish problem. From the standpoint of Mr. Stettinius and his colleagues, it served to destroy the good effect created by Mr. Molotov's strong opposition last Monday to admission of Argentina. That had put our delegation in the wrong and given the Russians moral leadership at the conference. I said in last week's letter that we have here pretty much the same old codgers who were such a flop at Geneva. The Argentina issue was a characteristic Geneva issue with a

characteristic Geneva solution. It confronted the conference with a choice between a sterile legalistic formula and actualities. The former was preferred, and great-power unity breached. Mr. Stettinius refused, even after Mr. 'Spaak's statesman-like plea, to consent to the Russian request for postponement. We won a diplomatic victory that was a moral defeat and may be the beginning of a serious rift in the big-power unanimity with which the conference began and which is the essential condition of peace. England and Holland seem to have been our only European supporters in this; even China abstained.

The American consultants were told that Argentina was a

special case whose admission was required by the Chapultepec conference. But the principles laid down by the Latin American delegates in the debate—"universality" of the new organization and "non-intervention" in the internal affairs of states applying for membership—lay the basis for the admission of Franco Spain. Just as the Germans whittled away the Versailles settlement piecemeal, so the process has begun of whittling away the anti-fascist character of the United Nations: there will be new legalistic reasons for new compromises with fascism. That is not the way to maintain an entente with the U. S. S. R. or the stable peace an entente would make possible.

## Address to the German People

BY THOMAS MANN

*This is an actual message to the German people, broadcast to them in the hour of Nazism's catastrophic defeat. It was prepared by Germany's most distinguished scholar in exile and transmitted by the Office of War Information.*

Santa Monica, Cal., May 6

SOME have survived, the pitiable remnants of the multitudes of innocent men, women, and children who were sent to German concentration camps. Most of them suffered a horrible death, many at the last moment before the arrival of salvation; their emaciated corpses and charred bones were found along with the ingenious contrivances which served for their extermination. It is a solace to know that these few have been wrested from the power of their tormentors and returned to the laws of humanity. For the German, however, quite different emotions are mingled with this feeling of relief.

The thick-walled torture chamber that Hitlerism had made of Germany is broken open, and our disgrace is bared to the eyes of the world. Foreign commissions who have been shown these incredible scenes report home that the horrors they have seen exceed anything that men could imagine. It is our disgrace, German readers and listeners, for every German—everyone who speaks German, writes German, has lived as a German—is affected by this shameful exposure. It is not a small clique of criminals who are involved; hundreds of thousands of a so-called German élite—men, youths, and brutish women—committed these misdeeds in morbid lust under the influence of the insane doctrines of National Socialism. Call it the dark potentialities of human nature in general that are revealed here, but remember that it was Germans, hundreds of thousands of them, who revealed those potentialities. The world shudders at the sight of Germany. Even the German who escaped in ample time from the realm of National Socialist leadership, who did not like to live in the vicinity of these abodes of abomination, did not like to go about his business in ostensible virtue and pretend to know nothing while the wind carried the stench of charred human flesh to his nostrils—even this

German is ashamed in the depths of his soul for the things that were possible in the land of his fathers and his masters.

It comes as a shock to such a German that in the twelve years of the Hitler regime one thing only, Nazi rule, could induce such human depravity in a people certainly not by nature devoid of justice and morality. One of the last commentators on the Goebbels radio, a man named Fritsche, shouted into the microphone that nothing could alter the fact that National Socialism was "the only appropriate form of government for the German people" and that Germany was made for this regime. This he dared to say to people who, full of dire foreboding, had lived for more than a decade under National Socialism and who now, amid the ruins of their country, confronted a catastrophe the like of which neither their own nor any other history has ever witnessed. The "only appropriate form of government" for the German people led them in just a few years into not only the most terrible but also the most disgraceful defeat; so that Germany stands today as the abomination of mankind and the epitome of evil. Justice and truth strangled, falsehood reigning supreme, liberty trampled, character and decency crushed, people drilled from childhood in the blasphemous delusion of racial superiority, in the primacy and right of violence, educated for nothing but covetousness, rape, and looting—that was National Socialism. That is supposed to be "German," the "only form of government appropriate to the German nature." My readers and listeners in Germany, you were unable to rid yourselves of this rule by your own strength. The liberators had to come from abroad. They have occupied your broken country and will have to govern it for years. At least do not regard them as your enemies, as Bishop Galen incites you to do. Do not, like this ill-advised cleric, regard yourselves primarily as Germans, but as men and women returned to humanity, as Germans who after twelve years of Hitler want to be human beings again.

Power is lost, but power is not everything. It is not even the main thing. And German greatness was never a matter of power. It was once German and may be German again to win respect and admiration by the human contribution, by the power of the sovereign spirit.

# World Labor at San Francisco

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*Oakland-San Francisco, May 5*

SAN FRANCISCO and Oakland are only a half-hour apart by trolley, but the distance might be a thousand miles, judging by the two conferences taking place simultaneously in the two cities. I spent the morning at the City Club Hotel in Oakland, covering the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference, and the afternoon at the San Francisco Opera House, where the plenary sessions of the United Nations Conference are held. The subject at both places was the same, and so was the goal—to organize the post-war world in terms of permanent peace. At the labor conference one could see faces inspired by faith, faces of men and women who knew perfectly well toward what end they were working; at the United Nations Conference a certain skepticism and fatigue were already evident, only two weeks after the inaugural session.

Let us be clear. Out of the San Francisco conference an operating international organization will surely arise, no matter how many difficulties must still be overcome. The mere fact that such an organization is to be set up, even before the cessation of hostilities in Europe, is a tremendous step forward after four years during which the United Nations have been incapable of producing an international political program worthy of the sacrifice of the millions who have perished in this war. I am not among those who, because events have not developed at San Francisco according to their notions of democratic policy, are ready to throw up the sponge and return home to wait for World War III.

At a rally held in the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco on May 2, Philip Murray promised the support of labor for the United Nations Conference even though the new trade-union organization had been refused admission, in even a consultative capacity. Yet these labor men do not fall into the simple error of believing that merely by pronouncing the word "Yalta" all the peace problems will be settled. They are absolutely in favor of the coalition, not an artificial coalition but one so vital and alert that it can even permit one of the great powers to oppose the admission of Argentina, as Russia did, without suffering irreparable damage. Had labor had a voice at San Francisco as the Administrative Committee of the trade-union organization requested, it would not have been so easy to smuggle fascist Argentina into the conference, giving it the opportunity of heading an eventual anti-Russian Latin American bloc—reactionary and opposed to a peace based on social justice and economic democracy. If it has come to seem almost impertinent to speak of fascism at the United Nations Conference, in the World Trade Union Conference fascism is constantly present as the enemy which the war has not conquered and which must still be destroyed. "Military victory," said Lombardo Toledano, speaking for the Confederación de Obreros de la America Latina at the meeting in the Civic Auditorium,

"does not mean victory over fascism. Hitler may be dead, but he has left a legacy—fascism. Fascism will not die until the economic and political forces which helped it grow are destroyed. It will not die as long as one fascist branch survives. While fascist Spain exists, we cannot say that we have won the war."

In Oakland the various disguises which will be assumed by fascism in the months and years to come have been carefully studied. It is the unanimous belief of the leaders drafting the constitution of the new international labor federation that fascism will change its name and its methods; in some countries it will try to revive the isolationist spirit, in others it will sabotage any attempt at a planned economy, and everywhere it will do its best to revive the political appeasement of fascism which led to Munich and the present war. Labor leaders have not overlooked the intelligent last-minute move of the Nazis to replace Ribbentrop by Count Schwerin von Krossig, representative of a Germany, conservative but not exactly Nazi, with which it might be possible for British-American reaction to come to an understanding should Russia prove too unbearable. Organized labor, as I have seen it at work in Oakland, knows that the only way to meet the next fascist political offensive is by anticipating its moves and striking hard before it regains its strength.

In order to be in condition to carry on this fight, a strong international trade-union movement is essential. At the London conference in February a general policy was laid down for the war and the post-war era. Two bodies were entrusted with carrying out the London resolution—a Committee of Forty-five, on which all trade-union organizations participating in the conference were represented, and an Administrative Committee of thirteen members selected from the forty-five. These two bodies would act as parliament and cabinet during the transitional period. The Administrative Committee, meeting at Oakland, after ten days of work has drawn up the international charter and has approved the text of the agenda for the conference to be opened on September 25 in Paris. In September this constitution will be submitted for discussion, and once it is approved, the new organization will be definitely established.

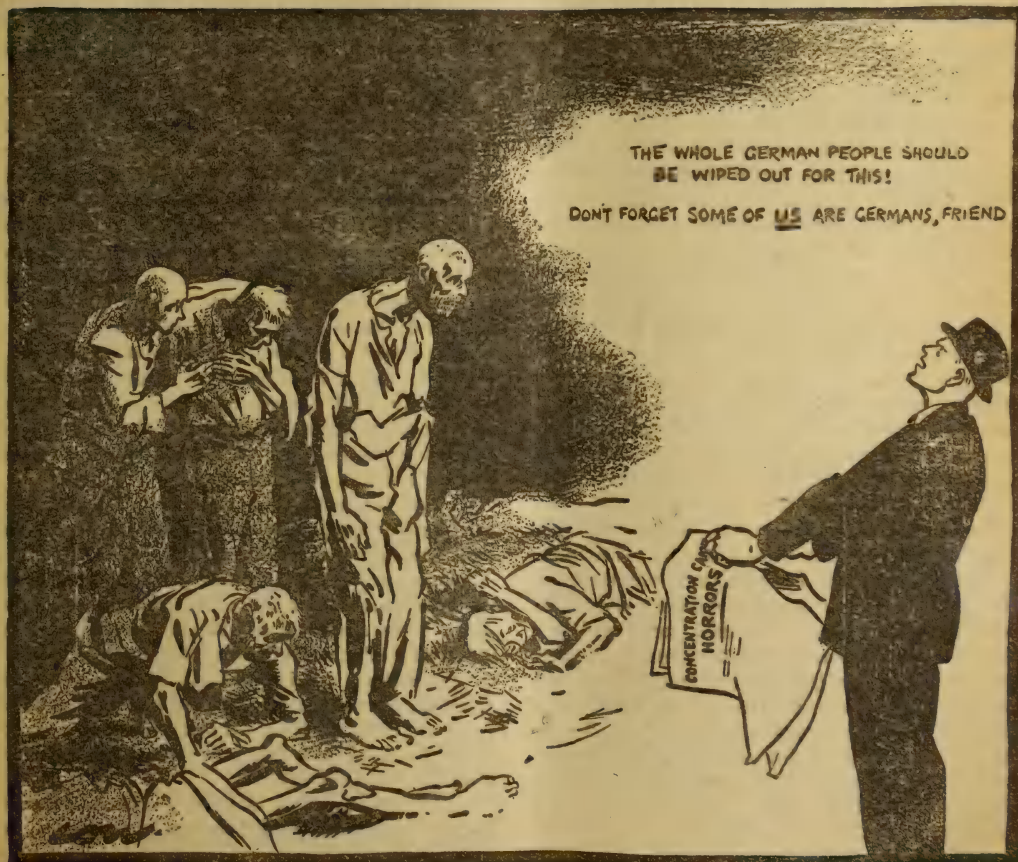
The debates in Oakland were laborious, but in the end unanimous agreements were reached. The most controversial issue with which the committee had to deal was how to assure equality and internal democracy in the organizational set-up. This has been achieved through the adoption of two principles. The first is the autonomy of the national federations. It is not an autonomy to be used negatively, but one which will permit national federations to comply with the agreements of the world federation in the light of conditions in their respective countries. The other principle is proportional representation of the affiliated organizations in

the congress of unions as well as in the Administrative Committee. The more members a constituent organization has the more delegates it can send, but there will be this limitation: in the administrative body of the organization the British Trades Union Congress will have two votes; the French organization (the C. G. T.), two also; the C. I. O., two; the Latin American Confederation of Workers (C. T. A. L.), two; and the Soviet trade unions, three. If the basis of representation were purely numerical and not functional, the Russian unions, with 27,000,000 members, would have almost half the votes in the Administrative Committee. As it is, they have only one more vote than the French C. G. T., which according to the capable and energetic Louis Saillant, head of the Council of National Resistance in France, has approximately 4,680,000 members.

Altogether the new world trade-union organization comprises some 60,000,000 workers. This is not a final figure. The labor leaders meeting in Oakland hope to bring into the federation other national organizations, including the A. F. of L., to whose membership a strong appeal was made by Philip Murray in his speech at the Civic Auditorium. No matter what the officials of that organization desire, its members are certain to respond to repeated invitations from the new international, especially since one of its characteristics is its determination to go on asking for what it

wants. I discussed with some of the members of the Administrative Committee the rejection by the United Nations Conference of its request for recognition in a consultative capacity. They said, "We shall try again and again—here in San Francisco until the show is over, at the September conference in Paris, after that on every possible occasion. We are convinced that whatever may be the post-war program drawn up by the United Nations, if the new security plans do not have the support of organized labor they will fail." These men know what they want. They will not give up the fight. At the London conference certain maneuvers were used in an effort to exclude the Spanish trade unions; visas and transportation were refused the Spanish delegate coming from Mexico. Nevertheless, the delegate arrived on time because the conference insisted on his presence, and the U. G. T., which for three years during the Spanish war rendered such courageous service to the cause of democracy, now has a representative in the Committee of Forty-five.

Not only is the attitude of the new international trade-union organization entirely different from that assumed by labor during the period between the two world wars; its approach to post-war problems is more dextrous and shows more fighting spirit. The leaders meeting in Oakland expect the new international not merely to tackle problems of wages and hours, with which it would naturally deal, but to



use its influence to guide the international conscience of the peoples of the world. The attention they received from the British press during the London meetings showed that they were on the right track in preparing themselves for this great role. Two newspapers, traditionally conservative but with political perception—the *London Times* and the *Financial News*—gave equal importance and space to the two conferences then taking place, the Crimean conference and the trade-union conference. A *Times* editorial made the acute observation that the labor meeting was “at least as important because governments come and go and can be replaced by others representing opposite principles, while the people remain.” The new international intends to be political. It wants labor to play a major political role.

The position of the new organization is strengthened as a consequence of recent developments in Europe. That Europe is going to the left, as I have steadily maintained it would, is even more obvious since the elections in France and the liberation of northern Italy. Though at the moment of writing full information is still lacking, it is unquestionable, as M. Saillant told the Oakland meeting, that the French people have “voted for social democracy and for what labor demands.” The position of labor is further reinforced by the economic consequences of the war. From that point of view alone it is absurd that the United Nations Conference has refused to admit the delegates assembled in Oakland in even an advisory capacity. The statement addressed to the four chairmen and signed by Sidney Hillman, Sir Walter Citrine, Louis Saillant, and M. Tarasov, stressed this point. It said, “We ask for representation in the United Nations Conference for a further and compelling reason. Organized labor will be charged with many serious and important tasks and will be called upon to assume grave responsibilities in the work of the international security organization. Its assistance will be essential in perfecting international cooperation against the economic causes of war by assuring rising living standards, greater security, and a more abundant life for all the peoples.” The World Trade Union Conference, following one of the decisions taken in London, is already working out a plan of economic security and will be far better able to provide solutions than all the economic experts the United Nations organization may appoint if the experts work as they did at Geneva without direct contact with the masses, their needs, and their sufferings. As I talked to the men who framed that statement I recalled the days when the doors of the League were closed on labor, to be opened once a year when a trade-union delegation to Geneva was formerly received and then sent back home to await the next international crisis and accept its consequences. Labor’s intimate collaboration with the world security organization would serve that organization as much as it would serve labor. What this assembly sorely needs is a spark of fire and determination. Merely to listen to the delegate of New Zealand pledge his effort to the fight for a decent peace for the common man raised the spirits of the assembly. A new faith is required, but more urgently still new men are needed to restore confidence in the capacity of the nations to accomplish the tasks that lie ahead. Labor would provide this confidence if it should enter the new league in the mood that the meetings at Oakland have revealed.

## Berlin: a Necrology

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE grave of my parents is in Weissensee, the grave of my wife is in Halensee. I was born in the neighborhood of the Alexanderplatz. I was in love for the first time in Monbijou. I studied medicine in the Charité. I headed a hospital in the Wedding district. My child was born in Joachimsthalerstrasse. I lived at Steinplatz when I left Berlin early in 1936. Now I live in New York. Now I look at the maps of burning Berlin in American newspapers. Now I am an American citizen. I try to remember. The graves will be destroyed, the parks aflame, the houses fallen to dust and ashes. Friends will be killed. Seldom has the past of living beings been so cruelly amputated, so helplessly degraded.

When I left Germany I knew that it was forever. In Aachen, on the border, I flashed the ten-mark note I was allowed to take along. I did not look back. It was a journey out of a realm of shadow. All my love and tenderness and yearning for my lost homeland I took with me into the beckoning freedom and space of a new world. The sky hung pale and leaden over Germany, and the smokestacks of the factories vanished into the mist. There was still a Europe then. Only the Cassandra-like gaze of the émigrés saw its splendid, self-assured cities brought down in blood and ashes. And those among us who found words to describe the horror of which we were the eyewitnesses or victims were pitied like madmen or suspected like traitors.

When I left, Hitler had been in power for almost three years. There were the concentration camps—Oranienburg, Dachau, Buchenwald—the torture chambers of the Gestapo, the gnawing cancer of terror with all its mortal symptoms. Of course, everybody in Germany knew about it. When we talked about it, we closed the window, cut off the telephone, and still—one’s own friend might be a henchman, an agent, an informer. There was no laughter; the best, the most sincere, the most dearly beloved faces changed into horrifying masks under the impact of fear and suspicion.

We tried to tell you over here. You would not believe. It is hard to imagine misery before it appears on one’s own doorstep. The death of strangers has no reality. But cancer is incurable if not cut out at its first onset. You believed us too late. But we too were too late. We too did not understand until the brutal fist hit us squarely.

We have been longing, for twelve feverish years, for these holy days of victory. Now that they are here, I am overcome by an almost unbearable sadness.

It is not the pyre of my ghostlike past that affects me. It is rather that so much of my earlier life must have been lie and deceit. I love America more with every sunrise. But I cannot forget the first words I learned, the first landscape I saw, the first kindness, the first pain, the first enthusiasm. They were German, untranslatable, incomparable; they remain forever a part of my existence. And that this part of me is now inseparably mixed with dirt, with stench, with unspeakable nausea, this is a sickening pain.

I could say to myself: I am a Jew, I was never a German. But that would be untrue. All my happy memories, my first

literary adventures, my musical impressions, my early friendships were German, European-German, rooted in a humane artistic and scientific spirit that seemed sound and beautiful—and that ended in disaster. During all these years of faithful transition from a European into an American I have searched myself again and again to find out what was wrong with my life, my time, my former country. It is easy to form an opinion and to cling to some dogma. Too easy. If one could destroy all Germans, the pest which broke out in their organism would still exist and be in danger of spreading. Fascism is a global disease, a universal shame, fermenting in the soil of this century, breaking out to mutilate the brains and limbs of mankind everywhere. Victory will not be enough to eliminate this perverted relationship among men, conti-

nents, races. What are we to do to make the rest of our life span immune to this epidemic which has so disfigured us?

Berlin has often been called an ugly city. It was not ugly to me. It was—to European minds—a young and daring city; its climate was crisp and stimulating; it was a city in which writers could work; it was meant for new thoughts and new ideas as no other city in Europe. It was surrounded by pine woods and tender, dreamy lakes, and its summer nights were enchanting. Its people seemed no different from other people.

What happened in Berlin, what happened in Germany? What must be done that such ignominious decay of a country and its people can never and nowhere be repeated?

Sooner or later, we must find the answer. If we do, the death of this city will not have been in vain.

## Fascism Without Mussolini—I

BY MARIO ROSSI

*If war is a continuation of politics by different means, the reverse is equally true. Italy sets an example and a precedent. Italy was not only the first nation to be freed by the effort of the Western Allies but the test of whether or not we meant what we said. To study Allied policy in Italy is to study Allied policy in general. The defeat of Germany and the creation of the new international organization at San Francisco will not lead to peace unless we avoid a repetition of the blunders committed in Italy. For this reason The Nation intends to publish a series of articles on Italy, of which Mr. Rossi's is the first.*

**W**HEN the Allies landed in Sicily in July, 1943, the traditional anti-German sentiments of the Italian people had been revived by the passage of German troops through the country en route to Sicily. The war on the side of the Germans was extremely unpopular. Anti-Fascism was spreading everywhere. The opposition was ready to act. From all sides one word was heard: Enough! Enough of Mussolini, enough of Fascism, enough of war!

Mussolini was perfectly aware of the popular mood. Since the end of 1942 he had realized what a mistake he had made in entering the war against the Allies. Prominent Fascists in his own entourage were maneuvering against him, knowing that the end of the war meant the end of Mussolini. The Gestapo heard of these maneuvers, and the Duce was summoned to Salzburg in February, 1943. Upon his return Foreign Secretary Count Ciano, Minister of Justice Dino Grandi, and Minister of National Education Giuseppe Bottai were eliminated from the government. Ciano became ambassador at the Holy See, Grandi president of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations, and Bottai editor of a newspaper. The three had frequent conversations with known anti-Fascists, particularly with former Premier Orlando, and became the center of all intrigues in the high Fascist hierarchy.

For the House of Savoy also Mussolini was now a liability

and an embarrassment. After March, 1943, when the strikes of 50,000 workers at Milan and Turin made it clear what the popular mood was, the King received hundreds of persons who urged him to act to take Italy out of the war. His answer was, "I am a constitutional king and cannot form a new government without the vote of Parliament." But the Parliament had been abolished by Mussolini, and so the King countenanced the farce of using the Grand Council of Fascism for this purpose. Churchill, in his speech of December 23, 1940, had said that "one man, against the crown and royal family of Italy, against the Pope and all the authority of the Vatican and the Roman Catholic church," was responsible for the war. Those Fascists, therefore, who took the King's side, felt secure, and Mussolini lost most of his followers.

Badoglio stated later that when Mussolini met Hitler at Feltre on July 19, 1943, his intention was to inform Hitler that he was about to ask the Allies for an armistice. But Hitler did not let him speak. Upon his return to Rome Mussolini told the King that he was going to break with Hitler before September 15. The moment had come for the monarchy and the dissident Fascists to act; they must get rid of Mussolini before he engineered the break with Germany. These Fascists met secretly and decided to ask Mussolini for his view of the situation. Mussolini agreed to call a meeting of the Grand Council of Fascists two days later. Grandi, Bottai, and Ciano had meanwhile been joined by Federzoni, Rossoni, Bastianini, Bignardi, and Albini, all members of the Grand Council—Albini was a valuable addition in his capacity of Under Secretary of the Interior and Chief of Police. As their leader they chose Dino Grandi, who prepared a memorandum in which the Grand Council of Fascism would ask Mussolini's government to invite the King to resume his constitutional prerogatives. After twenty years of dictatorship some of the plotters had forgotten what these prerogatives were. To them Dino Grandi explained that according to Article 5 of the constitution, executive power belongs only to the king: he commands all armed forces, declares war,

and ratifies peace treaties and treaties of alliance and commerce.

On July 24, Palermo, the capital of Sicily, was occupied by the Allies. The meeting of the Grand Council was scheduled for five o'clock. The most important *gerarchi* were present in black shirts. The Secretary of the Fascist Party ordered the salute to the Duce. Then Mussolini opened the session with an exposition of the military situation. His speech was long and apologetic. "The problem," he concluded, "is war or peace? Unconditional surrender or fight to the last? Moreover, there is the question of fidelity to the pacts." The members of the Council were confused. After a general discussion Grandi presented the following resolution:

The Grand Council of Fascism, meeting in this decisive hour, turns, first of all, its thoughts to the heroic fighters of the Italian armed forces, which are renewing, side by side with the brave people of Sicily now reflecting the faith of all the Italian people, the noble traditions of bravery and self-sacrifice of our glorious soldiers. Having examined the internal and international situation and the political and military conduct of the war, the Grand Council of Fascism *proclaims* the sacred duty of all Italians to defend at all cost the unity, the independence, and the liberty of the fatherland, the results of the sacrifices and of the efforts of four generations from the Risorgimento to today; *affirms* the necessity of the moral and material unity of all Italians in this decisive hour for the destiny of our nation; *declares* that to this end it is necessary to restore immediately all the functions of the state, by giving to the crown, the Grand Council, the government, the Parliament, the corporations, the tasks and the responsibilities which are established by our laws and by the constitution; *invites* the government to beg His Majesty the King, to whom the heart of all the nation is turned with fidelity and faith, that for the honor and the good of the country he deign to assume, with the effective command of all the armed forces, according to Article 5 of the statute of the kingdom, that supreme initiative of decision given to him by our institutions, which have always been, in all our national history, the glorious heritage of our august dynasty of Savoy.

The intent of this declaration is clear. Victor Emmanuel wished to act as a constitutional king in dismissing Mussolini, but he could hardly do so after having consented to put aside the constitution and give to Mussolini the prerogatives of the crown. Thus the supreme organ of Fascism had to admit, not only that Fascism had been a complete failure, but also that the King had acted unconstitutionally for the past twenty years. Obviously also, from a purely legal point of view, the supreme organ of Fascism, being itself the product of an illegal act, could not restore the prerogatives of the monarchy, but this fact was ignored.

The resolution bore eighteen signatures. Grandi then made a speech accusing Mussolini of incompetence and of having exploited Fascism to his personal ends. Ciano reminded his father-in-law that it was Germany, not Italy, which had constantly betrayed the spirit and the letter of the alliance. One by one all the dissident members of the council attacked Mussolini for his way of conducting the war. Mussolini saw clearly that the majority was against him and tried to adjourn the meeting. The council was against the pro-

posal and consented only to a recess for dinner. After dinner Grandi asked for and obtained a vote on his resolution. The Secretary of the Fascist Party called the names. There were nineteen votes for the resolution, seven against, and one abstention. Thus the meeting ended. The Secretary again ordered the salute to the Duce. Mussolini tried to smile and said: "I will take the resolution to the King and we will laugh together about it."

Grandi, clearly enough, thought that the resolution was an invitation to the King to get rid of Mussolini and name him, Grandi, Prime Minister. But the King had different plans.

#### ARREST OF MUSSOLINI

Toward midday on July 25 General Angelo Cerica, newly named chief of the Carabinieri, was summoned to the Palazzo Vidoni, where he was received by the chief of the General Staff, General Ambrosio. Present also was Duke Pietro Acquarone, Minister of the Royal House. "General," said Ambrosio to Cerica, "we have called you to a task that is extremely delicate and of great responsibility. This is it. You will choose the most faithful of your officers, as many as you wish, and you will send them this afternoon, around three, to the Villa Savoia [the King's residence]. Your men will wait there for Mussolini, and after his conference with the sovereign they will arrest him. You must be careful not to attract attention. Guard him well. Do not let him communicate with anybody. Above all, don't let him escape. Orders of the King!" General Cerico was bewildered. Then Acquarone told him about the vote of the Grand Council of Fascism and that it was necessary to arrest Mussolini in order to avoid civil war.

General Cerica chose three of his most trusted men—Colonel Frignani, Captain Anversa, and Captain Vigneri—three non-commissioned officers, and three police agents. They arrived at the Villa Savoia soon after three in an ambulance which was followed by a closed truck containing fifty Carabinieri armed with submachine-guns. Mussolini arrived at 4:35 with his private secretary, De Cesare. The King received him at once. Mussolini reiterated his intention to break with Germany before September 15. Then he spoke briefly about the meeting of the previous night, maintaining that the Grand Council had only consultative powers and that the government was not bound by its decisions. The King cut him short. "The Grand Council," he said, "is a recognized organ of the state having very precise powers. You always insisted on this point and now you cannot forget it." Mussolini replied that in his opinion the motion was void, but the King maintained his point.

"Does this mean that I have to go?" asked Mussolini.

"That is right; you will have to go," the King replied. "And I may add that I have decided to name Marshal Badoglio as your successor. I expect you to put yourself at his disposal."

Whereupon Mussolini left the room. In the garden he was approached by Captain Vigneri, who led him to the waiting ambulance. That evening Mussolini sent Badoglio a letter thanking him for saving his life and asking him to protect his family. Subsequently Mussolini was moved from one barracks of the Carabinieri to another to protect him, as Badoglio explained later, from popular fury.

## BADOGLIO VS. THE PEOPLE

The removal of Mussolini caused tremendous joy among the Italian people, but this joy was short-lived.

Badoglio was given full power to form a new Cabinet. The war, he said, would go on, on the side of Germany. "There has been no revolution and no coup d'état," explained Radio Rome.

As Premier, Badoglio had two courses open to him: he could use the army and the monarchy to save the Italian people; or he could use the army and the Italian people to save the monarchy. If he had chosen the first, it might have been necessary for him to sacrifice the monarchy, which was completely compromised by its relations with Fascism, in the name of national unity. There is evidence that the anti-Fascists would have been willing to collaborate in a government if the question of the monarchy were left in suspension. It would have been necessary to send troops at once to the Brenner Pass and to inform Germany that Italy could not continue a war which had been imposed by Mussolini's regime on an unprepared country against the will of the people. Hitler, to be sure, would have attacked at the Brenner, but at that time the army was still faithful to its officers and could have fought back. All Italians, except a minority of Fascists, would have supported the army. The war would have become a popular one.

Badoglio chose without hesitation to use the army, not against the Germans, but against the Italian people in order to save the monarchy. Perhaps in his *ancien-régime* mentality he really believed in the "indivisible good of king and country" and thought that to save the King meant to save the country. There had been hostility between Badoglio and Mussolini, but it was more a clash of personalities than of ideologies. Although it is true that Badoglio was opposed to the March on Rome, he faithfully served Mussolini as soon as he realized that Fascism was in power to stay. As early as April 10, 1925, Badoglio took the occasion of Mussolini's nomination as Minister of War to send him his "fervid salute as general of the army and as soldier of our glorious and respected country." Mussolini was pleased with this act of submission and named Badoglio chief of the General Staff. After that, Badoglio gave innumerable demonstrations of his devotion. After Zaniboni's attempt on Mussolini's life Badoglio sent the Duce a message saying that "God protected Your Excellency and Italy. . . . In the name of the King we are absolutely faithful and devoted to you." In 1928, when Badoglio was appointed governor of Libya, he wrote to Mussolini asking for a title of nobility transmissible to his descendants, "well knowing the generosity of Your Excellency in rewarding his faithful collaborators." "As I told you personally," he concluded, "Your Excellency can count now as ever on my most complete and absolute devotion." So he became Marquis of Sabotino. After the Ethiopian war he asked Mussolini for a second title and an annuity. He got his money and was made Duke of Addis Ababa.

As soon as Mussolini was ousted, Badoglio conferred with the German ambassador in Rome, Hans-George Viktor von Mackensen. He requested forty German divisions in order to prevent the Allies from invading Italy. Should this request not be granted, he said, Italy would sue for peace.

Mackensen telephoned Berlin, and Berlin agreed to Badoglio's request. The war against the Allies continued.

But meanwhile something wonderful had happened. The anti-Fascist underground parties came to the surface and expressed their will in the following united proclamation issued in Milan on July 26:

Italians! The will of the people and the deep aspiration

of our gallant army are satisfied: Mussolini has been driven from power. The anti-Fascist parties, which for twenty years have fought the Fascist dictatorship, in blood and sorrow, in prison and in exile, proclaim their common will to act in full solidarity for the realization of the following aims: (1) the total liquidation of Fascism and of all its instruments of oppression; (2) an armistice for the conclusion of an honorable peace; (3) the restoration of all civil and political liberties, above all the freedom of the press; (4) the immediate liberation of all political prisoners; (5) the reestablishment of an exemplary justice, without summary procedure, but inexorable with regard to all those responsible; (6) the abolition of the racial laws; (7) the constitution of a government formed by the representatives of all parties which express the national will.

The anti-Fascist parties invite the Italians not to confine themselves to manifestations of rejoicing but, aware of the gravity of the hour, to organize themselves so as to bring to bear their inflexible will that the new situation shall not be exploited by anyone for reactionary ends or for the salvaging of interests which have upheld Fascism and have been upheld by Fascism.

The anti-Fascist parties have therefore decided that the whole of the working masses—workers, clerks, artisans, professional men, students, and soldiers—should consider themselves to be in a permanent state of alert and watch so as to affirm by action their unbreakable will to peace and freedom.

GROUP OF LIBERAL RECONSTRUCTION  
PARTY OF ACTION  
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
SOCIALIST PARTY  
MOVEMENT OF PROLETARIAN UNITY FOR  
THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC  
COMMUNIST PARTY

The institutional question, it may be noted, was not raised: the anti-Fascist parties simply wanted to make sure that the situation was not exploited to salvage the monarchy. But this was exactly Badoglio's aim!

On July 26 Badoglio formed a "technical" government of career functionaries, the majority of whom had served under Mussolini but remained faithful to the King. On the same day he placed Italy under martial law, proclaiming that "this is not the moment to indulge in demonstrations because they



Marshal Badoglio

will not be tolerated. . . . Assemblies are prohibited, and the public authorities have orders to disperse all gatherings. The control of public order has now come under the military authorities." In its first fortnight of power the new government took a number of measures to strengthen the crown: the Fascist militia was incorporated into the regular army; the formation of political parties and the wearing of political badges were banned for the duration of the war; listening to the Allied radio was forbidden. On August 23 Radio Rome announced that the Ministry of Culture had taken over the complete control of the Italian press and would confiscate papers which "opposed the interest of the nation"—that is, of the monarchy.

The Badoglio Cabinet also took measures to purge Italy of Fascism, but the military dictatorship deprived such measures of all meaning. Fascist laws were abolished, but military laws made absolute. It was announced that all political prisoners would be released, but many of them were still in prison or concentration camps on September 8. The Fascist Party was dissolved, but Fascism, for most Italians, meant dictatorship and war on the side of the Germans—and both continued. The Fascist special tribunal for the defense of the state was abolished, but military courts took over. Such measures could not fool the Italian people.

Demonstrations for peace broke out all through northern Italy. The extent of the opposition is indicated by the retaliatory measures of the government. The Milan military court was "overwhelmed with work." During the first week of August the military courts sentenced men to as much as twelve years' imprisonment for distributing posters and pamphlets, calling on workers to strike, cheering the Allies in public, spreading rumors, etc. The Minister of the Interior, Umberto Ricci, sent the following telegram to all prefects (regional officials appointed by the government): ". . . We must defy anti-national [that is, anti-monarchist] forces and suppress any demonstrations with maximum firmness. We must restore the power of the law and the moral code in all administrations. We must keep a close watch on disruptive elements and attune the people to a new Italian life of devotion to King and country."

While Badoglio was busy waging his war against the Italian people, the Germans were pouring men down through the Brenner Pass. On August 6 Ribbentrop went to Italy on Badoglio's invitation to discuss the situation. In Tarvisio he met the Foreign Minister, Raffaele Guariglia. Next day General Wilhelm Keitel, German chief of staff, and General Vittorio Ambrosio, Italian chief of staff, joined the party. The conference was ended on August 9 with Badoglio agreeing to continue the war.

In mid-August Badoglio's emissaries conferred with the Allies in Madrid. At the same time a series of broadcasts by Badoglio's official radio indicated the terms on which the Marshal would collaborate with the Allies. These included the neutralization of Italy and its control by military experts acceptable to both the Allies and the Germans; Italy's guaranty that all German troops would be withdrawn immediately and the Italian forces demobilized; cession of Sicily to the Allies for the duration of the war; the Italian mainland not to be used for any military operations by either side.

For Badoglio the problem was to save the structure of the state so that the monarchy would not lose its strength. It was necessary for him both to prevent a revolution and to take Italy out of the war without turning it into a battlefield. The Allies, also, had two objectives. One was to obtain Italy's "unconditional surrender"; the other was to prevent a revolution.

#### THE KING AND THE ALLIES

The day after Mussolini's fall the OWI asserted that "the essential nature of the Fascist regime in Italy had not changed" and that war would go on against the "moronic little king" and Badoglio, "the high-ranking Fascist." In Algiers, however, General Eisenhower "commended the House of Savoy." And a few days later, in Washington, President Roosevelt scolded the OWI radio speakers who "had imperiled the most difficult of international negotiations."

Then it was the turn of Mr. Churchill to declare before the House of Commons that he did not wish to "break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian state" or "to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy and find ourselves without any authority with which to deal." Unconditional surrender, he said, should be brought about "wholesale" and not "piecemeal." "I certainly don't wish to tread a path that might lead to execution squads and concentration camps, and, above all, to have to carry on our shoulders a lot of people who ought to be made to carry themselves." Those words meant that Mr. Churchill was unwilling to weaken the position of the King and Badoglio since he hoped they might surrender the country "wholesale" and thus avoid "chaos and anarchy." To induce the Italians to force the King to surrender, Churchill warned them that Italy "would be seared and scarred and blackened from one end to the other." "We should let the Italians, to use a homely phrase, stew in their own juice for a bit and hot up the fire to accelerate the process until we obtain from the government, or whoever possesses the authority, all the indispensable requirements" for carrying on the war against Germany.

The following day, July 28, 1943, to scare Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio a little more, President Roosevelt declared that "we will have no truck with Fascism in any way, shape, or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain." Later President Roosevelt must have thought he had scared the King and Badoglio too much, for on July 30 he announced that he was willing to have peace dealings with any element "that was not out-and-out Fascist and that could prevent the country from plunging into anarchy."

Naturally, in order to back up the insistence of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt on the danger of anarchy, some cases of anarchy had to be produced. On August 1 the New York Times cited "many reports of disorders in Italy." "It appears that the spirit behind these clashes is a demand for peace. If that were all, it would be logical to suppose the disorders would end with Italy out of the war." But "it is likely that domestic political axes are being ground and that anti-Fascist elements are seeking their own advantages. There are evidences that Communists are heavily involved in many of the disorders."

Allied propaganda told the Italians further that the United Nations sympathized fully with their desire for liberty, but that liberty could not be realized without peace, and therefore their first duty was to induce the King to surrender. British propaganda, particularly, was willing to promise the Italians anything to make them force the King to act. The first sign of Britain's real intentions came in the second week of August when, just as the Italian masses were most active in their peace demonstrations, Allied planes launched terror raids against the northern cities. The Italian people realized then that the war was against them and not against Fascism. The Allies never had the moral courage to tell the Italians the plain truth—namely, that peace was impossible for Italy, and that they could offer it, in place of Mussolini's war against the Allies, only the chance to fight for liberation from the Germans.

In their desire to prevent any change in the internal situation, the Allies and Badoglio could count on the support of the Vatican. The position of the church after Mussolini's fall was made clear by the Vatican radio and the pastoral letters of the bishops bolstering the efforts of the Badoglio government to control radical tendencies. At the same time the Vatican supported a separate peace for Italy.

#### TREASON IN ROME

As I said above, by mid-August Italian emissaries were in Madrid and in contact with the British ambassador. It is now well known that the Italians were General Castellano, a trusted friend of General Ambrosio, and his adviser and interpreter, Franco Montanari, former Italian consul general in Honolulu. Informed of their arrival, the governments of London and Washington agreed to send their representatives to Lisbon. On August 19 Major General Walter B. Smith and Brigadier General K. W. Strong, representing General Eisenhower, met Castellano in Lisbon in the house of the British ambassador, Sir Ronald Campbell.

General Smith opened the discussion by saying, "I know you have come to ask for armistice terms. Here they are." And he read the terms one by one: unconditional surrender, full use of all Italian bases to be granted, surrender of the fleet and air force, recall to Italy of all Italian divisions abroad, postponement to a later day of all political and economic agreements. "These terms are not to be discussed," said General Smith; "they must be accepted without conditions." "The aim of my trip was not exactly to ask for an armistice," General Castellano replied, "but to see how Italy could cooperate with the Allies." "We are not willing to discuss any terms short of unconditional surrender," retorted General Smith. "You have heard the conditions. They cannot be changed. You must either accept them or refuse them." Castellano said he understood, and the conversation turned to military matters. We do not know the details of this part of the conversation. According to Clark Lee of the I. N. S., Castellano asked that Allied troops be parachuted near Rome at the moment of the landing in Italy; he further assured the Allies that the Italian forces would aid them and that the Germans were not strong in the region of Rome.

Meanwhile, Rome was worried lest Castellano's mission should fail and sent to Lisbon General Zanussi, of the staff of General Roatta, chief of staff of the Italian army. As

credentials Zanussi brought with him the British General Carl de Wiart, who was a prisoner in Italy. Because Roatta was known as a Fascist and pro-Nazi, the British became suspicious. Fearing a German trick, they sent De Wiart to England at once and General Zanussi to Algiers.

On August 27, at three o'clock, Allied Headquarters received word that Badoglio accepted the armistice terms. On August 31 General Castellano and Montanari left Rome by plane and landed in Sicily. Castellano now stressed the fact that Italy's condition was very much changed since the conversations in Lisbon. The country was virtually occupied by the Germans, and the government was no longer free. He asked therefore for certain guarantees. General Smith gave Italy until September 2 to make up its mind. On September 2, at 7:30 P.M., Castellano, who had returned to Rome, cabled the Allied Command that he would fly to Sicily the next day. On September 3 he met the Allied commanders, and it was decided that Badoglio in Rome and Eisenhower in Algiers should simultaneously announce the signing of the armistice. It was five o'clock when Castellano put his signature to the document. The same day Allied troops landed in Calabria.

The proposal to land air-borne troops in the area of Rome was accepted by the Allies. It was furthermore decided that two Allied officers should go to Rome to get firsthand information. General Taylor and Colonel Gardiner volunteered and left on the night of September 6 on an American PT boat. At Ustica they were transferred to the Italian corvette Ibis, which landed them at Gaeta. They reached Rome in an ambulance by the Appian Way. It was understood that in case of capture by the Germans, the two Allied officers would appear as prisoners of war in order not to be shot as spies. The ambulance entered Rome at 10:30 P.M. of September 7. The Americans went first to see General Carboni, military commander of the Rome area, who begged them to call off the air-borne invasion and to postpone the announcement of the armistice. He pointed out that there was a very strong German garrison in the Tiber valley. Taylor and Gardiner then insisted on seeing Marshal Badoglio. Badoglio confirmed what Carboni had said, and suggested that the Allied officers return to their headquarters with his decision to postpone the announcement of the armistice. The officers refused but sent a code message saying, "Do not attack with air-borne troops. The operation is canceled." A few hours later they received the order to return.

After the departure of General Taylor and Colonel Gardiner, the morning of September 8 passed in Rome as if noth-



*King Victor Emmanuel*

ing had happened. But around five in the afternoon, while Badoglio was working at his desk, General Ambrosio entered the room waving a piece of paper. "Marshal," he shouted, "we are ruined." And he gave him a telegram from Eisenhower in which the Allied commander informed Badoglio that he had decided to announce the armistice over the radio at 6:30 P.M. He invited the Marshal to speak immediately afterward. Badoglio thereupon prepared a reply to Eisenhower, asking him not to take any action before the arrival of General Rossi, who was on his way to Allied headquarters with General Taylor. It was too late. The Allied fleet was already before Salerno.

Shortly afterward the King met his most trusted men at the royal palace. While the Chief of Staff, Ambrosio, was explaining the new situation to the King, an officer announced that Eisenhower was speaking over the radio. After a final consultation with Badoglio and Ambrosio, Victor Emmanuel decided to accept the *fait accompli*. At 7:05 P.M. Badoglio announced over the radio that the Italian government, in view of the superior forces of the Allies, had been compelled to ask for an armistice. The request having been accepted, the Italian army would cease all hostilities against the Allies, but would reply to eventual attacks from any other quarter. Ignoring the Italian people's clearly expressed ideological reasons for refusing to fight for Germany, Badoglio adduced only the fact that the Allies were too strong.

At first it looked as if the Germans would retreat to the north, but the next day it became clear that they were preparing to seize Rome. Flight from the capital was decided on. The King, the Queen, the Crown Prince, Badoglio, and the personnel of the court left first; then Ambrosio, Roatta, Navy Minister De Courten, and Air Minister Sandalli. At the last minute Roatta gave a few written instructions to the troops left to defend Rome. Early on the following morning the fugitives boarded a navy corvette at Pescara on the Adriatic coast. In the meantime the commanders of the army telephoned in vain to the various ministers to ask for instructions.

The outer defenses of Rome were held by the Motorized Army Corps under the command of General Carboni, who took his orders directly from the General Staff. South of the city was an army corps under General Barbieri, who took his order from the command of the Fifth Army. The two commands were in continuous conflict over authority. Furthermore, many units were considered untrustworthy because they contained a great number of Fascist militiamen, incorporated into the army by Badoglio. The troops were poorly equipped and trained and wrongly placed. It was clear that the High Command had never thought seriously of defending Rome, but wished only to prevent a coup de main before the flight of the King. Achille Corona, whose analysis of the fall of Rome in *Avanti* I have extensively quoted, says that the dispositions made were more like the work of a chief of police than of military strategists.

Roatta had ordered the Motorized Army Corps to abandon Rome in order to avoid damage to the city, and to retreat toward the Adriatic coast. This meant that the corps must enter a mountainous zone where the movement of motorized units was practically impossible. One cannot escape the con-

clusion that the corps was moved west because the King was in that sector. When the divisional commanders received Roatta's orders, they replied that it was impossible to retreat from a fortified position while the Germans were attacking. Nevertheless, they carried out the orders.

In the meantime the Germans started the attack. Some units resisted splendidly but in vain. Others surrendered. The officers received no further instructions. The news that the King and his generals had fled spread among the troops with fatal effect. Rome fell to the Germans.

To the Italian forces fighting on foreign ground the General Staff had given a secret order, known as the "OP 44," containing instructions for attack and defense. The Italian Fourth Army in France received this order only on September 7. Italian commanders abroad telephoned Rome to ask whether or not to apply the "OP 44." But no officer of the General Staff was in Rome to answer.

[Next week Mr. Rossi will analyze the sharpening conflict between the monarchists and the partisans.]

## Lilienthal and the Valley

BY BARRETT C. SHELTON

Decatur, Alabama, May 3

TODAY'S people are thinking of a home-grown agricultural and industrial empire in the Tennessee Valley, an empire built by their own hands and with their own resources. You'll find few defeatists in this Valley. Folks are cocky over the achievements of the past ten years and looking toward a future bright with all sorts of possibilities.

TVA changed the thinking of the people. Their own strength was discovered in them. Now they are building the land, planting and harvesting new income crops, adopting modern marketing and processing methods. New industry, small-scale, home-grown, and home-financed, is developing in community after community as Valley folk digest the belief that the South does not have to wait for industry to move in.

TVA brought the tools of navigation, flood control, lower-cost power, community planning; it stepped up educational and health standards; it advocated the right uses for the soil, the forests, the minerals. TVA has worked with local and state agencies in fashioning these tools of economic growth. There have been no directives, no edicts, from a centralized government authority. Rather, the general attitude in this Valley, among the people, the local and state agencies, and the TVA, is "Come, let us reason together."

Many visitors come to this Valley. Only the other day a newspaperman from Melbourne, Australia, was here. The Australian wanted to learn whether TVA principles could be applied in Australia. Visitors want the whole truth of the experiment. They want to know how it is working. They want to know whether the TVA principle would work for their community in the river basin whence they come. It is not an uncommon sight in the Tennessee Valley to see farmers, business men, industrialists taking these visitors on tour, answering their questions, telling them the truth about the TVA.

It is right for us to do these services. This Valley belongs to the United States and the world. What has been learned here can be applied elsewhere. The progress made here can be made elsewhere.

Let me try to answer a few questions that seem to bother folks who cannot come to the Valley to see for themselves. Is TVA sound? Does TVA pay its way? Does TVA pay fair taxation?

Let's be specific. The Electric Department of the city of Decatur, Alabama, pays twice as much tax to the city as was paid by the private utility. At the same time annual savings in electric bills to the consumers on the Decatur system total more than all the ad valorem and license taxes now being collected locally. The state of Alabama is receiving more tax money from TVA than it received from the land now flooded—by the construction of dams—and from the private utility's license and ad valorem taxes in the area now commonly called "TVA territory."

Decatur has the cheapest electric rate in the world for some classifications of residential consumers. Yet even with these rates the department is clearing \$100,000 annually on an investment of \$600,000. This profit is net, not gross, and there will be further rate reductions. However, the lowering of electric rates is not the major objective of the people of the Tennessee Valley.

Twelve years ago, before TVA was authorized by a far-seeing Congress and went to work, the people of this Valley looked to the outside world for the means of industrial development, thought comparatively little of the sleeping giant, agriculture. All capital, all "know how" had to come from the outside, of so we thought. Today we look back upon our methods of former years and grin at ourselves for our stupidity in economics.

The change was brought about largely through the personal efforts of David E. Lilienthal. Mr. Lilienthal has spoken before community after community in the area, telling us that we will not come upon a brand-new world when these wars are over, that the approach to national soundness must start at the community level, that after these wars personal initiative will still earn a premium, and that the Valley must strive toward self-sufficiency in agriculture and industry.

David Lilienthal is an idealist and a dreamer, but he bases his ideals on the truth of solid economics. And the people have faith in his beliefs and his suggestions for action. A man without confidence that the impossible could be done would never have made a success of the experiment in this Valley. Dave Lilienthal has so captured the imagination of the plain people that they do not hesitate to fight at the smallest suggestion of change in the basic law under which TVA was created or in the personnel of the directorate and management. Honesty of purpose and sound economic practices created that feeling in the Valley.

It is the belief up and down the Valley that only the surface has been scratched, that our opportunities are limited only by our imagination and our energy to activate our dreams of community sufficiency. The record of the past ten years shows the reversal of trends in the Valley; the coming ten years will show how far an area can develop under the dynamic combination of an inspired public servant, a sympathetic government, and a bold, self-confident people.

## In the Wind

**E**NEMIES OF THE OPA have staunch allies in England. A British friend sends us the following clipping from the March 19 issue of the *Daily Film Renter*, a movie-theater trade paper published in London: "Further cable from New York intimated that OPA—who they are I haven't the faintest idea—are asking Congressional authority to control admission prices, stating they are up 38½ per cent since 1941. I suppose it's some well-meaning body who wants to interfere without knowing the slightest thing about the facts. Haven't heard that there's any likelihood of any such control being initiated, and very certain that OPA—whoever they might be—won't get very much satisfaction from the American government. Later cable—Senate committee have turned it down—I thought they would—OPA just a lot of busy-bodies!"

**OVERHEARD IN NEW YORK** on May 2: "I don't trust that bum. I don't think he's dead at all. I bet he's skipped to Argentina or some place. Oh, no, that's right, Argentina's on our side now, isn't it?"

**THE FOLLOWING AD** appears every Sunday in the Norwich, Connecticut, *Record*: "BINGO. Immaculate Conception School, Westerly, R. I. Every Monday, 8:00."

**DORIS VORMBROCK**, president of the Pan-Hellenic Society at the University of Louisville, Kentucky, told some of the qualifications for sorority membership in an interview in the *Louisville Courier Journal* of April 8: "We try to find out something about a girl's parents before we pledge her, because we want nice people, but the girl herself is what we go by. . . . We don't pledge Jewish girls, but they wouldn't want to join. Our ideals are based on Christianity."

**JAMES A. GRIFFIN**, Catholic Bishop of Springfield, Illinois, offered this explanation of Roosevelt's death in an address April 17: "While President Roosevelt was a casualty of the war, he was also a casualty of the heartless criticism of his enemies and a casualty of Russia. The perfidy of Russia is notorious. No man can deal with the red elements and hope to survive."

**LEGISLATIVE MEMO:** The House Judiciary Committee has reported favorably on the so-called "equal rights" amendment, which would nullify all legislation designed to protect women workers. . . . The Senate Commerce Committee is expected to issue a report on the Murray bill (S. 555) for a Missouri Valley Authority by May 15. The bill then will go to the Senate Agriculture and Irrigation committees successively. . . . By a referendum vote of 2,667 to 101, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has put its O.K. on the Bailey bill (S. 754), which would prohibit royalty payments by industry to representatives of employees. The Judiciary Committee is now considering the bill.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.]

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

TO YOUR LIST of bed-time reading add "The Land of the Great Image" by Maurice Collis. It relates the experiences of an Augustinian friar, Sebastiao Manrique, who was sent to Goa, the capital of Portuguese Asia, early in the seventeenth century. He was later transferred to Bengal and made a journey to the court of Arakan—which forms the principal matter of this book. Arakan is now part of Burma, but it was then an independent kingdom. Mr. Collis begins by presenting a picture of the luxurious decadent city, "Golden Goa," during the last years of Portuguese prosperity. This section includes an account of Francis Xavier, who had landed in Goa in 1542 on his way to convert all Asia and had shocked "high folks" because he insisted on going about barefoot and in rags among the poor and diseased. "White people," they said, "will be despised by the natives because of him, for only if they see us as splendid and magnificent conquerors will we be able to impress upon them that we are a superior race." His mummified body, retrieved from the remote Asian wayside where he died, was brought back to Goa. Needless to say, it was reverently enshrined by the "high folks" and became one of the sights of Goa. This first section also includes an inside account of an auto-da-fé by a French traveler named Dellon, who was caught in the toils of the Inquisition. Dellon had been so indiscreet as to make imprudent remarks about matters of faith—and to visit the mistress of a high official.

All this is interesting enough, but even more fascinating is the account of Manrique's long stay at the court of Arakan and his record of what went on there. It is based on Manrique's "Travels," published after his return to Europe in 1643. The "Travels" cover a great deal more than the material of this book, but they are written in what Vela, the historian of the Augustinian Order, calls "*castellano desastrado*"—a phrase which makes me want to read Vela—and are in any case not easily available. Still, according to Mr. Collis, who has obviously read them in their entirety, even Manrique was roused out of dulness by his adventures in Arakan. "His style in this part," says the narrator patiently, "is generally less tiresome."

Mr. Collis's own style is rather dry, but he has a nice sense of irony, which combines with the reader's to throw into strong relief the story of King Thiri-thu-dhamma, who aspired to become a Buddha and bring perfect government to the world. But he became so obsessed with his mission and desire that he even consented to the murder of many of his own subjects when a master of magic prescribed, in order to prolong the King's life, an elixir of which one ingredient was the essence of six thousand human hearts.

I was just finishing "The Land of the Great Image" when the news of Mussolini's end and the rumors of Nazi surrender came through. For the moment the whole fascist nightmare of the past twenty-three years seemed like another

fabulous story from a remote age when dungeons were in flower—except that torture on the scale of Buchenwald and Dachau could not have been achieved without mass-production methods and modern medicine. Eyewitness accounts of the fascist obsession in the twentieth century will have to be even duller and more matter of fact than Manrique's to be believed three hundred years from now.

Unless, of course, we continue to cherish the delusion that only other people, in this case the Germans, are capable of such evil. That can start a new cycle of cruelty which is none the less vile for being based on self-righteousness. Friar Manrique was shocked at the cruelty of the Arakan king—which was, in the king's mad logic, a means to an ideal end—but Manrique himself approved of the Inquisition and of the taking of infidel slaves, and condoned the terrible human consequences of both because of his belief in the infallibility of Rome. "Ideals," says Yeats, "make the blood thin and take the human nature out of people." Certainly that is true of fanaticism, whatever its source.

We are witnessing the most gruesome and complete demonstration in history of the fact that cruelty ends in the moral and even the physical destruction of its perpetrators. Yet the dangerous talk of "doing the same thing" to the Germans goes senselessly on.

Only those people who are willing to take on in person the actual work, from torture to cremation, of paying back the Germans in kind should be allowed to advocate it. And I wouldn't care to associate with any of the volunteers.

SOME NOTES on the American language: A Frenchman reports that he finds the English in *The Nation* quite easy to read but that the language of such papers as the *Daily Mirror* is beyond him. That reminds me of the complaint of a Hungarian friend whose second tongue has been English all his life. Soon after he arrived in this country he said that the talk he heard around New York was spoiling his English. And both remarks bring to mind a statement of Bertrand Russell's, of slightly different import, in an essay in *Horizon*:

We found, in America, that strangers in shops or buses at first took us for Germans and tolerated our way of speaking, but when they found that English was our native language they became indignant with us for not speaking as they do. It never occurred to them for a moment that the English have some rights in the English language.

He has a point.

THE ADVERTISING FEDERATION OF AMERICA is worried because "public-opinion polls insist that a considerable section of the general public has various prejudices against advertising." A while ago it sent out a letter asking all good media to come to the aid of "the advertising way" of doing business and asking also for \$25 with which to combat its enemies. These enemies include legislators and bureaucrats. "Forty Congressmen formed a so-called consumers' bloc, about a year ago, to fight for a program of compulsory govern-

ment grade labeling, standardization, and generally socialistic reform of business (my italics).<sup>24</sup> The federation is planning to expand its "many-sided national program of education and public relations. . . . In this we utilize numerous avenues of public information including materials used in the schools."

The advertising business has, I think, accomplished one job of education in its long and loud career. It has inculcated in a great many people a skepticism about advertising which will be very hard to eradicate. The excesses of the advertisers have made the whole business a national joke; and the radio commercial in particular has become so blatant and so boring that in retaliation one often refuses to hear it even though one listens. For even if it does not offend the taste, it offends the sense of the ridiculous, which is not confined to any "culture group."

The Barnum law, which the advertising profession has exploited so cynically, worked wonderfully at first; and of course it still works up to a point. But it is a law of diminishing returns. The stress on the opinions of experts is one attempt to overcome the decline; what is called institutional advertising may be another.

I'm curious to know what material is being used in schools and how it is insinuated. It will have to be clever, for even the school kids I know scoff at advertising if only because that's the fashionable thing to do. This does not mean that they are not responsive to advertising, but the fact that it's smart to be skeptical won't make things any easier for the A. F. A.

Someone was suggesting the other day that a firm which advertised its products quietly and by means of under- rather than overstatement would probably be very successful. I pass on this suggestion to the A. F. A.—it seems to me worth at least \$25. A long experience of discovering that products were slightly better than the ads say they are—instead of the other way round—might restore the public faith in advertising. But I doubt that so sensible a device will be considered. It is hardly compatible with "the advertising way."

## Work of Art

*ANGEL IN THE FOREST*. By Marguerite Young. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

MARGUERITE YOUNG's first prose volume is repetitive, obscure, diffuse, overwritten, firesomely obsessed with copulation and with analogical images of flowers, insects, and birds, scornful at many points of coherence, continuity, and form; yet it is a book of astonishing subtlety and brilliance, a genuine work of art, and together with her two previous volumes of verse it should establish its author as one of the truly notable writers of her generation. Its faults are in no sense deficiencies. Miss Young, on the contrary, is prodigal of her talent, and her book suffers from her excessive absorption in its theme. She cannot resist the characteristic temptation of gifted writers to give us too much of a good thing. The grandiose failure of two Utopias, George Rapp's and Robert Owen's, is the subject of a prolonged discursive meditation that points up the central, seminal paradoxes of man's relation to society. But this is not an ex-

pository or an argumentative work but a contemplative one, something rare these days, and cathartic. It is a true narrative, despite its factual shortcomings, for the same reason that it is in the best sense poetic: it dwells upon those contradictions that are not only the source of history but the only serviceable commentary on it.

The charm and verity of the book, as well as its inexhaustible irony, lie in its ambiguous attitude toward its subject. George Rapp's community was monastic, chiliastic, autocratic; Owen's was the reverse in everything but its communism. For a brief period Rapp's flourished, however, largely by selling whiskey to the natives, and its site was sold at a profit to Owen, who, for all his rationalism and business acumen and benevolence, was speedily proved the more visionary of the two, as his community disintegrated by secession, himself losing four-fifths of his fortune. "Who fails to love this man," says Miss Young, "fails to love humanity."

Miss Young, a native of Indiana, has not only done an extensive job of research on these settlements, as well as on the English background of Owen's career; she has visited New Harmony as one would a museum, or a mausoleum, talked with its citizens, all of whom are "aware of New Harmony's strangeness," finding, she tells us, "in 1940, all kinds of contrasts . . . babies squalled where Rappite celibates had slept profoundly. . . . A whore where there had been an angel. . . . No sky rolling back, no coming of Christ on a golden throne upheld by cherubim, but only a lonely crow, monogamist bird—and an airplane on some mysterious mission of its own, the advertisement of Lucky Strikes, a writing in that sky."

Such poignant incongruities as these largely compose the volume. The irony, indeed, is sometimes gross. Miss Young is continually approaching the border between the ironic and the grotesque, on occasion crossing it, as in her account, wholly fanciful no doubt, of Father Rapp in extreme old age becoming gradually disabused of his millenarian dream. On the whole, the section on the Rappites is much the better half of the book, sharper, more lucid and sardonic, less disfigured by philosophic digressions; the portion on the Owenites tends to embody the confusion it depicts, and the concluding chapters on Owen's unregenerate son, Robert Dale, trail off into irrelevance. Miss Young performs best as a commentator when she is not consciously philosophizing. Indeed, her book tells us in effect that life is an interminable implicit critique of itself, requiring no supplementary hypothesis.

The inherent irony of her material does not, however, explain the great impression her book gives of virtuosity. New Harmony for her is an image of human destiny, the perpetual mixture of exaltation and defeat. The real aesthetic virtue of the book is its inextricable propriety of style to theme. That style is mock evangelical, an almost reverent parody of the King James Bible. It is this exuberant satiric prose that is the embodiment of Miss Young's romanticism, of her doubts about not only rationalism but rationality, of her whimsical concern for whatever is deviant, singular, unique, of her metaphysical delight in fantasy, eccentricity, and madness, of, finally, her sense of life as an incalculable, chaotic thing, meaningful only for those passionate enough to imagine it so.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Out of James

"YOU KNOW," says the Princess Casamassima in James's novel, "you know people oughtn't to be both corrupt and dull." It is what George Santayana has pretty well managed to be in "The Middle Span," the second instalment of his memoirs (Scribner, \$2.50). The corruption—or at any rate the frankly cynical over-ripeness—we have long been accustomed to; but Santayana has rarely been merely tedious, and certainly "Persons and Places"—no doubt because the materials were those of childhood and adolescence—abounded in interest, humor, and poignancy. There are a few animated moments in this volume—two or three glimpses, for example, of Rockefeller, who on learning from Santayana that there were nineteen million people in Spain, observed at once that his associates didn't sell enough oil there—but in general the book succeeds only in reminding us how successfully Santayana has insulated himself against the life of his time,

and what abysses of Latin sentimentality there have always been in his nature.

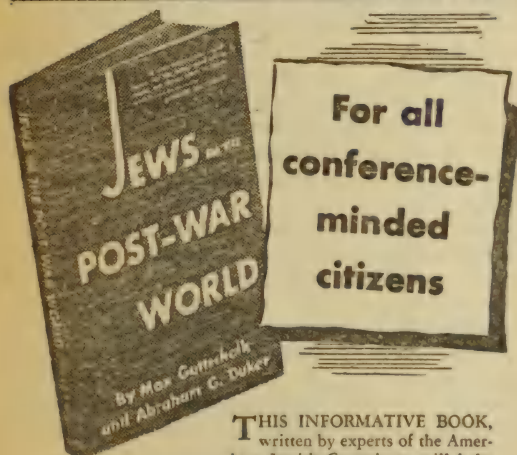
The real value the book has—indeed, a moderate one—is as a footnote to James's later novels: its pages are filled with the ghosts of real Ververs, real Strethers, real Graham Fielders; and of course, in a sense, Santayana belongs very much in that gallery himself. His book confirms our sense of James's uncanny clairvoyance about the American-European cosmopolis of his time. Certain of James's *dénoués*, if they had lived into our decade, might quite imaginably have spoken, as Santayana does, of a young man, his nephew, who joined the Falange in the Spanish civil war: he was, says Santayana, "among the first to catch the new wave of hope and enthusiasm for the moral regeneration of Spain." Santayana's conception of both morals and rebirth have always been a little alien to us: no wonder he felt, in the eighties, that he had to apologize to a visiting English lord for the mean and inelegant appearance of the Harvard Yard.

NEWTON ARVIN

### Argentina Now

FOR THE READER whose principal interest is in contemporary Argentine politics the most striking feature of Ysabel F. Rennie's "The Argentine Republic" (Macmillan, \$4) is her analysis of the Nationalist Revolution of 1943, now recognized, in its most totalitarian form, by the United States. Mrs. Rennie's view is almost diametrically opposed to the common, and slovenly expressed, Marxist opinion that the "revolution" was an expression of the landed oligarchy's resistance to the industrialists and their political allies. The author points out that the new society, intended to be Catholic and corporate, is Falangist. Nationalist conceptions strongly favor industrialization as a means of "de-colonializing" the country. The church is held to be only reservedly sympathetic to this new regime, which signifies the end of government by and for the *estancieros*. This view is in the main well expressed, though it is impossible not to believe that it is a hazardous over-simplification. Its chief point of value would seem to be that it calls attention to the most important aspect of the Argentine economy, the imbalance between the agrarian and cattle-breeding interior and the partially industrialized littoral. The earlier parts of the book are of very great value, particularly the two chapters on the land. In fact, despite the reservations made above, it must be said that Mrs. Rennie's book is a quite superior one and deserves to stand beside the Felix Weil volume recently reviewed here.

RALPH BATES



THIS INFORMATIVE BOOK, written by experts of the American Jewish Committee, will help you understand the complex problems that face all Jews. Here are eye-opening facts on the plans of the various world organizations as they affect the Jew, minority rights, resettlement and migration schemes, Palestine, relief needs. "For the good of the world, we should learn its lesson well."—Senator Leverett Saltonstall

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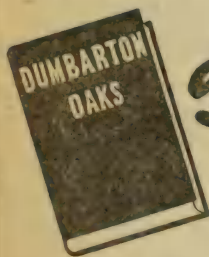
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A more appropriate moment could hardly have been selected for publication of "Time to Plan" by Lewis Lorwin (Harper, \$3), who was one of the pioneer advocates of social and economic planning in the United States. Despite its imperative title, the book is not argumentative in tone. It is historical and philosophical, concerning itself with the basic problem of our time—the reconciliation of centralized planning and democracy. Lorwin has no one solution for this problem; he believes that different countries may work out different answers. In the United States he sees the government not as the determiner of all economic activities but as an arbiter among our many economic groups, so that their rivalry may be subordinated to the interests of the nation as a whole. For leadership he believes that America will not look to business, labor, or even the middle class but to a composite leadership which "will become one with the 'plain people.'" He also lays great stress on the necessity for international planning for making the maximum use of natural resources and the raising of living standards throughout the world. This would be done, not by any single agency, but by a series of international organizations and by industrial, trade and commodity, and financial agreements between economic groups and governments in the various countries. Space does not permit the tracing of the details of this organization here, but it is so logical and realistic that even the most diehard opponents of planning are likely to find themselves persuaded if they can overcome their prejudices sufficiently to read the book.

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## FICTION IN REVIEW

### "The Big Uncensored Fun"

SINCE I myself was caught by the teasing title of Helen Haberman's "How About Tomorrow Morning?" (Prentice-Hall, \$2.50) I suppose I should warn you at once that the name has very little to do with the content of the novel—about as much, say, as the name of a cold cream has to do with its content. Mrs. Haberman's book is about the advertising business; its heroine, Tina, of the doll-like body and the giant energies, makes \$40,000 a year promoting Caress Cosmetics before she goes amateur in favor of cooperatives. The novel's title, then, can be thought of as an advertising slogan—Tina applying her promotional talents to the merchandising of fiction. There is also the biographical material supplied by the author for the dust-jacket of the book, which caught my attention and seems to me to be worth study as an expression of the advertising approach to the creation of literature. Here are the last lines of Mrs. Haberman's intellectual history:

And books! Emerson and Arnold and Wordsworth, the college loves, and in the last few years Henry James, volume after volume of James.

The intake growing bigger and bigger all the time and not enough outlet in the neat, tight pieces of advertising copy. Sublimating it with photography for years. Then bursting out with the great big lush luxurious form. The novel. The most fun of anything I've ever done. The big uncensored fun.

Actually, of course, "How About Tomorrow Morning?" turned out to be neither uncensored nor fun; it was clearly not the intention of the author to disclose what she does disclose both of herself and her sex; and to take the book at all, one must take it quite seriously, as a social document. Because Mrs. Haberman's novel avoids the royalist excesses of Ilka Chase's "In Bed We Cry," the lyrical excesses of a book like Ayn Rand's "The Fountainhead," and the excesses of infantilism of Rose Franken's Claudia stories, it has an unusual awful authenticity as a portrait of the modern female psyche. The fact that women novelists are always held to speak for their whole sex, as men novelists never are, is manifestly a measure of the extent of the "woman problem"; nevertheless, "How About Tomorrow Morning?" is the last book in the world to be exempt from this typicality. Indeed, I can think, at the moment, of no better single exhibit of the mind and spirit that forms, and is formed by, the higher-tensioned women's magazines.

In the first place, there is the quality of its sexual narcissism. A current advertisement addressed to women bears the legend "You have never been so pretty," and this effectively sums up the attitude toward herself of Mrs. Haberman's heroine. When Tina wrinkles her nose in that adorable way of hers, when she looks in the mirror to be so childishly pleased with what she sees, life imitates the advertiser's art with an embarrassing fidelity. Similarly, Tina's emotional plight is expressed in the clichés of duty and self-fulfilment that support and surround the advertising in women's magazines. Someone once told me that furniture, table settings, clothes, and so on are described in such careful detail in

popular women's fiction in order to focus the reader's attention on *objects* and thus make her more receptive to advertising. And although there is no such conscious process involved in "How About Tomorrow Morning?" the emotional symbols it employs unmistakably betray the commercial association. When, for instance, Mrs. Haberman wishes to suggest the nervous breakdown threatening her heroine, she has Tina constantly thwarted in her efforts at interior decoration: because of her emotional conflicts Tina can somehow never manage to make her rooms look right. Also her servants are discontented, and she neglects entertaining the people who could be of use to her doctor-husband.

At twenty-three Tina earned \$10,000 a year. Advanced to \$15,000, she is bitter because male chauvinism still refuses her her right to see the clients, to be on the contact front. Tina conquers the sexual obstacle in her career by taking her agency's chief client as her lover: she achieves the contact front, and her earnings increase apace. But having profited to the extent of an East River town apartment, a home in the country, and the equipment to maintain both, she discovers that in the process she has lost her soul. While visiting in New Hampshire she has a nervous collapse and is nursed back to health by a refugee doctor.

It is this healer of body and soul who introduces Tina to the salvation of cooperatives. Throughout the book cooperatives have been the deep motif of idealism sounding against the thin tinkling music of success in the crass world of advertising. Tina throws up her job and decides to devote herself to the national cooperative movement. All the old bounce immediately reasserts itself; before you can say "Sweden" Tina has begun to apply the techniques for selling cosmetics to selling social progressivism; and we are assured that when cooperatives pall or fail, there will always be some cause which could use Tina's advertising genius. This is of course the point at which Mrs. Haberman speaks most unconsciously but most contemporaneously for her sex. For what she is saying, in substance, is that the realm in which competitiveness and egoism operate has only to be a socially good realm for the competitiveness and egoism not to matter. She is also saying—though if she were made aware of its reactionary implications, I dare say she would be uneasy—that if you remove the obvious money drive from female careerism, you remove the source of all emotional conflict. One wants to remind Mrs. Haberman of that older salvation of the well-placed woman, philanthropy. The circle has come full swing, even though Lady Bountiful wields a typewriter instead of a wicker basket.

I am sure that the author of "How About Tomorrow Morning?" intended her novel as an objectified comment upon the sad condition of the successful career woman. But Mrs. Haberman has so little creative superiority to her material—she doesn't recognize, for instance, that the solution of Tina's problems is part and parcel of Tina's whole career—that the book has its considerable interest only as an item of the contemporary confusion. Tina's cultural color, her social ambitions, her mean little educated tastes and values, are dyed deep into the whole of Mrs. Haberman's literary effort. What price then—Mrs. Haberman herself forces the question—Emerson, Arnold, and Wordsworth, and volume after volume of James?

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# Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

ON COLUMBIA'S May list is Mozart's Symphony K.551 (usually referred to as the "Jupiter") performed by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra (Set 565; \$4.50). The performance is very good—which is to say that it achieves the grand style which the utterance should have; it is in fact surprisingly good in view of Walter's emotional softness and flabbiness, which this time manifests itself only in the slowing down of one passage in the first movement. And it remains very good, even though Beecham's performance in the old Columbia set imparts greater majesty to the first movement, greater power to certain passages in the second (Walter plays the second movement without the mutes which my score prescribes for the violins and violas; Beecham uses them on the first side but not on the second!). In one respect Walter's performance is better: his pace for the minuet movement is sufficiently animated, whereas Beecham's is unacceptably slow. And Beecham's performance comes off the records without the brightness of the sound of his later Mozart recordings. The recorded sound of the Walter performance I will speak of in a moment.

In addition, Brahms's Fourth Symphony is performed by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 567; \$5.50). This, for me, is Brahms's finest large-scale work; its best recorded performance, for me, remains Weingartner's in the old Columbia set; what makes that performance good, for me, is its steadiness of pace, and particularly the single tempo maintained, as Brahms evidently wished, throughout the series of varied repetitions of the opening eight-measure statement in the concluding passacaglia. And Ormandy's performance is poor, for me, because of his lack of feeling for continuity in pace—his tasteless preparatory retardations, his whipping up of the end of the first movement, his slowing down of the beginning of the second, his changes of tempo which prevent the repetitions in the finale from building up their cumulative impact.

And finally Stravinsky's "Scènes de Ballet" is performed by Stravinsky himself with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set X-245; \$2.50). This is the music which he wrote for Markova's

scene in Billy Rose's "Seven Lively Arts"; and like "Dances Concertantes" it is expertly put together but horrid stuff which invites use for dance purposes—but the purposes of a Balanchine, not of a Dolin.

As for the recorded sound of these performances, I will discuss Columbia's results in relation to its purpose, which one of its executives told me is to make recordings that will sound good on what he called "standard machines." First let me describe what machines I play the recordings on. One is my own, a wide-range amplifier and speaker-system with which I use (1) a Brush PL-25 pickup

that gives the entire reproducing set-up a frequency-range sufficient for the 8,500 cycles of the widest-range (highest-fidelity) commercial recording, or (2) an Astatic Tru-tan pickup that limits the frequency-range of the set-up to 4,500 or 5,000 cycles. And sometimes I check with a friend's Scott "23," whose single speaker gives it a range of about 6,500 cycles with the Brush, and 4,500 or 5,000 again with the Astatic. Now I have reason to believe that what that Columbia executive means by a "standard machine" is one of limited range, like my friend's or my own when used with the Astatic pickup, which is stand-

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## IMPORTANT READING

in the April CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD

THE STATELESS PEOPLE

Hannah Arendt

In western Europe before the war millions who had fled political persecution took refuge in "statelessness"—they preferred French concentration camps to deportation to their "homelands." Other millions were made stateless by decree. The war has added to their number—Russians and Czechs who fought in Hitler's armies, Poles who fought with the British, ELAS partisans, have become men without a country. How can they be assured human rights? The newest political phenomenon is subjected to searching analysis by Hannah Arendt, whose brilliant articles on European developments have attracted wide attention.

PALESTINE

IN THE CHANGING  
MIDDLE EAST

Bernard D. Weinryb

Britain's rivals in the Middle East—Italy, Germany and France—have been eliminated in the course of the war, but the United States and Russia have new interests in that area. The war-induced industrialization of the Arab lands brings further problems. Dr. Weinryb, who formerly taught economics in Jerusalem, soberly and frankly examines the new political constellation in the Middle East.

THOMAS MANN'S "JOSEPH": A Humanist Myth...Harold Rosenberg

ANTI-SEMITISM IN BRITAIN.....George Orwell

POEMS FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO.....A. Glanz-Leyless

FRANZ WERFEL'S SELF-HATRED.....Henry Rubin

### BOOK REVIEWS

by Sidney Hook, Bertram D. Wolfe, Solomon F. Bloom and Robert Pick.

The CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD is pleased to announce the appointment of Elliot E. Cohen as editor. Under Mr. Cohen's editorship, the magazine will be issued as a monthly, beginning next fall. Clement Greenberg is managing editor.

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ard in the sense that it, or worse, is what most people have in their homes. As for making recordings that will sound good on such a machine, my experience has taught me that the right way to do that is to make them so that they sound good on wide-range machines, like my friend's or my own when used with the Brush pickup. When I speak of my experience I have in mind things like Victor's recordings of the Toscanini-N. B. C. Symphony performance of the finale of "Götterdämmerung" and the Golschman-St. Louis Symphony performance of Sibelius's Seventh, Columbia's imported recordings of the Beecham-London Philharmonic performances of Mozart's "Linz" and "Prague" Symphonies, Columbia's own recording of the Mitropoulos-Minneapolis Symphony performance of Mahler's First: these are magnificent when reproduced by my wide-range set-up, and continue to sound well with my limited-range one. On the other hand when Columbia's new recordings of the New York Philharmonic's performances of Mozart's K. 551 and Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" and the Philadelphia Orchestra's performance of

Brahms's Fourth are reproduced by my wide-range set-up they come out with an over-emphasis of high frequencies insufficiently balanced by middle and low that makes them strident; but they lose this stridency with my limited-range set-up. This method of making recordings that sound good on limited-range machines is only partially successful, since the recordings still do not sound as good as the ones made the other way. And it does not always have even that much success—the Philadelphia Orchestra recording of Beethoven's Seventh remaining strident even with the limited range. As for Stravinsky's "Scènes de Ballet," the engineer's hand appears to have slipped, producing a recording which is excellent on both wide-range and limited-range machines.

## Films

JAMES  
AGEE

THE script of "Counter-Attack" was written by John Howard Lawson, and the picture was directed by Zoltan Korda, who wrote and directed "Sahara." Barring the beginning and a few shots which show the Russians building and crossing an underwater bridge, it is one of those specialized pictures, like "Lifeboat," in which the problem is to keep a movie alive and exciting in limited space. (Here two Russians and eight Germans, trapped in a shelled basement, with limited light, wrestle out their national and class traits.) It isn't really such a hard problem as might offhand be imagined, since rigorous form and self-denial furnish their own tensions and suggest many of their own solutions. It seems to me for that matter rather a ham one. But the director and writer and camera man (James Wong Howe) and most of the cast are to be complimented on solving it, most of the time, very intelligently, without much resort to trick incident or emotional balderdash. The Germans, indeed, like all the supporting players in "Sahara," are out of a class with anything you can ordinarily see in a contemporary American-made fiction film; so is Korda's handling of them except when each steps forward and does his histrionic equivalent to the old cliché in which each girl in the chorus line executed a solo Charleston—but it looks as if that should be blamed chiefly on the script. These enemies, incidentally, are presented as individuals, not as congenital criminals; one of them even

comes over to the Russian side, and does so without any blathering about repentance. Paul Muni, excellent in his quieter moments, is too often an over-generalized, stagy embodiment of Russia. There is a certain amount of complacent formula about the picture, of a kind nearer Russian than American (the original story is Russian), but there is a lot of aesthetic and psychological good to it, too. I think it is worth seeing; and I expect that any Lawson-Korda picture is going to be.

Greer Garson has kinds of vitality and resource which might do very good kinds of work, but ordinarily they are turned into wax. She is waxen in stretches of "The Valley of Decision," and embarrassingly actressy in some others; but quite often too, as an Irish servant in a rich Scottish household, she is alive, vivid, and charming, and suggests how really good she might be under better circumstances. If she were not suffocated and immobilized by Metro's image of her—and, I'm afraid, half-persuaded of it herself—I could imagine her as a very good Lady Macbeth. I could still more easily imagine her as a wonderful Elisabeth Ney (the half-sane sculptress who reduced Schopenhauer to a drooler and left the court of Ludwig of Bavaria for a rotting estate in Texas). But I suppose the best she will ever be allowed is this sort of short trot in pre-conditioned open air. Tay Garnett's direction is good, too good to be wasted on big, solemn, expensive trash-collectations like this.

## CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS MANN, one of the greatest of living writers, is a voluntary exile from Nazi Germany. His famous letter to the dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Bonn was published in *The Nation* of March 6, 1937, under the title "I Accuse the Hitler Regime."

MARIO ROSSI is a former member of the Italian underground now in the United States.

BARETT SHELTON is editor of the *Decatur Daily*, Decatur, Alabama.

MARTIN GUMPERT is a well-known physician and writer on health. Among his books are "Dunant: The Story of the Red Cross," and "Heil Hunger: Health Under Hitler."

## LETTERS TO JUDD

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### For Federation

Dear Sirs: It is frequently said, "Yes, world federation is the ultimate goal, but Dumbarton Oaks is the best we can do now." But Dumbarton Oaks is not even a small step toward world federation. It proposes a new League, and there is nothing federal about it. One fundamental principle of federation is that laws properly passed by law-making authority should apply only to individuals or corporations. In the United States state officials are subject to federal law as individuals, but Congress does not have the authority to pass laws governing states in their corporate capacities nor does the Executive have the power to use the military to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court against a state.

I suggest that, in a limited field, the United Nations organization delegate to the Assembly powers to make laws effective upon individuals or corporations. At first this delegation must be limited to fields in which there is almost universal agreement, such as the control of illicit international traffic in opium and the punishment of war criminals.

Dumbarton Oaks has not recognized sufficiently the necessity of creating a world opinion and a sense of world citizenship. If Mr. Smith, an American citizen, goes to France, he obeys the laws of France or is tried and punished by a French court. I suggest that if Mr. Smith engages in the illicit international opium traffic, he be apprehended by international police, tried before an international court, and incarcerated in an international prison. Law-abiding citizens everywhere would begin to see that these laws were made for their protection and benefit. In actual practice a sense of world citizenship would develop. As confidence increases and necessity dictates, more powers, though still limited, could be delegated to our international assembly. Within twenty or thirty years we should have developed a true international bill of human rights which, if properly enforced on individual violators, would stop would-be Hitlers before they control even one government. This is the true, though difficult, road to peace.

Our forefathers created an effective federation from which the United States of America developed. Are we so bound

by the fetish of unlimited national sovereignty, that popular adaptation of the ancient and foreign idea of the divine right of kings, and so limited in vision and courage, that we cannot or will not plant even a tiny seed for world federation?

WALLACE T. PARTCH  
Oakland, Cal., April 23

### Browder vs. Del Vayo

Dear Sirs: Earl Browder's reply in the *New Masses* of April 3 to Mr. del Vayo's V-Day and Revolution, published in your March 17 issue, is a weak argument in support of the Communist position. Browder states that defeatism is the abiding danger of the non-Marxist left. But perhaps it is appeasement of capitalism that is the real defeatism.

Del Vayo says: "Only through a planned economy and through solutions very close to socialism have the rebuilders of Europe any reasonable chance of success. The day of effective capitalist control is over; the trend of Europe is toward the left. If the democratic powers had been willing to gear their foreign policy to this trend, the change to a socialized society might have been a peaceful one. They have not done so; instead they have moved from one costly experiment in reaction to another, and in doing so they have only promoted revolution."

To Browder this is defeatism of the worst sort. He says, "Now if this is to be taken as a correct description of the dominant current in world affairs, then indeed the military victory over the Axis will be only the curtain-raiser to World War III."

But although Mr. del Vayo's statement may be a bit strong, he neither implies a third world war nor advocates revolution. What he does say is the plain truth.

To secure permanent peace we must work in the direction of socialist democracy as opposed to the continuance of a decadent capitalist democracy. True liberals and Socialists should spread this thought. Work in this direction is not "defeatism" as the Communists have played up the word. The Communist Political Association has deviated from this course toward a species of appeasement of capitalism—at least in America.

CHARLES T. CARPENTER  
Placerville, Cal., April 18

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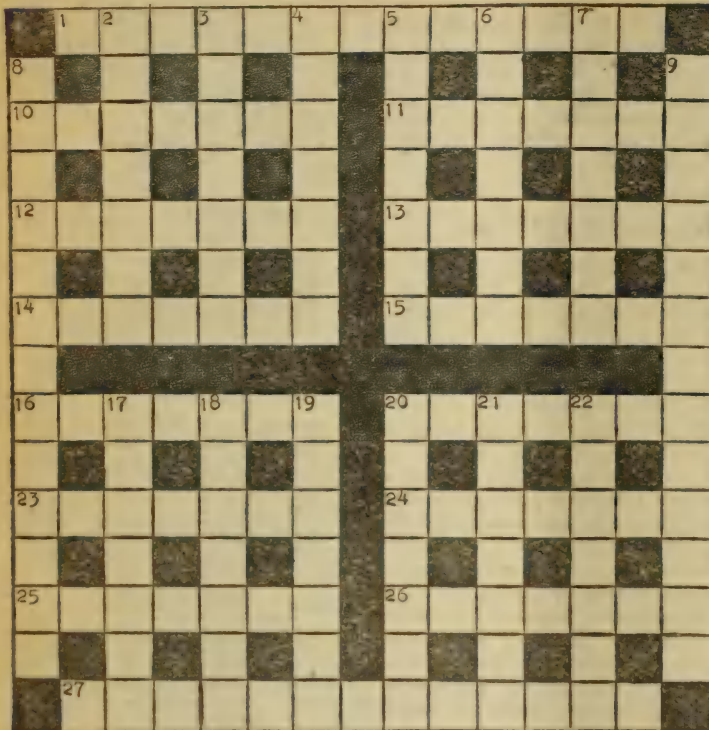
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 115

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 American statesman (two words, 6 and 7). (He reminded Sidney Smith of a steam engine in trousers)
- 10 "I'm her Pa" (anag.)
- 11 A Fuzzy-wuzzy
- 12 "An agreement between two members of a legislative body holding opposite opinions to refrain from voting so that both may absent themselves" (Whew!)
- 13 Likely to be found in the laundry, but Shaw is mixed up in it
- 14 Safety valves? Could be
- 15 "----- his fib or sophistry in vain! The creature's at his dirty work again" (Pope)
- 16 "He that hath wife and children, hath given ----- s to fortune" (Bacon)
- 20 It would hardly do for a True Story magazine
- 23 French explorer who traced the Mississippi to its mouth (two words, 2 and 5)
- 24 A hare in its first year
- 25 Wrapping in silver paper?
- 26 Set free
- 27 Where road transport gets even with the railroad (two words, 5 & 8)

## DOWN

- 2 A believer, apparently, is just the reverse!
- 3 Conceive
- 4 Center of the porcelain industry in France

- 5 Gave a dowry, so is mostly an injunction to marry
- 6 The pineapple, for example
- 7 Even if you knock his block off the thrower-out will still be victor
- 8 Plea of the political extremist on the road in England (four words, 4, 2, 3 and 4)
- 9 Elver's poor Pa? (two words, 6 & 7)
- 17 The Pope's chapel in the Vatican
- 18 Knowing everything—or the Cockney's rendition of "Always" (hyphen, 3-4)
- 19 C. I. Green, thoroughly upset, is exhibiting energy
- 20 Sicily's chief city
- 21 Mutinies
- 22 Good buy

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 114

ACROSS:—1 BOOMERANG; 6 PINTS; 9 VIRTUES; 10 AVARICE; 11 NEEDIER; 12 CAST OFF; 13 TEE; 15 DUFFEL; 17 ADVICE; 18 ONION; 19 SIGNET; 22 TALMUD; 25 UGH; 27 COLLEEN; 28 ANAGRAM; 30 OPEROSE; 31 TRENTON; 32 HOYLE; 33 DUNDEARY.

DOWN:—1 BAVIN; 2 OURSELF; 3 ELUSIVE; 4 ASSERT; 5 GLANCE; 6 PRAISED; 7 NAIROBI; 8 SHEFFIELD; 14 EXING; 15 DISHLOTH; 16 LOT; 17 ANT; 20 GALLERY; 21 EYESORE; 23 AMATEUR; 24 MARITZA; 25 UNBEND; 26 HASTEN; 29 MONEY.

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE HOPELESSNESS OF JAPAN'S PLIGHT WAS underscored by the news coming in from the various Pacific fronts in the week following V-E Day. In spite of furious Japanese resistance, progress is being stepped up on Okinawa, and the end of that bloody campaign seems in sight. In the southern Philippines and on Tarakan the enemy's grasp on vital economic areas has been loosened, and both struggles are entering the mopping-up stage. Burma has been nearly cleared of the foe, and there are intimations that an attack on Singapore may be launched before many weeks. Even in China, where setbacks have come to be expected, a substantial United Nations victory is reported. Chinese troops, with powerful support from the American Fourteenth Air Force, are said to have broken Japanese lines in western Hunan and surrounded at least one enemy unit. This victory apparently removes the Japanese threat to the important American air base at Chihkiang. The most portentous development for the Japanese, however, was the renewal of large-scale B-29 raids against Japan's war industries. A 400-plane raid on the Tokuyama, Otake, and Oshima oil-storage areas, in which not an American ship was lost, indicated that General Doolittle's prediction of 2,000-plane raids is no idle boast. \*

THE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION FOR Northern Italy has taken a clear stand with respect to the monarchy and the Italian provisional government. Although it wishes to do nothing which might endanger the unity of the country, it declares openly that the monarchy is hated not less than Fascism, and that the Bonomi government has neither the ability nor the authority to remain in power. When representatives of the Committee of National Liberation for Northern Italy met with Premier Bonomi recently, the president of the committee, Rodolfo Morandi, reminded him that the "very advanced and complete democratic legislation introduced in the north of Italy by the partisans" contrasted strongly with the backward situation persisting in the south. The committee therefore unanimously demanded the formation of a government whose key ministries, beginning with that of the Interior, would be entrusted to men capable of understanding the "very advanced legislation operating in the north." Until now the key ministries—Interior, Army, and Navy—have been in the hands of faithful monarchists. The great strength of the monarchist political machine in the south, built up with British aid, is described in detail by Mario Rossi on a later page. It is to be hoped that the committee's demands will be met and that a split between north and south may be avoided. If, as has been repeatedly hinted,

the Premiership should go to Pietro Nenni, the government would be headed by a man who understands and would try to realize the ideals for which the partisans have been fighting.

✱

THE FIRST BONA FIDE GERMAN TRADE UNION meeting in 12 years took place in the Aachen Chamber of Labor on March 18. An account of the meeting attended by 70 former unionists appears in the March 21 issue of the AMG newspaper, the *Aachener Nachrichten*. A woman trade unionist (and member of the town council in pre-Hitler days) said, "All who were too cowardly to defy the Nazis share their guilt for the suffering of the innocent." A 13-point program was adopted, which includes the following immediate and long-term objectives: destruction of Prussian militarism and fascism; cooperation in removing Nazis from government, business, and industry; trade-union representation in all branches of public life; reintroduction of the right to strike, the eight-hour day, and the labor code; regulation of wages and vacations; suppression of the Nazi labor spy system in factories; safe-keeping of all Labor Front records; the establishment of May 1 as a legal holiday; admission of former Nazi party members to union membership but not to union office; cooperation with world labor movements; education, particularly of young people, in international understanding. The program is a catalogue of labor's losses under fascism; now all the goals must be won again. More than most groups in Germany, the labor movement is capable of laying the ground-work for a decent democratic life in that hate-levelled land.

✱

THE HIGH ARMY OFFICERS, ON THE OTHER hand, guilty as a class and guilty to the last man of promoting the rise of Nazism and its aggression against the world, are already busy establishing their claim to power in Germany. And in this attempt they have been helped by the inexplicable leniency of the Allied military authorities. Perhaps it is necessary to use members of the German high command as aids in demobilizing the German army, but certainly they need not be offered facilities to make radio pronouncements to the people, asserting their authority and dissociating themselves from the fallen Nazis. Von Falkenhorst, for example, former commander of the German forces in Norway, claimed all responsibility for the political administration of that country and shamelessly announced that the Allies had "liberated the army and the German people from the Nazi yoke." Busch, commander of the forces that surrendered to Field Marshal Montgomery, announced that he was "in charge" of northwestern Germany with the consent of the Allies. Inquiries are being made by the British government as to the circumstances under which such statements have been issued, but even if they are prevented from now on, great harm has been done. The German people have every right to be confused when they find the military leaders of Hitler's army placed in positions of responsibility by the Allied command. Even more disturbing has been the handling of captured Nazi leaders, particularly Goering. To permit this fascist terrorist to expound to the world his

views on his fellow Nazis, the war, and world affairs generally was political stupidity of the lowest order. General Eisenhower has done well to repudiate this spectacle and forbid similar behavior in the future. It is high time American and British officers quit treating Hitler's gangsters like honorable colleagues. We much prefer the methods used by the Italian partisans. They are rough but they bear some relation to justice and common sense.

✱

PERHAPS ED KENNEDY'S PRESS COLLEAGUES IN Europe slightly overstated the case when they referred to his world "scoop" on the V-E Day news as "the most disgraceful, deliberate, and unethical double-cross in the history of journalism." But we think in the main they were justified. A news beat scored through the breach of a solemn pledge and involving, according to General Eisenhower, "possible loss of American and Allied lives" is hardly a credit to a journalist or to a great press service. How wide will be the repercussions of Kennedy's action it is difficult at this time to calculate. General Eisenhower was placed in the position of having apparently "broken an understanding with our Russian allies" at the very moment the Germans were doing everything to cause dissension and at a time when fuller understanding was desperately needed. Kennedy has not helped the standing of American correspondents in Russia. Moreover, from many accounts, army-press relationships in the European theater had been steadily deteriorating and army censorship had reached a peak of exasperating stupidity. Kennedy's irresponsible action, the only case of violation of confidence in the European war by an American correspondent, will vastly complicate rather than unravel this snarl. The AP's frank apology may help clear the air. Reform in censorship is needed and should not be delayed by one unfortunate defection, however serious might have been its consequences. This applies not only to our military censorship but to that of our allies. The free exchange of news is a prerequisite if understanding between nations is to be developed.

✱

FIORELLO LAGUARDIA WILL NOT RUN AGAIN for Mayor of New York, and the chances are that the city will revert once more to partisan government. To the half-million or so independent citizens whose balance of voting power has kept LaGuardia in office since 1934, this will be a cause for regret, but the regret will be tempered by a certain amount of relief. Insofar as New York City is a corporation, LaGuardia has managed its affairs well. The city government, under him, has been as nearly incorruptible as a city government can ever be. He himself has been honest, competent, and often creative in his leadership. He has, however, shared the common failings of reformers—intolerance and meddlesomeness—and he has manifested them through a remarkably aggressive and self-righteous personality. His high-handedness in dealing with what he considered moral issues in the theater, in the schools, and very often in private homes has exasperated many of his most loyal supporters and left him vulnerable to his enemies. Nevertheless, what New York needed most when LaGuardia took office was solvency, com-

mon honesty, and efficient administration. If he has not as yet made the city solvent, his success in removing the high smokehouse flavor from city politics may be measured by the fact that the party leaders, now casting about for a possible successor, seem to be looking to men who can give the city as honest and efficient an administration as LaGuardia has given it. On the basis of past performance, this could be expected from William O'Dwyer, Joseph McGoldrick, Jonah Goldstein, or Newbold Morris, the four men who seem to lead the field at the present moment.

## Conference Notes

San Francisco, May 13

PURELY by accident I found myself at the airfield when the first member of the Argentine delegation arrived. On hand were a strong complement of M.P.'s, the functionaries of the Argentine embassy in Washington, a band, several reporters, some photographers—no one else. The head of the delegation, Miguel Angel Carcano, Argentine ambassador to London, a former Minister of Agriculture, not especially connected with the present regime, was easily the best man the Farrell-Perón government could have sent. The other two members of the delegation originally announced, Espil and Escobar, both former ambassadors to Washington, avoided San Francisco by as wide a margin as possible. Espil proceeded to Madrid and Escobar to Paris to take up their ambassadorial posts.

Ambassador Carcano, who is well known for his social grace, stepped out of the plane with an ingratiating smile. Suddenly the Argentine ambassador to Washington, Ibarra Barcia, whispered something in his ear. Instantly the smile vanished and Carcano's face became pale. It was not hard to guess what he had been told. Only that morning the papers had carried the story of the suppression of V-E Day celebrations in Argentina and the arrest of Raul Taborda, editor of the liberal newspaper *Critica*, because he insisted on flying the flag of the Soviet Union alongside of the other United Nations' flags. Taborda had been the chairman of the parliamentary committee for the investigation of Nazi activities.

For Ambassador Carcano this news made a bad start for his San Francisco visit. He did not dare hold a press conference for fear that questions would be asked about the *Critica* incident. He must have been personally shaken, because he himself is owner of a mildly liberal paper published in Cordoba. For all he knew, his own editor at that very moment might be languishing in a cell.

It is interesting in these days to watch French-Spanish relations. I should not be surprised if one morning we read that De Gaulle had broken with Franco.

In that case there would be nine countries that have broken with Franco: until now I have always counted seven—Russia, China, Czechoslovakia, New Zealand, Mexico, Guatemala, Yugoslavia. But when I went over this list the other day in the presence of the very keen and truly democratic Foreign Minister of Australia, Mr. Evatt, he challenged me furiously: "What about Australia?" It was Mr. Evatt who

introduced the first amendment seeking to bar Franco from the new international organization.

A very lively topic of discussion in conference circles is: "Who will be the general secretary?" The prevailing impression is that the post will go to an American. Names are beginning to be mentioned. It was interesting to hear from an intelligent diplomat who has lived in the United States for many years and who knows Washington circles intimately that his candidate is not an acknowledged expert on foreign affairs like Sumner Welles, not a great administrator with experience in large affairs, but a Justice of the Supreme Court—Hugo L. Black.

J. A. d. V.

## Will There Be Jobs?

DESPITE all the talk of post-war plans in the past three years, V-E Day caught the United States without an over-all program for reconversion or full employment. True, the War Production Board and the army were ready with an orderly program of cutbacks and gradual demobilization. A few hours after the final signatures were put on the surrender documents many WPB controls were relaxed to encourage a gradual resumption of the production of essential civilian goods. But no steps have been taken to enable the war workers who lose their jobs to find new ones readily or to cushion the economic shock of the transition period. Nor have any preparations been made to assure ex-service men and former war workers of jobs after V-J Day.

The announced cutbacks for the next few months are not large. General Somervell, commander of the Army Service Forces, has said that the army will cut about \$3,500,000,000 from its procurement program in the next 90 days. It is estimated that procurements will drop 18 per cent in the next eight months and from 25 to 30 per cent in the next twenty months. Cutbacks at this rate would seem to present few problems during the next six or eight months; the materials and men released are needed for the production of civilian goods. But no allowance is made in these estimates for the reduction in ship construction. Shipbuilding in the third quarter of this year will be 15 per cent below the present level; in the fourth quarter it will be down 35 per cent; and by the end of 1945 the cutbacks will become really severe. Scheduled tank production for the last three months of the year has been reduced by approximately 70 per cent. Aircraft production may be trimmed by as much as 30 per cent. Most observers feel that the army and navy are being extremely cautious in announcing cutbacks. A few months from now they are likely to find themselves overstocked on many types of equipment, thus forcing many unanticipated cancellations. According to some estimates, the cut in military output may reach 50 per cent by the end of the year.

Translating the officially estimated cutbacks into lost jobs, Director of War Mobilization Vinson has indicated that 1,500,000 workers will lose their jobs in the next six months and that 3,000,000 more will be thrown out of work in the ensuing six months. During this year approximately 2,000,000 men are expected to be demobilized from the army. Because of present shortages of man-power in most industries,

the chances are that four or five million workers can be absorbed in civilian pursuits during the year. So far so good. But what if the cutbacks turn out to be much greater than the present cautious estimates? And what will happen if Japan collapses in six or eight months, as many authoritative observers confidently predict?

While the first stages of reconversion appear well under control, there is grave danger of chaos in the later stages, particularly after V-J Day. A large proportion of the WPB controls have already been lifted, and most of the others are expected to be removed by the end of the year. J. H. Krug, head of the WPB, has declared that all controls would be dropped as soon as possible after the defeat of Japan. Thus the major task of reconversion—the closing of the greater number of the war plants and the reabsorption of the bulk of the demobilized service men, will be completely unregulated.

Some private concerns, notably the General Electric Company, have laid plans for expanding their output in order to provide as many jobs as possible, but industry spokesmen confess frankly that they see little possibility of even approximating the present employment level in the post-war period. In an effort to forestall public criticism, business spokesmen are at the moment engaged in a campaign to discredit a program of 60,000,000 jobs as an unrealistic and unobtainable goal. While they do not deny that the present labor force, together with the men and women in the armed forces, totals considerably more than 60,000,000, they insist, with little evidence, that at least 6,000,000 will voluntarily withdraw from the labor force at the end of the war. And they suggest that we should accept 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 unemployed as normal, thus leaving the job goal at slightly over 50,000,000. Even this goal, they admit, probably will not be attained through the efforts of industry alone.

Yet except for the limited assistance provided by an inadequate unemployment insurance system, the government has taken no steps to guarantee jobs or otherwise to sustain consumer buying power during the difficult transition period that lies ahead. For the moment, to be sure, the problem is still one of excess buying power. Not enough consumer goods are being manufactured to absorb the buying power created by war production. But this situation will rapidly change as consumer goods begin to appear on the market and the level of wages is reduced through the elimination of overtime. The number of jobs that will be opened up in private industry to replace those lost in war plants will depend primarily on industry's prospects for selling its goods. And this in turn will depend chiefly on the extent to which purchasing power is maintained during the reconversion period.

President Roosevelt made the maintenance of purchasing power one of the chief campaign issues last fall. We can be sure that if he had lived the Administration would have come forward with a concrete program designed to assure 60,000,000 jobs. Except for the Murray bill, which has been ignored at the White House, no such program appears to be under consideration today. Congress has not even taken up the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for expanding and extending social-security protection. Unless action is taken shortly on both these measures, our fighting men may find themselves returning to an America of bread lines and soup kitchens as did the heroes of 1918.

## Fragments of One World

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

*En route, San Francisco-New York, May 12*

**I** LEFT San Francisco with relief this morning. The conference has gone into a period of committee work, of behind-the-scenes bargainings, which is difficult to report for a daily paper, impossible for a weekly. Even speculation, the stock in trade of the reporter without news, is likely to blow up in one's face before the week is out. And the secrecy that has closed down on all the committee proceedings adds to the difficulty of keeping tabs on a circus of changing acts taking place in about two dozen rings. The "leak," intentional or cleverly procured, is the reporter's best bet, but it is an unreliable kind of information, useful chiefly as a crowbar to pry real news out of tightly closed officials. The open rows of the first days which made stories have subsided, although the tensions that caused them are still there, and the delegates are warily picking their way among political time bombs toward agreements which appear likely to circumvent rather than solve the difficulties.

How is it possible to deal intelligently with such a picture? I don't know, but I hope, as the smooth tableland of Kansas flows westward down below me, that time and distance will provide the perspective San Francisco denied the truly inquiring reporter. If I have formed any opinions during the past three weeks, they are tentative, based less on facts than on the general temper of the meeting, the character of the people who compose it, the tendencies suggested by decisions so far made. I put them down with diffidence, reserving the right to change them as the days pass; hoping I can change them.

First of all, I reject the notion so generally accepted in the press that Russia is to be looked upon as a maverick state, unbranded and unpredictable, or that its actions are mysterious. A favorite attitude among writers, including liberal writers, is to assume that Soviet policy poses a unique problem. "We must try to get along with Russia, but how far should we go in making concessions?" I believe a more realistic view would admit that every nation represented at San Francisco is looking after its own interests, and that the hope of a collective system depends upon the degree to which each nation accepts such a system as necessary to its own survival. Russia plainly wants an international security organization. Equally plainly it has little confidence that such an organization is going to be strong enough to depend upon in the near future; so it is building up simultaneously a system of national security. The danger that the second will still further weaken the first does not deter Russia.

But look at the other big powers. Their methods may be more discreet, their manners nicer, but are they sacrificing any measures of national protection to the general plan? China alone offered to yield some area of sovereignty to the new collective organization. It is not too cynical, perhaps, to suggest that China's weakness as a nation, its need of protection during the period of national integration that lies ahead, may have influenced its attitude. In any case China's words resounded in a vacuum. The new mandate scheme,

renamed trusteeship, differs little from the old one. The most important change, to permit the establishment of military bases and fortifications in mandated territories, is hardly a sign of increased trust in collective measures. The Russians intend to ring themselves round with friendly states—which means, obviously, states whose governments are free of anti-Russian elements and which are prepared to gear their economic life, under whatever system, closely to Russia's requirements for defense and reconstruction. But how much more deplorable is this attitude than Britain's apparent determination to keep the liberated Italian colonies in Africa, to fortify them, and levy troops from the native populations—all under the aegis of the trusteeship plan? And how much worse was Russia's arrest of the "sixteen" Poles than the arrest last summer of the Greek delegates from the E. A. M. who went in good faith to Cairo to confer with the British? As far as anybody knows, the Greek envoys are still in prison, but nobody has suggested that cooperation with Britain will be impossible as long as it goes on doing these things. Why is it that nobody suggests such a thing? Because it would be manifestly absurd. But since that is so, why do people wonder anxiously how long we can put up with the behavior of Russia?

And how much more of a threat to peace through collective action are Russia's measures for security than our own firm hand on the Western Hemisphere and our claim to the Japanese islands? We may give to both the appearance of subordination to the world organization, but in each case the actual power will remain with the United States. We, like Russia and Britain, will hold on to everything we think may augment our national security and will yield to the new League only such powers as will not interfere with basic measures of defense. Russia, a great land power, is drawing

around it protective land areas. We are interested in far-flung strategic bases necessary to the security of a hemisphere. Britain is still clinging to—and adding to—the defenses of its empire routes. France fights to retain the "automatic" application of its defense pact with Russia and looks toward a similar agreement with Britain. Defenders of the Western Hemisphere security plan are still, as I write, seeking a "formula" which will permit it to function and yet somehow to gear into the over-all system: a formula will undoubtedly be discovered, but it will not hide the fact that any scheme of hemisphere security demonstrates a lack of confidence in world security.

The best hope as I write these words rests in an honest attempt on the part of the still allied nations to overcome mutual suspicions and fears. At the worst we shall get an agreement at San Francisco. It will establish a world organization of strictly limited powers. At the center of this organization will be an armed alliance of the three greatest nations. For the immediate future the effective functioning of the organization will depend upon the capacity of those three nations to work together. If that fails, the security system itself will crumble. If some measure of unity is maintained, the system will survive and may gather strength. The elements that create distrust in each governing group may be shoved out of power by processes of revolutionary change already visible. Meanwhile the nations represented in San Francisco have at least the elementary obligation to repair the damage already done by openly expressed distrust. If each delegation would admit for the duration of the conference its own interested motives and forswear self-righteous accusations of the others, a start might be made toward the honest and realistic relations which must form the basis of even a limited system of collective action.

## Pie in the 'Frisco Sky

BY I. F. STONE



*Demo & Helen  
San Francisco*

Secretary of State Stettinius

San Francisco,  
May 13  
FROM one point of view, the whole trusteeship question is the big fraud of the United Nations Conference for International Organization. It is pie in the sky, a very distant sky, for the colonial and colored

peoples. What has really been going on here under the grandiose and attractive idea of trusteeship is a polite but unmistakable wrangle over strategic bases and the territorial booty which will be left over after the Axis is finally defeated.

Honestly to discuss the very real problem of bases and the disposition of the Italian and Japanese empires is one thing. But to cover it over with the concept of trusteeship is dangerously to arouse, and then to disappoint, the hopes of 750,000,000 colonial and colored

people. The contrast between the universal principles enunciated in the American, British, and French proposals and their niggardly application is politically explosive. It is of just such inflated expectations and morning-after disillusion-



Foreign Minister Molotov

ment that revolutionary movements have often been born.

But it is not enough to make this observation. The question goes deeper and is more complex. The trusteeship idea was Rooseveltian, as the mandatory idea at Versailles was Wilsonian. Both reflected the effort of humane and enlightened but politically weak forces to insert the thin edge of the wedge into the harsh block of imperialism, to establish a principle that might serve as a starting-point for its amelioration and ultimate end. This was always Mr. Roosevelt's way at home—to get the main principle written into law at the cost of whatever compromise and in however meager a form. This was, for example, his attitude on social security; he was fully aware of how imperfect was the first Social Security Act. That seemed to him trivial beside the achievement of enacting the principle itself, and he was right.

There is an important difference, however, between doing this on the domestic and on the international plane. At home Mr. Roosevelt had strong support; the principles could be put into practice under popular pressure. But in foreign affairs, and especially in so distant a matter as the fate of colonial and colored peoples, there is no comparable organized, informed, interested, and insistent opinion; the colonial peoples themselves have but faint voice. Under such circumstances, the expression and acceptance of noble general principles have little effect and appear in retrospect as mere insincere window-dressing to disguise the continuance of imperialist exploitation.

That this would be the ultimate fate of the trusteeship idea seemed probable after Mr. Roosevelt's death. He left the idea as an unwelcome legacy to the American delegation, a group not overcrowded with men of vision. The State Department and the delegation itself were at once set upon by the Navy Department. "We have spent millions of dollars and thousands of lives conquering the Japanese-held islands in the Pacific," Admiral Hart told the Institute of Pacific Relations at Hot Springs, "and we have no intention of relinquishing their sovereignty to another international authority after this war." The American proposals had to be whittled down to satisfy the navy. The net effect of the American, British, and French proposals is to permit any country to give up its empire if it chooses to do so! In the meantime, while awaiting this unlikely event, "trusteeship" is actually a step behind the League mandates system in that it gives the possessing power a legal right to fortify dependent areas and to use dependent peoples and resources for war.

This highly satisfactory—from the imperial point of view—state of affairs has been upset by the Soviet Union. The U. S. S. R. at San Francisco has seized world leadership on three great issues whose importance for the future cannot be overestimated. The first was the Argentine issue. That this is neither a special case nor a settled question was indicated by Mr. Molotov's statement to the press on May 7, in which he said that the program being charted here "is incompatible with the membership of fascist countries in the organization of international security . . . for fascist countries are known to be sinister centers not only of reaction but of war as well."

The second issue was connected with the right to work and the right to an education. Mr. Molotov revealed, what

some of us already knew, that the Soviet Union had sought to include these among the human rights referred to in the charter. He said the U. S. S. R. withdrew its request when told that "it would be inadvisable to mention any specific rights." I know from reliable American sources that Senator Vandenberg and Representative Eaton led the fight to keep the right to work and the right to an education out of the charter.

The third issue on which the U. S. S. R. has taken the leadership is the question of colonial and colored peoples. This became apparent in three stages. I know from both the Indian press and the Indian Nationalists here what a sensation was created when Mr. Molotov during the debate on Argentina said, "We have at this conference an Indian delegation. But India is not an independent state. We all know that the time will come when the voice of an independent India will be heard too." There were, I am told, banner headlines on that statement in the press of India, and for the colonial and colored peoples India is the touchstone and the test of imperial intention. The second step came at the May 7 press conference when Mr. Molotov said that in considering trusteeship proposals the Soviet delegation "realizes that from the viewpoint of the interest of international security we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence." The American delegation, at an off-the-record press conference, sought to counteract the effect of this statement by saying that no concrete proposals had been made by the Russians and implying that they were just talking for political effect. But the Soviet delegation has now taken the third step and embodied this idea in formally suggested amendments to the American proposals.

If Mr. Roosevelt were alive, he would utilize this Russian pressure—which certainly accords with the natural sympathy of average Americans for subject peoples—to force the British and the French and the Dutch to compromise, to meet the desires of the colonial peoples halfway, to give some substance to the concept of trusteeship. Mr. Roosevelt understood with instinctive vision that the coming century would see the colonial and colored peoples rise to the place in the world they deserve, that their friendship is important to our children and grandchildren, that our own democratic traditions call for an understanding attitude toward their aspirations, and that their freedom would eliminate the imperialist rivalries which are a major cause of war. Unfortunately, there are not more than two or three persons on the American delegation who understand this. And unless President Truman rises to the occasion as Mr. Roosevelt would have done, the Soviet position is likely to be utilized only as another means of creating distrust between the U. S. S. R. and the West. But that would be to identify our own country with imperialism and reaction in the minds of the colonial and colored peoples and to orient them toward the U. S. S. R. This would be unworthy of what America has meant to the world in the past and should mean in the future.

What would meet the hopes of dependent peoples halfway? First, for the colonial and colored peoples, the right of oral petition in person to the trusteeship council, the right to have the reports of that council made public, the right to native representation upon it, the right to an education. This

is not much to ask. Second, for India—which has a dual disadvantage in being a subject state whose purely formal sovereignty is made an excuse for continuing its subjection—some provision must be made at least to let its own voice be heard by the trusteeship council, and to provide an international guaranty of Britain's past promises of self-government. Third, for my own people, the Jews, millions of whom still want and need a national home in Palestine: unless certain amendments suggested by the American Jewish conference can be obtained, the upshot of the shift to "trusteeship" will be to deprive the Jews in Palestine and their home-

less brethren abroad of what fragile rights in that country are still left to them from the promises so solemnly made in the last war. Palestine would still be a British mandate, but Jewish rights in it would be less than before, the pawn of maneuvering by English and American oil interests for Arab favor. The trusteeship issue brings the great powers to a historic moment. If President Truman has the foresight to seize upon it, he can utilize the leverage made available by the U. S. S. R. to win considerable concessions from the other powers, and with it for America the gratitude and respect of mankind.

## Truman: a Trial Balance

BY ALAN BARTH

Washington, May 10

ON V-E DAY, Harry S. Truman celebrated his sixty-first birthday and neared the completion of his first month as President of the United States. Little known or understood when he took office, despite a substantial public record written during his sixty-one years, his character and political philosophy are unlikely to be fully revealed by four weeks in the Presidency. Nevertheless, there have been portents. They deserve examination, even though the conclusions to be drawn from them can be no more than tentative.

In judging President Truman during the initial period of shock after Mr. Roosevelt's death, people tended publicly to hope for the best and privately to fear the worst. Published prognostications reflected, in the main, the wishes of their authors. They had the effect, consequently, of representing the new President to an extraordinary degree as being all things to all men.

Representative Clare Hoffman, for example, after describing Mr. Truman as "just an ordinary American with the background of a Lincoln," said, "That is why so many believe he may prove to be in some respects another Calvin Coolidge"—the logic of this inference may possibly seem obscure. Max Lerner, writing in *PM*, on the other hand, observed that "the Republicans . . . finally are coming to the disillusioning conclusion that the President who succeeded Roosevelt is not a Republican."

Raymond Moley offered this assurance to his readers: "There will certainly be no disposition in Mr. Truman to create a new kind of economic life out of the necessary controls of war. That is why conservatism will be the major drift. . . ." Frank Kent promised even more: "Naturally, Mr. Truman starts off with declarations of deepest devotion to Mr. Roosevelt personally and a dedication to carry out his war and peace policies. The country expects that.

Anything else at this time would be bad taste as well as bad judgment. Naturally, too, Mr. Truman wants to proceed slowly. But, soon or late, he is bound to get rid of a very large number of the advanced New Dealers who, one way or another, have become entrenched here in Washington." But Margaret Marshall said in *The Nation* that "if the right expects any spectacular overturn of the New Deal it will probably be disappointed." And I. F. Stone expressed a feeling which I think was prevalent among good New Dealers: "I hate to confess it, but I think Mr. Roosevelt was astute and farsighted in picking Mr. Truman rather than Mr. Wallace as his successor. . . . I think Mr. Truman will carry on Mr. Roosevelt's work."

Plainly it would have been, as Mr. Kent so delicately suggested, bad judgment on the part of the new President to disappoint any of these glowing expectations out of hand. They constituted a semblance of national unity at a moment when unity was desperately needed. They gave him a respite from attack, a chance to take hold of his overwhelming new responsibilities.

But political honeymoons are of notoriously short duration. Already President Truman is being confronted by what William James called "forced options"—choices in which delay is a form of decision and in which inaction is equivalent to negation. Their urgency has been accented by the advent of V-E Day.

Reconversion, for instance, is ceasing to be a theory and is becoming a condition. He must either accept or attempt to broaden and humanize a law which his predecessor considered altogether inadequate in its treatment of war workers. He must put his shoulder to, or turn his back upon, the Murray full-employment bill. He must show where he stands on regional authorities for river-valley developments—and, if he is for them, choose between the Ickes and Lillienthal philosophies. Unless Mr. Truman gives it real indorsement,



Harry S. Truman

the Fair Employment Practice Committee is probably doomed. By his action on such issues, rather than by his protestations of fealty to Mr. Roosevelt, the new President will be judged. Either the liberals or the conservatives, or both, can be expected to start screaming soon.

In point of fact, President Truman has shown little disposition to dodge decisions. Indeed, decisiveness has been his outstanding quality since he assumed the Presidency, and it has had a wonderfully tonic effect upon the whole governmental hierarchy. He makes choices, and he does not seem to bleed over them once they have been made. Apparently he meant what he said when he told the members of the Roosevelt Cabinet that he wanted them to stay on. The exceptions to this—Postmaster General Walker and perhaps Secretary Perkins, who has long wanted to leave—are special cases. The other members of the Cabinet have come to believe in his sincerity and, what is more important, in his confidence in them. As a result, they have given him their loyalty and accepted him as "the boss" to a rather remarkable degree. At the very least, it can certainly be said that the resentment which they might have felt quite naturally over his accidental elevation to the place of their revered commander, Mr. Roosevelt, has been transformed into sympathy for his position and a genuine desire to help him.

The appointments to office which Mr. Truman has so far made are straws in the wind, although of somewhat doubtful significance. His selection of John W. Snyder for the vital job of Federal Loan Administrator, which eluded Henry Wallace, was accepted hopefully on both sides of the political fence. Conservatives remembered that Snyder was a banker, and liberals that he had defied Jesse Jones. There is little to be learned from his choice of other World War I companions, such as Edward McKim and Colonel Harry

Vaughn, save that he likes to have his friends around him. Almost everyone acclaims Charles G. Ross of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* as his press secretary.

The one really disheartening act of Mr. Truman's Administration to date has been the appointment of Edward W. Pauley, California oil man and treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, to serve as American member of the Allied Reparations Commission in Moscow. It is hard to understand this in any save political terms; and it is made the more distasteful by the subordination of Dr. Isador Lubin, named to the post by Mr. Roosevelt and brilliantly qualified to fill it. For the philosophical, however, there is the consideration that Mr. Truman might have seen fit to reward Pauley with a place in the Cabinet.

As an offset to this political move, moreover, there is the renomination of David Lilienthal as chairman of the TVA. It remains to be seen, of course, whether the President will use his influence to keep the TVA out of Senator McKellar's clutches; but he has certainly taken the first essential step toward that end. He took it, characteristically, without alienating the rambunctious presiding officer of the Senate. Indeed, I am informed, he very nearly managed to make McKellar like it.

President Truman seems to have something of a knack for getting people to like, rather than lump, the things he does. It is a peculiarly useful knack in a time like the present. He will placate, but the chances are that he will not equivocate. In all probability he will not for long be content to wear the mantle of Roosevelt. He has a style of his own; and no doubt he will have policies of his own to fit the events which will confront him. And this, after all, is the most hopeful portent of his month's incumbency. He has shown, from the first difficult day when he was called upon to take over, that he is, in fact, a President.

## Back to Grandfather

BY STUART CHASE

I PROFESSOR HAYEK is an Austrian who went to England with other German and Austrian scholar exiles in the early 1930's. They were welcomed by the London School of Economics, and began an evangelical revival of the doctrine of free competition as formulated a century and a half ago by Adam Smith. For a dozen years books and articles have been flowing from the energetic pens of Professors Hayek, von Mises, and others of the so-called Vienna School. Until the publication of "The Road to Serfdom" last fall, nobody paid much attention except the academic economists, who have tossed the ball of dialectic to and fro in their learned journals.

All of us who took Economics 1 know Professor Hayek's story. The basic assumption is that economic affairs are best taken care of if individuals are left free to pursue their own personal gain. Neither the state nor private monopolies should interfere. This assumption depends in turn upon an optimis-

tic view of the nature of the universe, where a "natural order" brings about a benign system of economic harmonies in the absence of outside regulation. A complete separation of economic from political power is cardinal to the doctrine, an "essential guaranty of freedom."

This metaphysic can be traced back to various European economists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and finds its culmination in the work of Cobden and Bright, in early nineteenth-century Britain. Professor Hayek, indeed, traces it back to the ancient Greeks, while carefully avoiding Plato—whose "Republic," of course, is one of the most ferocious exhibits in totalitarian planning ever put on parchment.

An invisible hand, the story goes, will transform individual self-seeking into the greatest good for the greatest number. The free play of goods and services in an all-inclusive market will automatically reward individuals according to their deserts, while insuring social progress. The structure of harmonies, however, is in delicate balance. Any conscious or thought-

ful planning for the general welfare will destroy its automaticity and fruitfulness. A pious obedience to the dictates of the natural order is mandatory. Professor Hayek is rigorous on this point. He says: "Thus the more we try to provide full security by interfering with the market system, the greater the insecurity becomes." And again:

It was men's submission to the impersonal forces of the market that in the past has made possible the growth of civilization . . . it is by thus submitting that we are every day helping to build something that is greater than any one of us can fully comprehend. . . . They are mistaken when . . . they argue that we must learn to master the forces of society in the same manner in which we have learned to master the forces of nature. This is the path to totalitarianism.

Thus men must resist any impulse to tinker with their destiny, and bow their heads before the mystery of the market as good Christians bow their heads before the mystery of God. But the world has taken a sad turn since the Golden Age when Cobden and Bright repealed the Corn Laws. The forces of evil secured a foothold about 1870, especially in Germany, and ever since, owing to the follies of collectivism, government interference, monopoly, and economic planning, we have been falling deeper into sin. In ringing terms our author bids us return to the ways, not of our fathers, but of our grandfathers. Back, he cries, before it is too late. "We have little right," he says, "to feel . . . superior to our grandfathers; and we should never forget that it is we, the twentieth century, and not they, who have made a mess of things." We cannot perhaps recreate the England of 1840, but "we have the opportunity to realize its ideals."

One reason for the current success of "The Road to Serfdom" is clear from these quotations. Here is the true faith we have lost, the fundamentalist doctrine that those of us beyond fifty were brought up on. When we are confused by the trend of events, frightened by the New Deal, appalled at our war economy with its astronomical debts and taxes, worried about Russia, uncertain about the British and their unorthodox White Papers—in short, when the world of 1945 is too much for us—we long to return to the old simple faiths.

Professor Hayek thus answers a deep spiritual need in American men of affairs. He also vigorously attacks "Socialists," "Communists," "planners," "bureaucrats," and thus warms the hearts of the executives again. At this particular point in history, while profit margins are widened by war orders, and before the post-war world falls down on us, the Vienna School revival might easily go like Technocracy in 1933—which also, in its day, filled a spiritual need. Technocracy, however, jumped us a century forward, while Vienna jumps us a century back. Middle-of-the-roads like your reviewer get a little dizzy as the band-wagons rush fore and aft.

## II

Our author's logic is as simple as his theology. He subscribes to the two-valued school: the philosophy of either-or. An event is either black or white; there is no room for shades of gray. Yet in the real world of space and time nearly every event is a shade of gray, with absolutes almost unknown.

In two-valued logic we must choose between "planning" and "freedom," between complete collectivism and complete laissez faire; there is no middle ground. Once the virus of planning is admitted, we are assured, it will spread like

typhus until the whole economy is riddled with the disease. By the same token, free competition cannot tolerate any restrictions whatsoever, whether by government, labor unions, private monopolies, or pressure groups. We must have the pure, unadulterated article if we are to live as free men.

At this point practical men are forced to part company with two-valued logic. It bears no relation to the world they have to deal with day by day. In the real world the honest observer notes that Sweden and New Zealand, among others, have planned certain areas of their economic life for decades; yet nowhere does one find more upstanding individuals or more devotion to civil liberties.

An even more dramatic case is that of the United States at this very moment. The federal government, in a total war economy, has taken over the direction of the bulk of our activities, is buying about 60 per cent of everything produced, while the "law" of supply and demand has been laid away for the duration. On our author's logic we should be serfs, yet the Bill of Rights, with its freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, habeas corpus, stands foursquare. Listen any day to Colonel McCormick thunder in the *Tribune*. Freedom of civilians to choose jobs and goods has been only slightly restricted. Freedom of movement is unaffected—provided you can find a place in the train to stand. We are not quite so free as we shall be when the war is over; yet I should not advise Professor Hayek to begin calling Americans serfs in, say, Times Square.

For Germany he may be quite correct in holding that total war has reduced citizens to a kind of serfdom. For the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, he is wildly incorrect. This is the kind of pickle two-valued logic gets one into. Another pickle is the identification of "collectivism" with "socialism" with "communism" with "planning" with "Hitler." They are all synonymous in this logic. So one can reduce it to syllogisms like the following:

Hitler plans  
Lord Keynes plans  
Therefore Lord Keynes equals Hitler.

Yet it would be just as fair to say:

Hitler uses tanks  
General Eisenhower uses tanks  
Therefore General Eisenhower equals Hitler.

At one place in the book, I even found myself identified with Hitler, a logical simplification which I resent.

A curious corollary of our author's logic is to deny the possibility of an abundance economy. "Whoever talks about potential plenty is either dishonest or does not know what he is talking about. . . . It is this false hope as much as anything which drives us along the road to planning." Frankly, this shocks me. Doesn't the Professor ever look at current statistics? His book was published in 1944. In that year, according to all reliable sources, the gross national output of the United States was close to 200 billion dollars' worth of goods and services, or more than twice the prosperity peak of 1929. The "potential plenty" that "planners" used to talk about was around \$100 billion. Is it dishonest to point out that the war has actually doubled the estimates of those crackpots and dreamers? Is it dishonest to believe that what America has done once it can do again—with tractors instead of tanks coming off the assembly line?

## III

Two-valued logic can be readily exorcised by asking the concrete question: *Planning for what?* If one is planning just for the sake of "planning" one is a proper target for Professor Hayek's blunderbuss. This breed of planners, however, is practically extinct in America. There is no special virtue in planning for economic goods which free competition can adequately supply. Check this with any member of the National Planning Association, from Beardsley Ruml down. A man with a head on his shoulders calls for plans *when something specific is breaking loose or threatens to break loose.*

When Model T's began to choke the roads in the early 1920's, for example, somebody had to plan the traffic before the hospitals overflowed. When I hear the word "planning" in a vacuum, I usually think of the traffic cop at Twelfth and Main. If readers of "The Road to Serfdom" did the same, they would not find much left to read. In 200 pages of high-order abstractions there is hardly a single concrete case.

The book does contain one glaring inconsistency and one useful warning. The inconsistency occurs when Professor Hayek, by some strange lapse, holds out a kind of olive branch to the planners in the form of social security and guaranteed minimums of food and shelter for the population. We had best forget this lapse, for it interferes with the logical perfection of the rest of the treatise. In fact, it removes the whole underpinning from the argument. One cannot both deny and admit the welfare state.

The warning, which every "planner" should paste under the glass top of his desk, is this: If citizens surrender all responsibility for economic action to a centralized government, as in Germany and Russia, citizens will lose their civil liberties, their freedoms to choose jobs and goods. For Americans this would indeed be a kind of serfdom. For Russians, however, having been in Russia, I am not so sure. Russians do not look at you in the street the way a serf should look. They do not fight like serfs. Perhaps Russians just have a different set of habits about civil liberties.

In a democracy in the power age it is manifest that two general areas must be consciously directed: First, the government must plan to keep the market economy afloat. Otherwise monopolies, cartels, trade unions, farm blocs will torpedo it from one side, and catastrophic depressions torpedo it from the other. Second, the government, or the foundations, or the cooperatives, or somebody, has got to provide those economic goods and services which citizens must have and which business men are not interested in providing. They include the public-school system, public health and nutrition, social security, the national defense, the highways, conservation, housing for the lower income groups, municipal utilities, and so on.

In addition, the end of the war will require plans for such special tasks as these: to rehabilitate and reemploy fifteen million veterans; to transfer twenty million war workers to peace-time jobs; to dispatch great stores of food and medicines abroad; to dispose fairly of some 2,000 government war plants and some \$100 billion of government inventories; to carry out agreements like those made at Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods, and other international conferences, in the interests of world peace.

Can any of the matters listed above be settled by higgling in the market? Not one. They must be consciously directed or they will not be settled at all.

## IV

Finally, let us look at Professor Hayek's account of the decline of free competition. He admits that all the trends are running in the opposite direction, but he says the planners are responsible—personally. They began their hatchet work in Germany, we are told, and now have spread all over the planet. This is flatly contradictory to the historical record in America, where *laissez faire* was undermined first by the monopolies and trusts of the business men, second by the collective bargaining of the unions, third by agricultural blocs, and last by the state—forced into the picture when the economy literally broke down. The oil trust was formed not long after the Civil War, the A. F. of L. was formed in the 1890's, the farm bloc in the 1920's, while powerful government action came only with the great depression of the 1930's.

The virgin free market was not violated by planners and collectivists in Germany or anywhere else but by the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the Big Five Chicago packers, the A. F. of L., the Farm Bureau Federation, the protective tariff, the Aluminum Company of America, I. G. Farben, Imperial Chemical Industries, and the scores of other powerful monopolies, here and abroad, which for one reason or another—some of them pretty good reasons—could no longer tolerate the unimpeded "law" of supply and demand.

If all the planners, from Alexander Hamilton to Lord Keynes, had never written a line, the market would be in much the same state as we find it today, and the prospect of returning to the era of Jeremy Bentham would be equally bleak. We have no more warrant to go back to it than to go back to the medical practice of bleeding for all diseases.

The Golden Age of 1840—when little girls worked a fourteen-hour day underground in British coal mines—has been displaced chiefly by the gentlemen who are now acclaiming Professor Hayek's book. A return to free competition, in all its two-valued absolutism, which he celebrates, would break up most of the organized industry of the United States, every labor union, every farm organization concerned with economic action.

There is no road back to grandfather's bosom. We have to deal with the world as it is. The only way is forward. We are out on the darkling plain in this fateful year of 1945. We have lost a great leader, and an ominous journey lies before us. There is no escape to an economic fairyland where invisible hands put us to bed and rock us to sleep. We have only our naked intelligence to save us from looming disaster. We have got to stand on our own feet and act and dare—yes, and plan! Or mankind will be overwhelmed.

If enough Americans escape into Professor Hayek's wonderland to become a solid pressure group against all intelligent programs to solve specific post-war problems, then our task becomes far more difficult. Furthermore, those areas of private enterprise which "planners" honestly desire to keep open may be swept away. As the count of the unemployed goes up from ten to fifteen to twenty million, under a policy of drift and deadlock, the man on horseback will surely have his chance. Then we shall really taste serfdom.

# Criminals and War Criminals

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

IN 1474 the magistrate of Bâle sentenced a rooster to be burned for the "heinous and unnatural crime" of laying an egg. Three centuries later Racine in "Les Plaideurs" ridiculed the trial and sentencing of a dog for having devoured a capon; the counsel for the dog brought in a litter of puppies and asked clemency for the "*pauvres enfants, qu'on veut rendre orphelins.*" Until finally the psychological origin of the crime became the basis of legal prosecution, all kinds of domestic animals and vermin were tried for harmful deeds. However, there is no record of man-eating tigers, lions, or other wild animals being brought to trial. They were always killed without legal formalities.

There is no reason why wild beasts in human form like the Nazis should be dealt with differently. No one need be a better Christian than the Archbishop of York or a better statesman than Anthony Eden, who said in the House of Commons that if an Allied soldier should meet Hitler he would know what to do with him. But it is not only Hitler and other Nazi leaders who raise the problem of war criminals; there are hundreds of thousands of lesser men who, during the war, either as principals or as accessories, perpetrated murder, pillage, and brutality to a degree hitherto unknown in the history of warfare.

Unfortunately the terms "crime" and "criminal" are ambiguous. Crime, from the legal point of view, is any act prohibited by law and punishable in a judicial proceeding initiated in the name of the state (Sheldon Glueck). But any severe offense against morality is also called a crime, and those Nazis whose misdeeds have aroused our indignation are called criminals whether their atrocious behavior is a crime or not in the legal sense of the word. If we use the term "war crime," we introduce new legal complications. War crimes, in the proper sense, are infringements of martial law. Their number is indefinite and depends on the acts ordered or forbidden in the proclamation of martial law or the regulations of the invading or occupying commander (Wheaton's "Elements of International Law," Vol. II, p. 787). In another sense war crimes are violations of the American Rules of Land Warfare or of the rules of international law. These are, in I. W. Garner's view ("International Law and the World War II," p. 475), assimilable to ordinary crimes and punishable as such, and according to French authorities (Renault, Pic, Garçon) either belligerent may take jurisdiction. All this refers to what is known as international law.

No textbook of the criminal law of any country contains the terms "war crime" or "war criminal." There is, indeed, no such thing as war crime, meaning a special class of crime. In stressing this, I am not indulging in legalistic hairsplitting or attempting to deny the necessity of retribution for crimes committed during the war. In public opinion as reflected in the press war crimes are either just ordinary crimes, such as murder, robbery, arson, assault and battery, committed in an extraordinary measure by enemy citizens and punishable

under the penal law of every civilized country, or acts of which we violently disapprove and which we call crimes because we want to have them punished. Dealing with the ordinary crimes offers no difficulty except for the unprecedented number of criminals. The trial of hundreds of thousands of Nazis and Fascists with all the rules of procedure duly observed would require so much time that in all probability neither the defendants nor the judge nor the jury would live to see the outcome. On the other hand, if the rules of law were disregarded and the trial became just a formality confirming the preconceived judgment of the political authorities, the justice meted out would offer no better guaranty that the innocent would be spared than if the military or political authorities disposed of the suspects.

As for the acts which we wish to see punished as crimes, neither aggressive war nor support for the Nazi doctrines which instigated the horrors that have appalled civilized mankind is listed as a crime in any criminal code of the world. It is idle to theorize whether Hitler was the head of a state or a common criminal—or both, as Dr. Lemkin concluded (*The Nation*, February 24). After all, the Western powers did accept and legalize Hitler's government by carrying on diplomatic relations with it. What really matters is whether those acts which have put into practice "the repugnant philosophy of National Socialism" can be considered crimes in the legal sense of the word, even if they were not explicitly prohibited and punishable by law.

Not only Article IX of the *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme* but Section 9 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States declares that "no . . . ex post facto law shall be passed." This principle of *nullum crimen sine lege* is one of the most important achievements of the French Revolution. It is not simply one of the legalistic niceties but, as George W. Kirchwey put it, the foremost of general principles in the limitation of arbitrary power, from which there appears no warranted deviation in any modern state. A view similar to that of the great American liberal savant was expressed by the greatest German authority on pre-Hitler criminal law, Rudolf von Hippel, when he said that by admitting arbitrariness in the application of punishment the cultural standard of criminal law would be set back 150 years. This is exactly what happened in Germany ten years ago when Hitlerian "law" substituted "sound popular feeling" for legal prohibition. In his scholarly work "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe" Dr. Lemkin expressed the opinion that this "encroachment upon the rights of the individual . . . destroys the feeling of legal security and creates an atmosphere of constant fear and terror." It is surprising, therefore, that he considers mere membership in the Gestapo or the S. S. or other "such groups" an offense because "they constitute an association having as its purpose the commission of crimes *in genere*." That the hundreds of thousands of men in the S. S. and the political police were conscious of joining

an unlawful conspiracy for crime is an entirely unwarranted assumption regardless of how many crimes they actually committed.

Joseph Bornstein's mordant satire in *The Nation* of April 28 forecasting the possible trial of the Nazi leaders reinforces the argument of Supreme Court Justice Jackson, who has said that to avoid "the risk of creating a 'myth of martyrdom' among countrymen of those criminals they should be executed. But such decisions should be military and political, not reached through forms of judicial procedure." All who are not blinded by the emotional desire for revenge must agree with Samuel Grafton, writing in the *New York Post*, that "the problem of what to do with the Germans cannot be solved on the narrow scale of reprisal and criminal punishment." The solution of the Mussolini problem was fortunate either way, as a substitute for a judicial settlement or for an interminable chain of revenge. It is understandable that the Holy See, based as it is on tradition and ceremonial institutions, deplored the summary execution of Mussolini and his henchmen, but it is doubtful whether a more elaborate trial ending in execution *arte legis* would have been more satisfactory either as justice or as retribution.

Whatever the solution, we have to keep in mind that law should not be made the charwoman hired to clear away the debris of history. Nazism and Fascism are revolutionary movements, and law, the static force of society, is not an adequate means of dealing with these passing events. Recognition of this inadequacy is neither judicial quibbling nor an attempt to help Nazi and Fascist monsters to escape the consequences of their misdeeds. On the contrary. If the problem is looked at from a practical angle, Dr. Lemkin's assertion that "it is difficult to see how political 'disposition' has a firmer legality than the judicial process" is begging the question. What civilized humanity, shocked by the unheard-of atrocities, demands is not legality or, still less, the misuse of the law to keep up appearances, but swift and merciless retribution. It is regrettable but unavoidable that bombs dropped on military objectives occasionally hit innocent civilians.

Satisfaction of all the bitterness that has accumulated as a result of the unspeakable cruelties of the Nazis and Fascists is not consistent with true justice based on law and order. And it makes no difference that those who fear revolution and civil war want a non-existent international tribunal to apply a non-existent natural law, or "law of humanity," instead of the existent rules of law. That would by no means remove the insurmountable difficulties but would increase the hypocrisy which becomes manifest when we use the form of justice to cloak the lack of its essence.

War and law are incompatible—even though this most terrible of all wars was fought to restore the rule of that law and morality which developed under the influence of Graeco-Roman-Christian civilization. This war was fought against aggressors whose caveman ethics delivered everybody to an arbitrary judge. We want to reestablish pre-Hitlerian law and morality. Can we do it by arranging "swift" trials whose procedure would disregard the elementary principles of the very law which we want to restore? When the dust of history has covered the ephemeral notoriety of the Nazi gangsters, law and morality will still be the indispensable powers of balance in every human community.

## In the Wind

**D**R. FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK, author of "The Road to Serfdom," really should do something to keep his name from being bandied about by the less reputable elements of the right. An organization called America's Future, Inc., with the same address and phone number as Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, is currently referring to its most prolific hack writer, Samuel B. Pettengill, as "the American Hayek." . . . Incidentally, Hayek's influence on North American thought is indicated by the following statement of John Bracken, leader of Canada's Progressive Conservative Party: "Planned economy, whatever its auspices, leads inevitably to socialism and, as we have all witnessed in Europe—to totalitarianism."

**GOVERNOR SIMEON WILLIS** of Kentucky has announced that he will appoint a Negro to the State Board of Education and will ask Attorney General Eldon S. Dummit to appoint another as an assistant attorney general.

**IN DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES** civil rights have always been won by years of struggle. Franco has once more demonstrated the greater efficiency of dictatorship by handing down to his people a ready-made bill of rights. It grants them freedom of speech, provided they don't disparage fascism, and freedom of religion, provided they are Catholics. All they need now is a bill of rights.

**SOME THREE HUNDRED NAZIS** in Mexico's Perote prison have petitioned Miguel Alaman, Secretary of the Interior, to release them, as they "no longer believe in Nazism."

**M. J. COLDWELL**, leader of Canada's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, was the only Canadian delegate to San Francisco who voted against admitting Argentina to the conference. He said Argentina should first "remove the police censorship on news, restore freedom in universities and schools, and empty the concentration camps where democrats are incarcerated."

**NORTH CAROLINA** will have the nation's first permanent state recreation commission. The bill authorizing it, recently passed, provides for seven full-time commissioners, of whom one shall be a woman and one a Negro.

**THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA** will open a school of foreign service and international affairs on July 2.

**LEGISLATIVE MEMO:** The renegotiation act expires June 30. The House Ways and Means Committee, now considering an extension to December 31, has under advisement nine amendments, proposed by the United States Chamber of Commerce, which would seriously hamper the government in renegotiation proceedings.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Fascism Without Mussolini—II

BY MARIO ROSSI

### THE PARTISANS

WHILE the royal family and the army generals, thinking only of their own safety, were deserting Italy and seeking refuge behind the Allied lines, a determined band of patriots took up the fight for their country and for the Allied cause. They were not men who had served Fascism until they saw it about to fall, nor were they men who paid only lip service to the ideal of freedom. For twenty years they had opposed Mussolini and all he stood for. Their integrity gave them the necessary authority in the eyes of the people, whereas the behavior of the King had completely discredited the monarchy. Under their leadership a popular army came into being, many hundreds of thousands strong. On May 11, General Mark Clark, in an order of the day, announced that this partisan army had liberated more than two hundred towns, including Milan, Turin, Genoa, Spezia, and Venice.

When the Allied troops entered these great cities, they found an amazing degree of order and the partisans' administration working smoothly. The C. B. S. correspondent Winston Burdett reported from Milan that the Italian partisans were the best-disciplined popular army he had ever seen.

When our first troops got into Milan [he said] the partisans had had it under control for three days. They had the lights on and the street-cars going, and today they opened the banks. They saved the gas and water works and kept the electric-power plant intact by a fast job of demining. . . . Milan liberated itself. It did not wait for the Allies or for the lumbering Italian government in Rome to judge and sentence Fascist war criminals. It is impossible to get an accurate estimate of the number of Fascists, militiamen, and secret police who have been executed during the five days since the partisans took over, but no partisan with whom I spoke put the figure at less than 1,000 and most estimated that it was much higher.

General Clark referred to the Genoa Committee of Liberation as "an example of able administration." Venice, he said, had been liberated "from the interior by the armed forces of the freedom volunteers with the support and the encouragement of the entire population. . . . The port area and public services are intact, and the enemy has been unable to touch the many superb monuments of culture and civilization. When the forces of the Fifteenth Army Group entered your city everything had gone back to normal." And in another proclamation he declared: "The world must

have no fear that Italy will not be able to produce men to guide her in the future. On the contrary, there are men in Italy who are more than fit to take an active part in the great work of reconstruction staged by the Allies."

These results were not achieved without a long and bitter struggle. The Allies' slow progress in Italy gave the Fascists and the Germans time to make many large-scale attacks upon the partisans. According to Marshal Alexander, 250,000 Italians died in the fight for liberation.

Italian patriots have also been fighting beyond the frontiers of the country. Many thousands joined Marshal Tito after September 8, 1943, and won his warm commendation. Of the 15,000 soldiers of the Garibaldi Division in Yugoslavia, only a little over 3,000

survived. Before the liberation of France there was close contact between the Italian and French guerrillas fighting in the Haute Savoie.

In September, 1943, the first Committee of National Liberation was organized, with branches in the most important cities. All groups of the population were represented. The workers cooperated either by fighting with the partisans or by striking. Many units of the army, particularly the Alpine troops, went over to the anti-Fascists. In Turin, on September 10, while the King and his generals were running away from Rome, the people fought an epic battle against the Germans. Kesselring had to introduce a reign of terror to master the situation. According to German sources, 50,000 Italians from the Turin region escaped to join the *maquis*.

In March, 1944, the German-controlled Radio Rome said 208,549 workers were on strike, but the Swiss press placed the number closer to three million. Radio Rome admitted that "the strike was meant to give concrete proof of the workers' solidarity with the Anglo-Americans and Russians by restricting war production." The *New York Times* commented editorially, "As a mass demonstration nothing has occurred in Europe to compare in scale with the revolt of the workers in Italy."

The Committee of National Liberation was recognized by the Bonomi government as its official representative in northern Italy in December, 1944. From then on it bore the responsibility not only of directing the fighting but also of solving serious political problems. It had to settle differences among the various political parties represented on it and set up administrations in the places liberated. Needing for this task the support not only of the partisans but of the population, it had to interpret and realize the aspirations of



Drawing by Lilly Rossi

the masses. A Florentine paper described the local committees of liberation as follows:

[They] were the embodiment not only of existing authority but of a new factor in Italian history. They were not merely an expedient, a temporary grouping of parties to facilitate a common effort; . . . they were in fact and in spirit true local governments, completely autonomous, the first foundation of that new political structure that is the result of the people's collaboration and not of an arbitrary coup d'état.

The choice before the Allies in northern Italy is to recognize the new political situation created by the strength of the partisans, or to impose a regime that, in spite of all the efforts of Allied propaganda, finds supporters only among those who hate or fear an Italian democratic republic. At this writing it looks as if the Allies would have to acknowledge that to continue the same policy in the political-minded north that they pursued in the south would lead to disaster. The aim of the Allies in the south has been to prop up the monarchy and to discourage the committees of liberation from taking any political initiative. In Florence, during the period of German occupation, the local Committee of Liberation directed a struggle against the enemy in which more than a thousand partisans died. After the liberation of the city the people expected to see the committee recognized as the local administrative body. Instead, the Allies nominated a monarchist *prefetto* who did everything possible to sabotage the work of the committee. In Siena prior to the entry of Allied troops the Committee of Liberation cleared the city's administration of Fascists. The AMG not only refused at first to deal with the committee, but disarmed the patriot forces and called back to service the Fascist police authorities.

There is a reason for this. The monarchy is extremely unpopular and cannot stay in power without British support. Great Britain can therefore control the King, and by keeping him in power it can control Italy.

#### THE HOUSE OF SAVOY

The history of the House of Savoy is the history of a dynasty which never hesitated to sacrifice the interest of the nation to its own. "The House of Savoy," wrote the historian Giuseppe Ferrari, "has constantly shifted from the Jesuits to the *Carbonari*, from Austria to France, from ambition to fear." This was written in the middle of the last century. If you substitute the word democracy for *Carbonari*, the statement is still true.

The apologists of Victor Emmanuel have said that he was a prisoner of Mussolini and had to carry out his orders. To this it may be retorted that the King himself brought Mussolini to power and did everything that was necessary to consolidate the Fascist dictatorship. The King always did as Mussolini wanted until the day came when this unholy alliance menaced the future of the dynasty. Ample proof of his submission was given when the Duce started his long series of aggressions. On March 7, 1936, as a reward for making him Emperor of Ethiopia, the King conferred on Mussolini the highest military decoration, the Grand Cross of the Military Order of Savoy. The citation stated that "the Duce, as minister of the armed forces, had planned, conducted, and won the greatest colonial battle in

all the history which he, as head of His Majesty's government, had conceived and desired for the prestige, the life, and the greatness of the Fascist motherland." Great publicity was given during the Ethiopian campaign to a picture showing the Queen offering her wedding ring for the collection of gold to pay for the war. Two years later the King received Adolf Hitler in Rome. Shortly afterward, accompanied by the Crown Prince and several Fascist ministers, he went to Naples to review the Italian "volunteers" who fought for Franco in Spain.

On June 10, 1940, the Italian ambassadors in London and Paris presented to the British and French governments the following declaration: "His Majesty the King Emperor announces that beginning tomorrow, June 11, Italy considers herself to be in a state of war with France and England." The monarchy must share with Fascism the responsibility for this declaration. Had the King wished to keep out of the war, he could have dismissed Mussolini at that moment. Not only did he follow Mussolini's lead, but he transferred to him the king's constitutional rights as supreme commander of the armed forces.

On May 22, 1943, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Tripartite Pact, the King sent a message to Hitler expressing his best wishes "for the prosperity and greatness of the German people, in the certainty that victory will not fail our arms." This was after the collapse in Africa and but a few months before the armistice with the Allies was signed.

The Prince of Piedmont, now Lieutenant General of the Realm, has been no less Fascist than his father. He has, of course, been practically helpless since 1925, when the Grand Council of Fascism took upon itself the power to determine the succession to the throne. That meant that, on the death of the King, Mussolini would allow the Prince of Piedmont to ascend the throne only if he had given proof of being a good Fascist. Umberto tried his very best. In 1936 he decided to dedicate himself to military life and asked, though in vain, to be sent to fight in Ethiopia. On May 23, 1938, he telegraphed Mussolini: "Duce . . . I want you to know that the Italian grenadiers, as citizens and as soldiers, are ever ready to obey your orders, in peace time as in a glorious war for the imperial greatness of the Fascist motherland." (The Prince, like the King, always spoke of the "Fascist" motherland or "Fascist" Italy.) By 1940 the Prince was in command of the Northern Army Group, and it was left to him to carry out the "stab in the back" against France. On that occasion he sent another telegram to Mussolini: "While moving toward certain victory, the troops of the western armies renew their solemn pledge to the untiring leader who molds the glorious destinies of the fatherland, and promise to dare anything in order to march in the footsteps of the Roman legions."

When Mussolini fell, in July, 1943, all the Prince was able to do, before his flight, was to warn his soldiers against anti-German demonstrations. In a secret order he reminded them that the war must go on, and that it was "not only inadmissible but inconceivable that Italian soldiers should fail in their duty of comradeship toward the ally which, with absolute loyalty, fights on our side for the defense of the sacred soil of our fatherland."

But Umberto seems to be a fellow who likes everybody. Did he not declare to Michael Chinigo of the I. N. S. on April 14, 1944, that "America and Americans have always been very close to my heart, even when I could not say so"?

The other members of the House of Savoy have also given their support to Fascism. Two princes of royal blood—the Duke of Pistoia and the Duke of Bergamo—fought in Africa during the Ethiopian war. Another, the Duke of Spoleto, consented to become the King of Croatia but never dared to set foot in his kingdom. During the campaign for the liberation of Ethiopia in this war, the Italian army was led by the Duke of Aosta, who had been named viceroy of Ethiopia by Mussolini.

#### ALLIED PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE

Officially, Allied policy with respect to Italy was defined two months after the armistice at the Moscow conference. On November 1, 1943, the Foreign Secretaries of America, Russia, and England issued a special declaration stating that the "Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influences and emanations shall be utterly destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles." The declaration added that "it is further understood that nothing in this resolution is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government." The Foreign Secretaries of the United States and Great Britain affirmed that "the action of their governments from the inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy."

These principles have been repeatedly reaffirmed, though always theoretically, by the Allied leaders. In practice the Allies have consistently strengthened the monarchy's political machine.

Secret directives from the Minister of the Navy, the super-monarchist De Courten, request all officers to watch closely sailors suspected of being members of "radical" parties, to use agents provocateurs to identify such sailors, to neutralize efficiently and firmly all anti-monarchist ideas spread among the crews by newspapers and pamphlets, to convince all sailors that the King has saved Italy and that if there were no king the Americans would not give Italy any money or raw materials. No purge of the navy has been allowed. The ministry's special commission for the purge is headed by Admiral Giuseppe Fioravanzo, a former ardent Fascist who in August, 1943—after Mussolini's fall, when the Allied armies were in Sicily—wrote, "We are fighting to demolish the British empire and to prevent American gangsterism and Soviet banditry from taking its place."

On February 20, 1945, fifty sailors invaded the premises of the Socialist paper *Avanti* in protest against an article criticizing the officers and the administration of the naval ordnance unit in Rome. The demonstration was organized by a certain Commander Zanardi, and some two hundred sailors received special leave to take part in it.

Most of the professional army officers are also props for the monarchy. A democratic Italy would have no use for men who instead of defending their country against the Germans fled from Rome with the King after the armistice.

For this reason their careers depend upon the existence of the monarchy. It is not hard to imagine how the soldiers feel about being commanded by Mussolini's generals. General Arnaldo Azzi, who was expelled from the army when he advocated its complete overhauling, told Edward Johnson of the Chicago *Sun* that it had not been possible to reorganize the army "because they tried to reorganize it on the old basis—as a personal army of the monarchy—whereas the sentiments of the soldiers and the people are against the monarchy. The men are reluctant to answer the call-ups because they are required to swear allegiance to the King." Many of the King's generals who were held as prisoners of war in Africa, India, America, and Great Britain were sent back to Italy, not to fight against the Germans but simply to bolster the monarchy. When genuine anti-Fascists in exile ask to be repatriated, they are told that there is no shipping space available.

Army as well as navy officers have repeatedly allowed their men to commit acts of violence against anti-monarchist elements. In Avelino a major of the Italian army, followed by soldiers, entered the offices of a paper which had dared to demand the immediate abdication of the King and smashed furniture, destroyed type faces, and abused the editor" (Associated Press, November 18, 1943).

Almost every day the Italian press reports incidents in which the Carabinieri have intervened against republican elements. Just recently the Carabinieri went to the headquarters of the Republican Party in Grosseto, smashed windows where anti-monarchist manifestos were displayed and destroyed everything. The passers-by protested vigorously against this violation of democratic freedom, and the Carabinieri, threatening to use their submachine-guns, retreated to their barracks followed by the crowd. Only the energetic intervention of democratic leaders and of some AMG officials prevented bloodshed. I could cite many similar occurrences.

The provincial governors (*prefetti*) with their almost dictatorial powers are an important part of the monarchist machine. The *prefetto* names the mayors, the members of the city councils, and all the commissioners of the towns and villages in his province. He controls the police. The entire economic administration of the province is in his hands. He appoints all local committees for the purge of Fascists. In all provinces still under Allied administration the *prefetto* controls activities outside his jurisdiction on the ground that the approval of the AMG gives legality to his acts.

Should Fascism really be eliminated in Italy, the monarchy would go with it. That explains why the purge in southern Italy has been such a mockery. The trial of persons responsible for the fall of Rome has been categorically forbidden by the Allies in order not to indict the King and his generals. Even the trial of General Mario Roatta and



Drawing by Lilly Ross  
Prince Umberto

other accomplices of Fascism was limited to their activities prior to the declaration of war. If General Roatta had told what he knew about the flight from Rome, the monarchy would have been irreparably compromised; his silence was assured by letting him escape. Up to the present twenty-nine persons have been brought before the High Court of Justice, and on only one has the death sentence been passed. It has been officially revealed that the High Commission for the Purging of Fascist Crimes has investigated 4,854 cases, of which 4,451 have been referred to the judicial authorities, regular or military; only 138 of these cases have been completed. It was because the partisans in the north were perfectly aware of this policy that they hurried to deal with many thousand Fascists before the arrival of the Allies.

Great Britain wishes to have the monarchy well entrenched before the Constituent Assembly is elected. The monarchists have never liked the idea of referring the institutional question to the decision of a Constituent Assembly. They would prefer a plebiscite, which is so much easier to manipulate. Unfortunately a Constituent Assembly can also be manipulated, although the matter is not quite so simple. If all the organs of local government are in the hands of the monarchists, nobody can guarantee that the elections will be conducted without compulsion and that the returns will be respected. Furthermore, under the present conditions of misery, it would be easy for the Fascists in the south, most of whom have not been purged, to buy the votes of the hungry people. Let us not forget that the Fascists made a lot of money under Mussolini.

The people cannot choose the form of government they prefer when the monarchy controls all the political machinery. A compromise is what Britain offers the Italian people. A revolution may be the answer.

#### AMG CONTROL

It has been easy for the Allies to enforce their Italian policy through the Allied Control Commission and the Allied Military Government. The situation that prevailed up to February, 1945, was described as follows by Anne O'Hare McCormick in a dispatch from Rome to the *New York Times* (August 23, 1944):

There is no doubt we are ruling Italy. Somewhere in the picture is an Italian government. . . . [The ministers'] chief desire is to be allowed to share responsibility with the Allies in administering their country. So far they are pretty helpless. The armistice terms provide that no decision can be made by Italian authorities without Allied permission. A consul cannot be transferred or a bureau head appointed unless the proposed action is referred to the Control Commission. This is true in the economic as well as in the political field. We froze the stockpiles remaining in the country after the German withdrawal, and no factory can be reopened and no goods released without an Allied permit.

In February, 1945, the British Resident Minister for the Central Mediterranean, Harold MacMillan, announced that the Allied Commission was to become an organ of "consultation and advice" and that the government would be left free to carry on its functions except for matters related to military operations. Britain could well afford this gesture, for the monarchist machine was dependent on its support.

As for the policy followed from the very beginning by the AMG, Sir Richard Acland, addressing the House of Commons on May 24, 1944, said:

There is not one man in any influential position in AMG whose past record shows that he understood and opposed Fascism before September, 1939. The supreme disqualification for the work of restoring order to the peoples who have been saved from Fascism appears to be the fact that you understood what Fascism meant when a good many honorable members opposite were hobnobbing with it. How do these people behave? The first thing they do is to get hold of the Carabinieri Reali, who of all Italian organized bodies have the highest record of complete collaboration not merely with Mussolini but with Hitler and the Nazis. They then parade in front of the representatives of the Carabinieri Reali those prisoners who were released by the front-line troops, and these agents of Nazidom decide which of the political prisoners shall go back to jail. The complete administration of the whole district is then handed over to the nominee of the Carabinieri Reali, and the result is that the civil administration of Sicily and now of southern Italy has fallen into the hands of the most disreputable Fascist gangsters.

#### LINE-UP OF POLITICAL PARTIES

In spite of their efforts the Allies have not succeeded in selling the monarchy to the Italian people—not even in those parts of Italy which the Allied armies have occupied for more than a year. In southern and central Italy, from Sicily to Florence, the main Italian parties are the Socialists, Christian Democrats, Communists, Democracy of Labor, Liberal Party, Action Party, and Republicans. Of these the Socialists, the Action Party, the Communists, and the Republicans are outspoken anti-monarchists; the Christian Democrats are divided between monarchists and anti-monarchists. Only Bonomi's Democracy of Labor and Croce's Liberal Party favor a compromise with the monarchy. The Socialists, under the leadership of Pietro Nenni, and the Communists, under the leadership of Palmiro Togliatti, differ only on the method of opposing the monarchy as an institution. The Communist Party is at present the less radical, favoring a postponement of the question until some time after the war, while the Socialists, who did not join the second Bonomi government, are violently opposed to the King and his henchmen. The Christian Democrats, the Socialists, and the Communists have the greatest number of followers. The Action Party does not claim mass support but is very active. It is a continuation of the *Giustizia e Libertà* movement created in France by Carlo Rosselli and derives its strength mainly from the intellectual bourgeoisie. The Italian Republican Party, which does not belong to the Committee of Liberation, has always kept alive the institutional question even when other leftist parties were mainly interested in the amelioration of economic and social conditions. Among its leaders is Colonel Randolfo Pacciardi, who led the Italian volunteers against Franco in the Spanish civil war. The monarchists are organized in a so-called Party of Italian Democracy, sponsored by army officers, the aristocrats, the Catholic high clergy, and of course the British.

[The concluding section of this article will appear next week.]

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Ernie Pyle

BY RANDALL JARRELL

HE WROTE like none of the rest. The official, press-agent, advertising-agency writing that fills the newspapers, magazines, and radio with its hearty reassuring lies, its mechanical and heartless superlatives; the rhetorical, sensational, and professional pieces of ordinary *Time-Life* journalism—the same no matter what the subject, who the writer; the condescending, preoccupied work of “real writers” officially pretending to be correspondents for the duration: all this writing about the war that by its quality denies the nature and even the existence of the war, he neither competed with nor was affected by. He was affected by, obsessed with, one thing—the real war: that is, the people in it, all those private wars the imaginary sum of which is the public war; and he knew that his private war, his compulsive obligation, was to write what he had seen and heard and felt so that neither those who had felt it nor those who had not could ever again believe that it was necessary for anyone to be ignorant of it. He was their witness; and he looked not to find evidence for his own theories or desires, to condemn, to explain away, to justify, but only to *see*, and to tell what he saw. What he cared about was the facts. But facts are only facts as we see them, as we feel them; and he knew to what a degree experience—especially in war—is “seeing only faintly and not wanting to see at all.” The exactly incongruous, the crazily prosaic, the finally convincing fact—that must be true because no one could have made it up, that must be Pyle because no one else would have noticed it—was his technical obsession, because he knew it was only by means of it that he could make us understand his moral obsession: what happens to men in our war. (A few reporters cared almost as much and tried almost as hard; but their work is hurt by emotional forcing, self-consciousness, the hopeless strain between their material and their technique. To the reporter’s trained consciousness there is something incidental, merely personal, almost meretricious, about his exact emotions or perceptions or moral judgments; these things are not part of “the facts,” and he professionally supplies only as much of their generalized, familiar equivalents as his readers immediately demand and immediately accept. These things, for many years, had been the only facts for Pyle.) Pyle did not care how he told it if he could make us feel it; there is neither self-protectiveness nor self-exploitation in his style. What he saw and what he felt he said. He used for ordinary narration a plain, transparent, but oddly personal style—a style that could convince anybody of anything; but when his perceptions or emotions were complex, far-reaching, and profound, he did his utmost to express their quality fully—at his best with the most exact intensity, at his worst with a rather appealingly old-fashioned spaciousness of rhetoric. It is easy to be critical of some of these last passages, and

of the flat homeliness of others: he possessed few of the unessential qualities of the accomplished writer but—at his rare best—many of the essential qualities of the great writer. It was puzzling and disheartening to read some of the reviews of his books: the insistence that this was not “great” reporting, the work of a “real” writer, but only a good reporter, a good man—nobody missed *that*—reproducing what the “G. I. Joes” felt and said. (Some writers seemed compelled to use about him, as they do about all soldiers who are at the same time enlisted men, the words *simple, plain, or little*—so disquieting in their revelation of the writers’ knowledge and values.) And yet all of us knew better. We felt most the moral qualities of his work and life; but we could not help realizing that his work was, in our time, an unprecedented aesthetic triumph: because of it most of the people of a country *felt*, in the fullest moral and emotional sense, something that had never happened to them, that they could never have imagined without it—a war.

In war the contradictions of our world, latent or overt, are fantastically exaggerated; and what in peace struggles below consciousness in the mind of an economist, in war wipes out a division on atolls on the other side of a planet. So in Pyle war is the nest of all contradictions; the incongruous is the commonplace homogeneous texture of all life. All of them know it: a cannoneer, playing poker by two candles in a silent battery, says to him “as though talking in his sleep,” “*War is the craziest thing I ever heard of.*” A man builds a raft to float on the water of his foxhole; another goes to sleep, falls over in the water, and wakes up, until he finally ties himself by a rope to a tree; four officers of a tank company fix themselves a dugout with electric lights, a pink stove, an overstuffed chair, and “a big white dog, slightly shell-shocked, to lie on the hearth.” Men in shallow foxholes, under severe strafing, try to dig deeper with their fingernails, are commonly “hit in the behind by flying fragments from shells. The medics there on the battlefield would either cut the seats out of their trousers or else slide their pants down, to treat the wounds, and they were put on the stretchers that way, lying face down. It was almost funny to see so many men coming down the hill with the white skin of their backsides gleaming against the dark background of brown uniforms and green grass.” Pyle “couldn’t help feeling funny about” fighter pilots who had just strafed a truck convoy, and who, “so full of laughter . . . talked about their flighis and killing and being killed exactly as they would discuss girls or their school lessons.” Soldiers pile out of their jeeps for an approaching bird, thinking it a Stuka (“I knew one American outfit that was attacked by Stukas twenty-three times in one day. A little of that stuff goes a long way”); and a digger testifies, with utter magnificence: “Five years ago

you couldn't have got me to dig a ditch for five dollars an hour. Now look at me. You can't stop me digging ditches. I don't even want pay for it; I just dig for love. And I sure do hope this digging today is all wasted effort, I never wanted to do useless work so bad in all my life. Any time I get fifty feet from my home ditch you'll find me digging a new ditch and, brother, I ain't joking. I love to dig ditches." And yet it is a war where "few ever saw the enemy, ever shot at him, or were shot at by him"; where "physical discomfort becomes a more dominant thing in life than danger itself"; where everything is so scarce that passing soldiers stop Pyle six times in a day to borrow a pair of scissors to cut their nails—"if somebody had offered me a bottle of castor oil I would have accepted it and hidden it away."

Pyle is always conscious of the shocking disparity of actor and circumstance, of the little men and their big war, their big world: riding in a truck in the middle of the night, so cold he has to take off his shoes and hold his toes in his hands before he can go to sleep, he feels shiveringly "the immensity of the catastrophe that had put men all over the world, millions of us, to moving in machine-like precision through long nights—men who should have been comfortably asleep in their warm beds at home. War makes strange giant creatures out of us little routine men that inhabit the earth." And, flying from the Anzio beachhead to D-Day in the Channel, passing at sunset over the peaks of the Atlas, he thinks longingly of the worlds inside the world: "Down below lived sheep men—obscure mountain men who had never heard of a *Nebelwerfer* or a bazooka, men at home at the end of the day in the poor, narrow, beautiful security of their own walls." His column describing the apotheosis of another world, the debris of the Normandy beachhead, is so extraordinary in its sensitivity, observation, and imagination that I wish I could quote all of it; but, taken at random from "this long thin line of personal anguish": from the sleeping, dead, and floating men; from the water "full of squishy little jellyfish . . . in the center of each of them a green design exactly like a four-leaf clover"; from the ruined tanks, trucks, bulldozers, half-tracks, typewriters, office files, steel matting, and oranges—a banjo and a tennis racket; from the dogs, Bibles, mirrors, cigarette cartons (each soldier was given a carton of cigarettes before embarking), and writing-paper of that universe where "anything and everything is expendable," here are two objects:

I stooped over the form of one youngster whom I thought dead. But when I looked down I saw that he was only sleeping. He was very young, and very tired. He lay on one elbow, his hand suspended in the air about six inches from the ground. And in the palm of his hand he held a large, smooth rock.

I stood and looked at him for a long time. He seemed in his sleep to hold that rock lovingly, as though it were his last link with a vanishing world. . . .

As I plowed out over the wet sand, I walked around what seemed to be a couple of pieces of driftwood sticking out of the sand. But they weren't driftwood. They were a soldier's two feet. He was completely covered except for his feet; the toes of his G. I. shoes pointed toward the land he had come so far to see, and which he saw so briefly.

Yet their war's grotesque unnaturalness finally becomes for them a grotesque naturalness, all that they have known or done—except for that endlessly dwelt-on fantasy that was before and may be after the war, their civilian lives and families and home. Pyle one night—back in one world after weeks in the other—"never wide awake, never deeply asleep," thinks fitfully: "One world was a beautiful dream and the other a horrible nightmare, and I was a little bit in each of them. As I lay on the straw in the darkness they became mixed up, and I was not quite sure which was which." From his long experience of front-line troops, divisions used steadily for months or years, he creates calmly and objectively and prosaically—under their jokes and addresses and grammatical errors, the speech of the farms and garages of America—their extraordinary suffering: the "endlessness of everything," their "state of exhaustion that is incomprehensible . . . past the point of known human weariness . . . one dull, dead pattern—yesterday is tomorrow and Troino is Randazzo and when will we ever stop and, God, I'm so tired." He and an officer look at some muddy, exhausted troops and decide "they haven't been up in the line at all." They don't have "that stare" of front-line troops. Pyle continues: "It's a look of dulness, eyes that look without seeing, eyes that see without conveying any image to the mind. It's a look that is the display room for what lies behind it—exhaustion, lack of sleep, tension for too long, weariness that is too great, fear beyond fear, misery to the point of numbness, a look of surpassing indifference to anything anybody can do." Nobody else makes you feel so their *long* dreary suffering, everything going on past not only their own lives but the lives of their replacements, until a whole division is "only a numbered mechanism through which men pass"; you remember Mauldin's bearded and filthy soldier, so exhausted he looks middle-aged, staring at his rifle and saying to it slowly: "I've given you the best years of my life."

And these are not professional soldiers but only ordinary people: we feel behind every word the ironic pathos of what they are doing and what they are, of the threadbare shiny scraps that are all that remain to them of the old life they hope their way back to, from this dream where they lie "shooting at the darkness from out of the dark." These scraps—jobs, families, and states—repeated with the same perpetual heart-breaking plainness to the listening Pyle, are a bridge pushed back shakily to their real lives; and he understands and puts down what they tell him, always; and the foolish think it a silly habit of his. Even his generals seem human, as he tells how one is waked: the sentry kneeling beside the general, asleep on the ground in his long underwear, repeating softly, "General, sir, general, sir." The desperate antinomies of war are held together by their common ground, the people who endure them: in the foreground, overshadowing the great convulsions, the appalling strengths, are always "the individual cells of that strength"—their stubbornly and precariously stable commonplaceness, their wonderful pathetic persistence in all they can keep of their old understanding and lives and world. If there are few of the regular heroes, there are many of Pyle's: men chosen by chance, sent out "across the ageless and indifferent sea," doing determinedly and unwillingly what they have to do, heroic if they have to be, and not for a public cause but for

their own private moral obligations—fighting “for . . . for . . . well, at least for each other.” So Pyle stays with them year after year and finally dies with them, because of them—the lives that, with their pets, their dreams of after and before, their pictures of their children and wives and girls, their intermittent unending exhaustion and suffering and despair, inch out their marginal existence under the 88’s.

Nobody else in the world but Pyle makes you feel so intensely *sorry* for them, makes you feel how entirely against their will and aside from their understanding it all happens. The terrible particulars of their misery, of this catastrophe beyond anything they could have deserved or even imagined, drive home to anybody who can understand anything the final moral contradiction of such a war: that though from it come, along with suffering and brutality and death, courage and stubborn endurance and sacrifice, people’s real love for one another—all *these things have their price*; and this price is so much too great that it is absolutely incommensurable. Though our victory in this war is better than our defeat, though there is a difference between the two sides that is essential, still what has to be done, the actual substance of the war, is almost entirely evil. The sergeant says to Pyle about the replacements: “I know it ain’t my fault they get killed, and I do the best I can for them. But I’ve got so I feel like it’s me killing ‘em instead of a German. I’ve got so I feel like a murderer.” For Pyle, to the end, killing was murder: but he saw the murderers die themselves.

His condemnation of war seems to the reader more nearly final than any other, because in him there is no exaggeration, no hysteria, no selection to make out a case, no merely personal emotion unrecognized as such; he has nothing to prove. He has written down all that is favorable or indifferent—his readers have noticed this most, the commonplace courage and endurance and affection of his soldiers; but after all this his condemnation is so complete, detailed, brought home to us so absolutely, that it is unforgettable and unarguable. This proper evaluation of things, his calm, detachment, and objectivity (some of his most humorous and equable columns were written while he himself was in the depths of frustration and revulsion) help to give his work its serious truth.

Here are the soldiers of this war:

I was sitting among clumps of sword grass on a steep and rocky hillside that we had just taken, looking out over a vast rolling country to the rear. A narrow path wound like a ribbon over a hill miles away, down a long slope, across a creek, up a slope, and over another hill. All along the length of that ribbon there was a thin line of men. For four days and nights they had fought hard, eaten little, washed none, and slept hardly at all. Their nights had been violent with attack, fright, butchery, their days sleepless and miserable with the crash of artillery.

The men were walking. They were fifty feet apart for dispersal. Their walk was slow, for they were dead weary, as a person could tell even when looking at them from behind. Every line and sag of their bodies spoke their inhuman exhaustion. On their shoulders and backs they carried heavy steel tripods, machine-gun barrels, leaden boxes

of ammunition. Their feet seemed to sink into the ground from the overload they were bearing.

They didn’t slouch. It was the terrible deliberation of each step that spelled out their appalling tiredness. Their faces were black and unshaved. They were young men, but the grime and whiskers and exhaustion made them look middle-aged. In their eyes as they passed was no hatred, no excitement, no despair, no tonic of their victory—there was just a simple expression of being there as if they had been there doing that forever, and nothing else.

This is how they die:

When a man was almost gone, the surgeons would put a piece of gauze over his face. He could breathe through it but we couldn’t see his face well.

Twice within five minutes chaplains came running. One of those occasions haunted me for hours. The wounded man was still semi-conscious. The chaplain knelt down beside him and two ward boys squatted nearby. The chaplain said, “John, I’m going to say a prayer for you.”

Somehow this stark announcement hit me like a hammer. He didn’t say, “I’m going to pray for you to get well”; he just said he was going to say a prayer, and it was obvious to me that he meant the final prayer. It was as though he had said, “Brother, you may not know it, but your goose is cooked.” Anyhow, he voiced the prayer, and the weak, gasping man tried vainly to repeat the words after him. When he had finished, the chaplain added, “John, you’re doing fine, you’re doing fine.” Then he rose and dashed off on some other call, and the ward boys went about their duties.

The dying man was left utterly alone, just lying there on his litter on the ground, lying in an aisle, because the tent was full.

There are many passages in Pyle that, in their extraordinary intensity and exactness of observation and presentation, seem to the reader to have reached a pure truth of statement. (When we read his famous column about the dead Captain Waskow we are no longer separated from the actual event by anything at all.) In the hospital tent he sees that all the wounded and dying look alike, their faces reduced to a “common denominator” by dirt and suffering and exhaustion—except for any extremely fair soldier, who looks like “a flower in a row of weeds.” As the bombs from hundreds of our heavy bombers were falling toward Pyle (by that mistake that killed General McNair and hundreds of other Americans), he heard how “the universe became filled with a gigantic rattling as of huge ripe seeds in a mammoth dry gourd”; he and a stranger wriggled desperately under a farm wagon, and waiting for the bombs already exploding around them, he saw that “we lay with our heads slightly up—like two snakes—staring at each other.” Is there any imaginable way in which the next quotation could be altered?

Our fighters moved on after the enemy, and those who did not fight, but moved in the wake of the battles, would not catch up for hours. There was nothing left behind but the remains—the lifeless debris, the sunshine and the flowers, and utter silence. An amateur who wandered in this vacuum at the rear of a battle had a terrible sense of loneliness. Everything was dead—the men, the machines, the animals—and he alone was left alive.

I do not need to write about Pyle's humor and honesty and understanding, all the precious and "human" qualities—this use of *human* seems an inexorable rationalization, a part of the permanent false consciousness of humanity—that no reader has missed. Along with them there is the charm of those frailties which he insisted on so much. He told beautifully, and often, how scared he was (*Lord, but I felt lonely out there*); but his extraordinary courage—no, his ordinary courage, the courage which, as he showed endlessly, had to be ordinary for millions of men—his readers could only guess, from the long voluntary succession of those situations he was so scared in. His steady humility and self-forgetfulness—without any of the usual veneration of the self for what it is forgetting—were reinforced by his peculiarly objective amusement at his own relation to the world. (When he landed on Okinawa he borrowed a combat jacket with U. S. Navy on the back. Later a marine told him: "You know, when you first showed up, we saw that big Navy stenciled on your back, and after you passed I said to the others: 'That guy's an admiral. Look at the old gray-haired bastard. He's been in the navy all his life. He'll get a medal out of this sure as hell.'") His affectionate amused understanding and acceptance of all sorts and levels of people come from his imaginative and undeviating interest in, observation of, these people; he is as unwilling to look away from them because they do not fit his understanding of them as he is to reject them because they do not satisfy the exacting standards he keeps for himself.

He was very much more complex than most people suppose; and his tragedy—a plain fatality hung over the last of his life, and one is harrowed by his unresigned *I've used up my chances*—was not at all that of the simple homogeneous nature destroyed by circumstances it is superior to. People notice how well he got along with people and the world, and talk as if he were the extrovert who naturally does so; actually he was precisely, detailedly, and unremittingly introspective, and the calm objectivity of his columns is a classical device—his own confused and powerful spiritual life always underlies it, and gives it much of its effect. This contradictory struggle between his public and private selves, between the controlled, objective selectivity of the pieces and his own intense inner life, one must guess from fragments or the remarks of those who knew him best; it is partly because this one side of him is incompletely represented in his work that one regrets his death so much.

His writing, like his life, is a victory of the deepest moral feeling, of sympathy and understanding and affection, over circumstances as terrible as any men have created and endured. By the veneration and real love many millions of people felt for him, their unexplained certainty that he was different from all the rest, and theirs, they showed their need and gratitude for the qualities of his nature, and seemed almost to share in them. He was a bitter personal loss for these people. Most of his readers could not escape the illusion that he was a personal friend of theirs; actually he was—we meet only a few people in our lives whom we ever know as well or love as much. There are many men whose profession it is to speak for us—political and military and literary representatives of that unwithering estate which has told us all our lives what we feel and what we think, how

to live and when to die; he wrote what he had seen and heard and felt himself, and truly represented us. Before his last landing in the Ryukyus, he felt not only fear and revulsion, but an overwhelming premonition that he would die there: "repeatedly he said he knew he would be killed if he hit another beachhead. Before he finally settled the question of whether or not to go ashore in his own mind, he spent three sleepless days and nights. Then on the fourth day he made up his mind." He told a good friend, "Now I feel all right again"; to other people he said merely that he didn't want to go there, but he guessed the others didn't either. He had to an extraordinary degree the sense of responsibility to *the others*, the knowledge of his own real duty, that special inescapable demand that is made—if it is made—to each of us alone. In one sense he died freely, for others; in another he died of necessity and for himself. He had said after visiting the lepers in the Hawaiian Islands: "I felt a kind of unrighteousness at being whole and 'clean.' I experienced an acute feeling of spiritual need to be no better off than the leper."

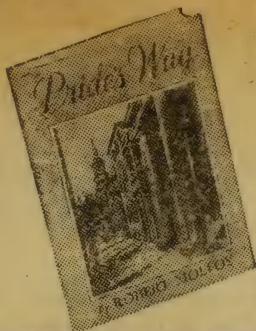
After he died I saw, as most people did, a newsreel of him taken in the Pacific. He is surrounded by marines trying to get his autograph, and steadies on the cropped head of one of them the paper he is signing. He seems unconscious of himself and the camera; his face is humorous, natural, and kindly, but molded by the underlying seriousness, almost severity, of private understanding and judgment. I remembered what the girl in "The Woodlanders" says over another grave: "You were a good man, and did good things." But it is hard to say what he was or what we felt about him. He filled a place in our lives that we hardly knew existed, until he was there; and now that he is gone it is empty.

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### A New Spirit

RICARDO ROJAS'S turgid and uneven book, "San Martín, Knight of the Andes," (Doubleday, Doran, \$3.50), has a fourfold importance. It is one of the few biographies of this great South American liberator which is available in English. Written by the dean of Argentine letters a dozen years ago, it tells us almost as much about the mirror as about the mirrored. Third, it comes at a time when the process of fighting to free peoples from tyranny is again honored and to be understood. And, fourth, it sheds light on happenings in Spain and Spanish America today, when men again write as they did in 1792, "Spain is become ripe for freedom. It is necessary to make this revolution both in European and American Spain."

José de San Martín, "Generalissimo of the Republic of Peru and founder of her liberty, Captain General of Chile and Brigadier of the Argentine Confederation," was born of Spanish parents in Argentina in 1778. Taken back to Spain at seven, he was at eleven enrolled as a cadet in the Murcia regiment. For twenty years he fought Spain's battles. At thirty-three, a colonel, he left the moribund monarchy, in disguise, went back to Argentina, and put his great



MISS JULIE AND MISS TESSIE were two vigorous and eccentric old ladies who lived in Charleston, S. C., in 1910. The story of their troubles and adventures is "delightful, a gentle satire on Charleston's pride of social position giving a wise, mellow coherence to what would be, otherwise, just an amusing and entertaining genre picture... of an extraordinarily real American family."—*Book-of-the-Month Club News*. \$2.75

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An important problem of our times—the paralysis of creative power which war brings to many intellectuals—is treated in this mature and thoughtful novel of contemporary Australia. It is about a writer, his brilliant sister, his neurotic wife, his two daughters, and a disturbing girl who lived in a dreamland she had created from the scenes of his own childhood. \$2.75



The  
MACMILLAN  
COMPANY

Here is an arresting book which explains contemporary Argentina in terms of her history, with complete honesty and detachment. "Illuminating and remarkably well-written... it accurately portrays beneath the current of various political differences, the deep waters of industrial and economic conflict."—*Philadelphia Inquirer*. \$4.00



military skill at the service of people revolting against Spanish rule.

Just what it was that converted him to the cause of liberty the author does not sufficiently examine. "Bourbon regalism, French encyclopedism, and British liberalism created a new spirit," says Señor Rojas, and lets it go at that. His real interest lies in San Martín's later life.

For North American readers, many of them meeting San Martín in these pages for the first time, the book takes far too many things for granted. It is highly subjective, very much concerned with its hero's illnesses, his fidelity to his child wife, his austerity of life and saintliness of soul. That San Martín managed to equip and lead a native army over the high passes of the Andes and defeat larger Spanish forces in Chile seems out of character. Perhaps he was, as this author pictures him, a melancholy mystic, a "saint of the sword" afflicted with stomach ulcers. Or perhaps the distemper of romanticism has lingered too long in modern Argentina, and stained the image with green mold.

The translators, Heschel Brickell and Carlos Videla, are to be congratulated on their skill in quieting purple passages and rendering tortuous prose into readable English.

MILDRED ADAMS

## Back to Manchester

LOUIS MARLIO has combined the careers of successful business man, scholar, statesman, and teacher to an extent which is rare in Europe, almost non-existent in the United States. And while it might not be wholly unexpected in these days to find that a man who was for thirteen years chairman of the International Aluminum Cartel is now associated with the Brookings Institution in Washington, it is still surprising that he has deserved his present position because he was also formerly professor of economics at the Paris École des Sciences Politiques.

He is the author of a number of books, the first of which, "German Policy and International Waterways," was published in 1907. His latest, "Can Democracy Recover?" (Doubleday, Doran, \$2), was printed in French in 1943 under the title of "La Révolution d'hier, d'aujourd'hui et de demain." The primary emphasis, however, is on the French Revolution of 1789.

The author's cure for democracy's present plight is a combination of return to the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and economic liberalism of the Manchester

School. His diagnosis of the ways in which not only France but all the other nations that make up Western civilization strayed from the original revolutionary principles is scholarly, persuasive, and illuminating. But although he is far less extreme than Friedrich Hayek in his devotion to economic orthodoxy, his book is no more convincing than "The Road to Serfdom" in its thesis that a slightly modified laissez faire economy, plus the social good-will represented by the revolutionary slogan, would bring out all that is best in the best of possible worlds.

One of the most insidious arguments of the defenders of nineteenth-century capitalism is that its defects should be cured by moral suasion rather than by political action. Marlio presents this argument with considerable brilliance, and many of his comments are well worth reading, but he still fails to demonstrate that if all business men were made completely free to pursue their own selfish interests, their combined efforts would automatically produce the greatest good for the greatest number.

CHARLES E. NOYES

## Minorities in America

MORE THAN HALF of "One America," edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek (Prentice-Hall, \$5), deals with "contributions" of minority peoples to American civilization as evaluated by scholars of uneven abilities. They grant nodding recognition to the newest approach which stresses minority "participation" when they use such subheadings as cultural differentiation, assimilation, and acculturation. Although space limitations do not permit full treatment of these significant themes, the various contributors take less than full advantage of the scope afforded them. Important aspects of the social and economic history of minority peoples are omitted, and the best sources are not always utilized. Some of the contributors adopt a filio-pietistic tone. Writing of the Irish, A. J. Reilly refers to various aspects of "Celtic genius," very unjustifiably denies a distinct Scotch-Irish contribution (apparently the editors agree—shades of Andrew Jackson!), ignores such a study as Oscar Handlin's "Boston's Immigrants," while affording full scope to the views of the jingoes of the American-Irish Historical Society. A. B. Faust, whose historical work has won the approbation of the Steuben Society, contributes a comparable article on the German element. On the other hand, the reader will be interested in what information there is on such minorities as Estonian, Hindu, Turkish, and Armenian Americans.

Somewhat better is the section dealing with Activities of Minority Groups. Stressing recent and even contemporary developments, the editors are sure that the war has had a unifying effect upon the American peoples. "We have become and will remain one America!" Such a conclusion is borne out neither by these chapters nor by events not covered by them. The last two sections comprise for the most part routine discussions of the origin and nature of group conflict and methods of combating it. The complacent tone of some of these surveys would belie the need of the present moment, which is a new methodology of combating prejudice.

Because of its comprehensiveness "One America" is a convenient and in many respects a useful volume. It could have been a better one.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

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## Art

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ART lovers yearn now for the Terrible. If any art is going to be allowed to take such liberties with nature as modern art does, then it ought to repay us with emotion—shake and scare us the way titans like Michelangelo do. What is involved is really the Sublime, but the term is a little ashamed of itself by now and is excluded from the careful cant of contemporary writing on art and literature. Nevertheless, the Terrible of our time (it is even better form to call it the "disquieting") proves just as hollow in the end as the Sublime of the romantics.

The same taste that feels the cubists to have sacrificed "emotional content" to "intellectualism" and "technique" discovers a latter-day titan in Rouault and is overcome by his "volcanic force." No one who visits Rouault's large show at the Museum of Modern Art (through June 3) can fail to discern a remarkable painter, see several very effective pictures, and recognize a quantity of genius. Yet that remarkable painter is not a great or a major artist. The quietness that unfailingly characterizes great painting does not enter here as it enters into some of the most agitated of Tintoretto's and Delacroix's works—where, as elsewhere, it testifies to the artist's triumph over the medium, and the medium's final acquiescence.

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military skill at the service of people revolting against Spanish rule.

Just what it was that converted him to the cause of liberty the author does not sufficiently examine. "Bourbon regalism, French encyclopedism, and British liberalism created a new spirit," says Señor Rojas, and lets it go at that. His real interest lies in San Martín's later life.

For North American readers, many of them meeting San Martín in these pages for the first time, the book takes far too many things for granted. It is highly subjective, very much concerned with its hero's illnesses, his fidelity to his child wife, his austerity of life and saintliness of soul. That San Martín managed to equip and lead a native army over the high passes of the Andes and defeat larger Spanish forces in Chile seems out of character. Perhaps he was, as this author pictures him, a melancholy mystic, a "saint of the sword" afflicted with stomach ulcers. Or perhaps the distemper of romanticism has lingered too long in modern Argentina, and stained the image with green mold.

The translators, Heschel Brickell and Carlos Videla, are to be congratulated on their skill in quieting purple passages and rendering tortuous prose into readable English.

MILDRED ADAMS

## Back to Manchester

LOUIS MARLIO has combined the careers of successful business man, scholar, statesman, and teacher to an extent which is rare in Europe, almost non-existent in the United States. And while it might not be wholly unexpected in these days to find that a man who was for thirteen years chairman of the International Aluminum Cartel is now associated with the Brookings Institution in Washington, it is still surprising that he has deserved his present position because he was also formerly professor of economics at the Paris Ecole des Sciences Politiques.

He is the author of a number of books, the first of which, "German Policy and International Waterways," was published in 1907. His latest, "Can Democracy Recover?" (Doubleday, Doran, \$2), was printed in French in 1943 under the title of "La Révolution d'hier, d'aujourd'hui et de demain." The primary emphasis, however, is on the French Revolution of 1789.

The author's cure for democracy's present plight is a combination of return to the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and economic liberalism of the Manchester

School. His diagnosis of the ways in which not only France but all the other nations that make up Western civilization strayed from the original revolutionary principles is scholarly, persuasive, and illuminating. But although he is far less extreme than Friedrich Hayek in his devotion to economic orthodoxy, his book is no more convincing than "The Road to Serfdom" in its thesis that a slightly modified and laissez faire economy, plus the social good-will represented by the revolutionary slogan, would bring out all that is better in the best of possible worlds.

One of the most insidious arguments of the defenders of nineteenth-century capitalism is that its defects should be cured by moral suasion rather than by political action. Marlio presents this argument with considerable brilliance, and many of his comments are well worth reading, but he still fails to demonstrate that if all business men were made completely free to pursue their own selfish interests, their combined efforts would automatically produce the greatest good for the greatest number.

CHARLES E. NOYES

## Minorities in America

MORE THAN HALF of "One America," edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek (Prentice-Hall, \$5), deals with "contributions" of minority peoples to American civilization as evaluated by scholars of uneven abilities. They grant nodding recognition to the newest approach which stresses minority "participation" when they use such subheadings as cultural differentiation, assimilation, and acculturation. Although space limitations do not permit full treatment of these significant themes, the various contributors take less than full advantage of the scope afforded them. Important aspects of the social and economic history of minority peoples are omitted, and the best sources are not always utilized. Some of the contributors adopt a filio-pietistic tone. Writing of the Irish, A. J. Reilly refers to various aspects of "Celtic genius," very unjustifiably denies a distinct Scotch-Irish contribution (apparently the editors agree—shades of Andrew Jackson!), ignores such a study as Oscar Handlin's "Boston's Immigrants," while affording full scope to the views of the jingoes of the American-Irish Historical Society. A. B. Faust, whose historical work has won the approbation of the Steuben Society, contributes a comparable article on the German element. On the other hand, the reader will be interested in what information there is on such minorities as Estonian, Hindu, Turkish, and Armenian Americans.

Somewhat better is the section dealing with Activities of Minority Groups. Stressing recent and even contemporary developments, the editors are sure that the war has had a unifying effect upon the American peoples. "We have become and will remain one America!" Such a conclusion is borne out neither by these chapters nor by events not covered by them. The last two sections comprise for the most part routine discussions of the origin and nature of group conflict and methods of combating it. The complacent tone of some of these surveys would belie the need of the present moment, which is a new methodology of combating prejudice.

Because of its comprehensiveness "One America" is a convenient and in many respects a useful volume. It could have been a better one.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

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## Art

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ART lovers yearn now for the Terrible. If any art is going to be allowed to take such liberties with nature as modern art does, then it ought to repay us with emotion—shake and scare us the way titans like Michelangelo do. What is involved is really the Sublime, but the term is a little ashamed of itself by now and is excluded from the careful cant of contemporary writing on art and literature. Nevertheless, the Terrible of our time (it is even better form to call it the "disquieting") proves just as hollow in the end as the Sublime of the romantics.

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seems to have been little real evolution in Rouault's art.

It is as if, conscious of the faulty integration of his painting, he tried to resolve the problem by draining everything off into immediate sensuous effect. But a separateness, a disparity between the literal surface and the picture "within," persists. Rouault turned out some remarkable paintings from 1916 on—especially the *Three Clowns* (1917), the *Portrait of Henri Lebasque*, the *Crucifixion* of 1918, *Self Portrait* (1929), the *Last Romantic*, the *Wounded Clown*, and also the tapestry of the *Wounded Clown*—but all, except perhaps the tapestry, reveal on repeated view a curious fissure between technique and the whole picture—as if the *Ding an sich* had failed to manifest the appropriate phenomenal evidence. The style runs off by itself; we come away remembering colors and textures but not complete works of art. Whence it dawns on us that this passionate religious painter is really a kind of narrow virtuoso, maintaining content in order to exploit a style—unlike Matisse and Picasso, who work at and change style in order to achieve content. And the content of Rouault's art has to be explicit and emphatic in order to support a style whose intensity does not compensate its limited range, and

which down at bottom lies sick with academicism.

It is ironic that Rouault, the up-to-date exponent of pornographic, sado-masochistic, avant-garde Catholicism, should be set forth as the only great religious artist of our time. A painter with real gifts, he fails to fulfil them because, among other things, he goes precisely to religion to find a pretext and justification for venting his abhorrence, not only of the epoch, but of humanity and himself. Perhaps this hatred and this desire to suffer lie profoundly at the heart of our epoch. But as the German philosopher Husserl said, profundity is chaos.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

REVIEWS of books sometimes provide performances that are interesting or amusing to watch. Thus, Virgil Thomson's "Musical Scene" being condensed to, in the *Times*, by Mark Schubart, and Mr. Schubart reminding the reader to take the book's contents as only the opinions of Mr. Thomson—that is something to hug one's sides over. Some may think I am condescending to Mr. Schubart's youth and status; but I am thinking only of his critical opinions. It was the writing of another youthful fourth-string critic, Gama Gilbert, that gave the *Times*'s reviewing of music its brief glimmer of distinction and value a few years ago. And it is the traditions, attitudes, and methods of older men that Mr. Schubart is carrying on. Some things are learned quickly, others take time: already Mr. Schubart, in his record reviews, can use even more words to say even less; but he will need additional journalistic experience to produce those book reviews in which an intimate knowledge of the jacket-blurb, the preface, and the first pages of a few of the chapters has been conveyed with expansively leaden sententiousness.

The performances on Einstein's "Mozart" have been staggering; but Virgil Thomson, whose reviews of books have usually been poor, came through this time with the only comment I have seen that goes to the heart of what is wrong with Einstein's book. In connection with the vagueness of the descriptive analyses of particular works Thomson wrote: "Perhaps what bothers me all through is the author's assumption that his undoubted familiarity with the facts of Mozart's life, including his working

habits gives him automatically a true insight into the meaning of Mozart's works. Time after time we are asked to take on faith ex-cathedra statements like the following about a piano piece that has always so bothered everybody that many editions omit it entirely: 'And the "Little Sonata" in B flat major (K.570), dating from February, 1789—perhaps the most completely rounded of them all, the ideal of his piano sonata—also contains counterpoint used humorously in the finale as if in open reference to the secrets of which the work is full.' I must say that here I find Mr. Einstein far more secretive than the piece he is talking about. This kind of pontifical obscurity (and the book is full of it) is unacceptable . . ." I cannot help noting the irony of Thomson's using the words "pontifical obscurity" which so well describe the method and result of some of his own articles. But what is important about those words here is their correctness as applied to Einstein's statement, and to countless statements which tell us as little about other works; and the fact that Einstein, like all the musicologists, knows everything about a work of Mozart except what it says and means.

What is also important, let me add—since Thomson doesn't—is that there is the same "pontifical obscurity" in Einstein's writing about Mozart's life, and that here he appears to assume that having provided factual documentation at certain points he may at other points make vast and cloudy pronouncements without any documented factual basis at all. On p. 93 of the chapter on Mozart's education is the statement that "his deep intuition pierced the cultural tendencies of his time, without the help of a single lecture on aesthetics." But immediately, and with no awareness that it largely negates what has just been said, there is the statement that "although he had no eye for . . . architecture, sculpture, or painting, he had as a dramatist the finest sense of poetry, both lyric and dramatic. Then, 'he must have read a great deal'; and apparently in justification of this, 'his library contained books on travel, history, and philosophy; poetical works such as those of Metastasio and Salomon Gessner; Molière's comedies . . . ; Wieland's 'Oberon'; and the lyrics of Gellert and Weisse." But no: "whether he actually read all this, nobody knows." But yes: "we do know that he read Metastasio and Gellert. He also knew Fénelon's 'Télémaque' and Tasso's 'Aminta'; he found amusement in the tales of 'The Thousand and One Nights'; and above

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all he knew a large part of the boundless Italian libretto literature." There is, then, documentation for a qualified statement about Mozart's literary interests, but none for the pronouncement about his deep intuition into the cultural tendencies of his time. And there is also great confusion in the progression of thought.

A far worse example of all this is the passage on the next page about Mozart's independence in regard to the new currents that heralded the approach of the nineteenth century, the period of Romanticism whose full flowering he might well have lived to witness. Anything that belonged simply to change or transition did not concern him. He was completely a child of the eighteenth century, perhaps, but also of the twentieth; which is another way of saying that he belonged to the eternity of art, and was in no sense a "forerunner." Beethoven found a great deal in Haydn that he could take as a point of departure, but very little in Mozart. How should one try to continue Mozart's work? It was possible to strive for perfection on another level, and perhaps even to achieve it; but Mozart's perfection could not be surpassed on its own level. With Haydn, on the other hand, one could in many respects compete on

his own terms. Now, Mozart lived in the middle of the period of *Sturm und Drang*, the age of "sensitivity," the age of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Mozart never mentions Rousseau, although he composed a *Singspiel* on Rousseau's "Devin du Village," and he must have heard Rousseau's name often enough in Paris. Presumably he would have had no use for the philosopher and musical amateur of Geneva, whose call "Back to Nature" would have meant very little to him. Mozart was on the side of Voltaire, in spite of the ill-tempered words he pronounced upon the sage of Ferney as an obituary. Voltaire, too, belongs to the eighteenth century and to eternity; and he has the same power of dry and pitiless observation, the same irony, the same fierce satire, and the same profound fatalism. Between "Candide" and the G minor Symphony there is a real kinship.

If you have read this passage, as I have, for continuous sense from one sentence to the next, you will agree that Einstein is using his subject to display the extensiveness of his background of knowledge and culture in a confusedly tangential gabble of pontifical generalizations and allusions which can impress only minds as confused or pretentious as his own.

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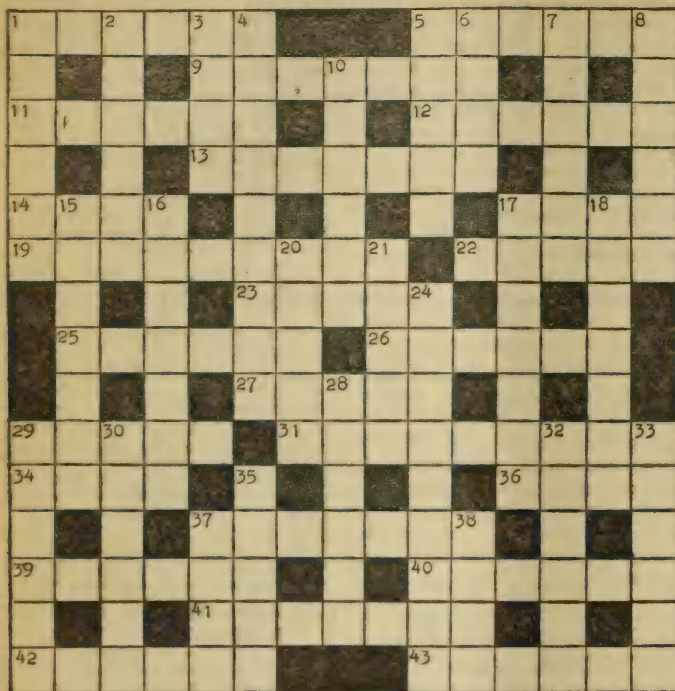


# BUY WAR BONDS



# Crossword Puzzle No. 116

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Creeps
- 5 Septicemia always starts with this
- 9 One kind of palm
- 11 Three-horse Russian vehicle
- 12 Overlook this
- 13 Fools' journeys, sometimes
- 14 Bone of the arm
- 17 Looks like the start of a Bronx cheer
- 19 The art of paying the coal bill, as it were
- 22 Distinctly feline
- 23 Dressmaker's triangular insertions
- 25 Hot bug (anag.)
- 26 Made for me mostly
- 27 Alias Spud Murphy
- 29 Island that was snatched out of the air
- 31 He communicates with his sweetheart by notes
- 34 Are sometimes even in betting
- 36 Commotion
- 37 Travelers' tales may be (two words, 3 and 4)
- 39 Strangely enough quite a peaceful spot in England
- 40 Testify at trial
- 41 Not Nature's work (hyphen, 3-4)
- 42 "The brazen ----- of war" (Milton)
- 43 Senseless state

## DOWN

- 1 Adds relish to a meal
- 2 "Anti? No!" (anag.)
- 3 Less than love but similar, as every golfer knows
- 4 Astronomical figures are illuminating in this
- 5 In the vernacular, a shark

- 6 Don't put them all in one basket
- 7 Mrs. Spry never complained of meat being this (two words, 3 & 3)
- 8 It hardly describes the Ghost Train
- 10 Give her a beer for the doctor
- 15 London's "bank street"
- 16 Kidnap
- 17 Black eye poultice (two words, 3 and 4)
- 18 "Heaven's ebon vault ----- with stars unutterably bright" (Shelley)
- 20 N. African tree whose fruit made strangers forget their home
- 21 It could have been freer
- 24 Politicians who didn't get what was coming to them
- 28 A veritable madhouse
- 29 "An engagement of no great magnitude" (dictionary)
- 30 He should be able to tell a good story
- 32 All in (two words, 4 and 2)
- 33 "I've got a little list . . . ." (Mikado)
- 35 Form of eclat useful on shipboard
- 37 Mater appears after this battle in the old school
- 38 Let it stand, Mr. Printer

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 115

ACROSS: 1 DANIEL WEBSTER; 10 EPHRAIM; 11 DERVISH; 12 PAIRING; 13 WASHTUB; 14 OUTLETS; 15 DESTROY; 16 HOSTAGE; 20 PARABLE; 23 LA SALLE; 24 LEVERET; 25 FOILING; 26 RELEASE; 27 LEVEL CROSSING.

DOWN: 2 ATHEIST; 3 IMAGINE; 4 LILMOSES; 5 ENDOWED; 6 SERONIS; 7 EVICTOR; 8 KEEP TO THE LEFT; 9 SHABBY GENTLE; 17 SISTINE; 18 ALL-WISE; 19 ENERGETIC; 20 PALESTMO; 21 REVOLTS; 22 BARGAIN.

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#### TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

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*Alfred A. Knapp*

## The Shape of Things

BITTER JAPANESE RESISTANCE HAS DELAYED American occupation of southern Okinawa and thus prevented its full exploitation in the aerial blockade of the Japanese islands. Advancing toward Shuri through rugged and heavily fortified country, and in the face of repeated Japanese counter-attacks, the Americans have had to measure their gains in terms of yards. But the delay has not slowed down the tempo of the general United Nations offensive. During the last week the B-29 air raids from the Marianas reached a scale beyond that attained in the European war. The great 500-plane raids on Nagoya appear to have inflicted far greater damage than did the 1,000- and 1,200-plane Flying Fortress raids on Berlin. And in an unparalleled demonstration of American air power the first of these B-29 raids occurred simultaneously with a 1,000-plane carrier strike against the airfields of southern Japan. In China limited successes continue in Hunan. In the Philippines more than 90 per cent of the rich island of Mindanao is in American hands. With the approaching end of the Philippine cam-

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paign, speculation naturally turns to the next step in MacArthur's campaign. The recent Chinese operations against Foochow suggest an early landing on the southern Chinese coast, but the conquest of Okinawa will open up the possibility of a landing much farther north.

✱

REPORTS OF A REVOLT IN SINKIANG HAVE called attention again to one of the chief stumbling-blocks in relations between Russia and China. It will be recalled that a Chinese coup d'état in this remote area three years ago caused Russia to terminate all its trade with the region and withdraw all its machinery and productive equipment. Thus, in effect, the new Chinese regime inherited an empty shell economically, since China is in no position to absorb the products of its remote dependency. The Moslem tribesmen, who constitute the bulk of the population of Sinkiang, are reported to have risen in revolt against the new Chinese regime and to have gained control of several important centers. A New York Times dispatch from London quotes local diplomatic quarters as indicating that Moscow had offered to help quell the revolt if Chungking would agree to a return of the pre-1941 arrangement. Ambassador Hurley is said to have discussed this proposal during his recent visit to Moscow. No final settlement is believed to have been reached. While the disturbances have been confirmed in several quarters, interpretations vary substantially, depending on whether the information sifted out through Chungking or Moscow. A basis for settlement undoubtedly exists along the lines of the pre-1941 condominium. Russia's interests in Sinkiang are primarily economic, China's primarily political. An agreement which would recognize Chinese sovereignty and provide special facilities for Russian trade should not only serve the interests of both countries but also contribute to the welfare of the local tribesmen.

✱

RUSSIA'S SUSPICIONS REGARDING THE USE OF German officers such as Doenitz and Krosigk by Supreme Allied Headquarters continue to find vehement expression in the Moscow press, notwithstanding General Eisenhower's order that these men are to be used but not given power or publicity. The distinction is a delicate one, and we can understand Russia's doubts. The record of British-American dealings with assorted pro-Axis generals in North Africa and Italy is not reassuring. Nor is the unforgettable statement by a high American official after the Darlan agreement that when we moved into Germany we would accept Goering himself if he could deliver the Luftwaffe. It would be possible, of course, to employ members of the German general staff purely as vehicles for the transmission of orders, not as men who had been given authority or who were winning immunity from later punishment as Nazi criminals. We believe this should be made plain—and not only to still Russia's fears. Everywhere in Europe people are watching to see what the Allied authorities will do with the terrorists now in their hands. The British have permitted German troops on Crete to retain their arms in order to defend themselves against the vengeance of the population. Such a ruling is fantastic unless it is followed by swift and drastic punishment carried in accordance with the agreement made at Moscow

that those guilty of specific crimes will be tried in the countries where such crimes have been committed. Delay and legalistic quibbling in the handling of war criminals will increase the suspicion, already general, that the Western Allies care more for the preservation of order than for the extermination of fascism.

✱

SIXTY MILLION JOBS HAS BECOME A SLOGAN which symbolizes new hope for a secure America after the war, a fighting phrase to rally liberals everywhere against reactionary attempts to hold back the clock. But a slogan, however useful, can be no substitute for solid economic thinking. When the anatomy of full employment is dissected industry by industry, trade by trade, the magnitude and the complexity of America's particular problem become more evident and more alarming. Elsewhere in this issue we carry an article by Leo Barnes, director of economic research for the Research Institute of America, which makes a draft survey of the post-war economic map of the United States. We recommend it to the careful study of our readers. For those who normally shy off economic charts and statistics we suggest that the table on p. 594 is neither complicated nor dull. It tells a story of past achievement and failure and suggests just how big is the job ahead if 60 million Americans are to have jobs when the war is over. We call it to the especial attention of Congressmen.

✱

ONE QUESTION WHICH THE WESTERN ALLIES earnestly hoped to brush off but which forced itself into the discussion at San Francisco is the question of Spain. The collapse of Nazi power has left to Franco the uneasy honor of being the last important focus of fascism on the European continent. He has met the situation by trying to scramble over to the democratic side, but he has discovered, like his confreres in Argentina, that every gesture in the direction of liberty necessitates more severe measures of repression if his regime is not to be overthrown. Last February he shot without trial sixteen political prisoners in reprisal for the killing of two minor Falangist officials during an attack on a Falangist party headquarters in a workers' district in Madrid. Just recently eight others were sentenced to die for complicity in this attack: seven of them were executed. Republicans insist that the incident was a frame-up to provide a plausible excuse for the executions. But the fact remains that political arrests and killings have markedly increased since Franco began issuing his series of amnesty announcements. The lot of the dictator turned democrat is not merely hard, it is hopeless.

✱

BUT THE SPANISH ISSUE HAS BEEN PRECIPITATED at San Francisco less by Franco's recent misdeeds than by the vigorous action of delegates who understand the necessity of insuring in advance that Spain's fascist regime shall not get into the security organization in the guise of a "neutral" and that a place shall be held for a democratic Spain when Franco has been overthrown. That the question is not academic is indicated by the language used in a letter from Edward Stettinius to the Friends of the Spanish Republic, acknowledging a request for a hearing before the committee considering admissions. Mr. Stettinius remarked that while "the United States delegation does not expect to be called

upon to take cognizance of a request for admission of Spain, such a request might properly be entertained by the international organization after its formation." That contingency is exactly what the Friends of the Spanish Republic are determined to avoid and they have won the active support of many of the genuinely democratic delegations. At a large and enthusiastic press luncheon held in honor of Spain's last Republican Foreign Minister, J. Alvarez del Vayo, a representative of China made the first public statement calling attention to the pro-Japanese record of Franco and to the Chinese government's refusal to recognize his regime. And the fact that Mr. Molotov, a few days before leaving for Moscow, held a long, off-the-record conference with Mr. Del Vayo had an immediate significance which was not lost either on the delegates or on the press. \*

SINCE THEN OTHER DELEGATIONS HAVE MADE their opinions known. Several Latin American countries, eager to atone for their action on Argentina or at least to demonstrate that the Argentine decision was not a sample of their attitude toward fascist states in general, have definitely decided to force consideration of the Spanish question. A most impressive statement by Luis Quintanilla of the Mexican delegation will have been presented to the conference before this issue appears. A few sentences are well worth quoting here:

I speak for the Mexican delegation. My purpose is to make clear that Mexico accepted the text of Article I, Chapter III, with the understanding that membership in the new international organization cannot be claimed by defeated Axis governments or the de facto governments imposed by the military forces of the Axis.

We have in mind not only the puppet government of Manchukuo but, closer to us Spanish-speaking republics, that of Spain. . . .

We can now without endangering the course of European operations speak the whole truth; and the historical truth, Mr. Chairman, is that without the military help of Mussolini's legions and Hitler's air power, the forces of democracy in Spain, represented by the legally elected Republican government, would be seated here, helping us today.

After citing a few of the Spanish dictator's most flagrant protestations of loyalty to the Axis, Mr. Quintanilla ended his remarks with this sharp and uncompromising demand:

Mr. Chairman, the Mexican delegation submits that the voice that spoke those words must never be heard in the international organization which you, gentlemen, are creating.

If anything more were needed to focus and intensify the activities of the anti-Franco elements, the arrival of Dr. Juan Negrín should provide it. As these paragraphs are being written, Dr. Negrín is on his way to the coast where he will meet with his friends in the conference and with fellow Spanish Republicans now in San Francisco. If Spain is a symbol of the underlying meaning of the struggle for a free world, the head of Spain's last legal government symbolizes the undefeated resistance of the Spanish people. The Republican groups, long held apart by geographical dispersion and the political differences that multiply in exile, look hopefully to Dr. Negrín to integrate and lead them in the final battle against the tyranny that strangles their country. It is important

that the San Francisco conference contribute to this effort an unequivocal repudiation of Franco and his claim to fellowship in the new society of nations.

\*

THE DANGERS FACING THE TRADE-AGREEMENT program were clearly indicated in the narrow margin by which it was indorsed by the House Ways and Means Committee. The bill to extend the reciprocal trade policy for three years squeaked through the committee by a three-vote margin. Every Republican on the committee opposed the measure, and one Democrat—West of Texas—joined the Republican minority. If Republican opposition on the floor is as complete, a few dissident Democrats, representing special sectional interests, would succeed in scuttling the bill. The Republican vote in the committee shows that the party's Congressional representatives have learned nothing from the elections of 1940 and 1944. In those elections the Republican Presidential candidates tried to woo independent votes by adopting a progressive attitude toward the Administration's basic foreign policies. But the inflexible record of the party in opposition to the trade-expansion program in Congress spoke louder than the conciliatory words of the Republican candidates. It is to be hoped that the voters will make their attitude known to their Congressmen before the bill comes up for a vote in the House.

\*

NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE CANDIDATES are competing for the 245 seats in Canada's federal Parliament. The election will be held on June 11. It will be interesting and significant for liberal forces in the United States to observe whether the results show the leftward trend which has characterized political developments in other parts of the democratic world. Essentially it is a three-way contest among the Liberal Party, the Progressive-Conservative Party, and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Among them they account for 645 nominations. Of the minor parties the most important group is to be found in the province of Quebec, where the issues of the war and conscription have fanned nationalist and anti-government sentiment. Here no fewer than 130 candidates are listed in the column marked "others"; of these, 69 will run as Independents and 35 as Bloc Populaire. Mr. King must win a majority of Quebec's sixty-five seats if he is to come back with a majority. Quebec is therefore a province to watch. The C. C. F., sure of decided gains scattered across the country, is chiefly interested in the western provinces and Ontario. It will almost certainly elect most of the members from Saskatchewan, where a year ago a C. C. F. government was swept into power. It has also shown marked strength in British Columbia. The Ontario vote, however, is of greatest consequence. Eighty-two seats are to be contested, and all three major parties are concentrating their fight in this province. Here one of the factors is the Communist Party—parading under the label of Labor-Progressive. The Communists have in general urged support of Liberals, and the main object of their assault has been the C. C. F. Small numerically, they may split the vote sufficiently in certain crucial industrial districts to elect a Liberal or a Conservative. *The Nation* expects to give a first-hand analysis of the election situation in an early issue.

## *A Conference in the Doldrums*

**B**ICKERINGS at San Francisco and in other Allied councils have induced a mood of disillusionment in more than one devoted champion of effective international organization. People were startled, not to say shocked, at the opening quarrel over chairmanships. The Polish dispute—a skeleton that keeps emerging from the conference cupboard at unexpected and irrelevant moments—frightens participants and spectators alike, not less as an omen of trouble to come than for its own ugly features. In the last few days it has been joined by a Yugoslav cousin. As for regionalism and universalism, it is hard to say which is more irritating—the united tenacity of our good Latin American neighbors or the forced suspense of the conference while Moscow deliberates. Finally, the small nations, instead of holding their noses and swallowing the great-power veto, keep spitting out bits of it, to the renewed discomfiture of those good liberals who from the first have been a little ashamed of the pill.

The disappointed are not much consoled when diplomatic old hands remind them that conferences are always that way. Their trouble is something more than lack of sophistication. It betrays the fact that despite the strong strain of conservatism and conventionality that distinguished the whole process of preparation for the meeting, people were still hoping for miracles at this first Constituent Assembly of the United Nations. They may well be forgiven a sense of indignation and defeat in the presence of accumulating evidence that even this most immeasurable of wars has not been enough to change the nature or the temper of international politics. It is nevertheless worth insisting that, given the limitations foreshadowed as early as the Moscow Declaration of 1943 and highlighted in the Dumbarton Oaks agreements of 1944, there is no reason yet to write the San Francisco conference off as a failure.

Nothing whatever has occurred to alter the essential character of the organization planned in the Dumbarton text. We still have the prospect of a structure very much like the League of Nations, with somewhat better arrangements for checking aggression provided the great powers can agree, at the moment of actual need, to use them. In some particulars, which may become very important in the process of growth, the conference has brought promise of improvement. Thus the new provisions for future amendment, while they have not removed the great-power veto, will make for easier adaptation to changing conditions. The composition of the council is improved by fuller recognition of the middle powers, while all small states are gaining some satisfaction in the revision of the general assembly's functions. A fuller and more practical plan for the advancement of essential

human rights is being worked out. Debate still rages around the relations between the United Nations and regional organizations; but this problem was clearly foreseen, and it is better to tackle all its difficulties now than to have them surprise us later. The business of providing a successor for the League's mandate system—a part entirely missing in the Dumbarton text—is well in hand. These tasks are made hard by the conflicting interests involved. They are nevertheless inevitable; there is reason for gratitude that their thorniness has not become an excuse for shirking or postponing them.

It will be a first-class disaster if idealists, disappointed of exaggerated hopes, turn their backs on San Francisco and wander off into cynicism. The long and hard pull for all of us who want successful organization lies ahead. We are not going to be presented with an automatic mechanism of peace. For some years after the end of hostilities conditions are going to be only less desperate than those of actual war. There will be need for great power swiftly used. The tendency will be to decide the largest issues outside the new League. In those years the United Nations organization will die, unless by patient, untiring pressure we consolidate and expand the nucleus that will be given us and so fit it for an increasing role in pacification, welfare, and long-term security. The battle for effective world organization has not been lost; it is only beginning.

## *Shall America Help Russia Rebuild?*

**S**OME bad poker is being played with Russia these days. The political aspect of the game is attracting more attention, but the economic is just as important. Recently, for example, when Secretary Grew announced that lend-lease shipments to Russia were being stopped or scaled down because the European war had ended, some of the boys in the back room applauded lustily and waited for the chips to be shoved across to our side of the table. It seemed pretty clear that Russia needed our financial assistance so badly that it would have to make certain political concessions we had been asking for. It may turn out, however, that we have underestimated the strength of Russia's hand, and that Russia may get tired and decide to pull out of the game.

What are the facts? Russia has undoubtedly suffered tremendous physical losses during the war—much greater losses than any other of the United Nations. Moreover, these losses came on top of a long period during which the Russian people had to deny themselves goods that we in the West consider necessities in order to build up their heavy industries and later manufacture armaments to resist the Nazis. To aid its reconstruction and at the same time to speed up the flow of consumer goods Moscow has asked the United States for a twenty-year loan of six billion dollars. Continuing lend-lease aid, even if it were limited to essential military supplies, would further lighten the Soviet's economic burden.

But if we refuse to extend economic aid to Russia, it does not follow that Russia's economic program is com-

COMING IN THE NATION

KAY BOYLE, *Hotel Behind the Lines*

CAREY MCWILLIAMS, *Columbia River Epic*

pletely stymied or that Russia will come to us on bended knee asking what concessions it must make to get credits. Russia has the means to carry out its reconstruction program under its own power even if that involves the continuation of the sacrifices its people have been making for many years. The Soviet economy is crippled, but its prospects of reconstruction are much brighter than they were after the last war, and they are certainly brighter than those of any other European country. In contrast with 1918, Russia has come out of this war with internal stability, with vast experience in large-scale planning, with millions of skilled workers, and with a sizable industrial plant. Moreover, the Russians count on the use of German labor to help them rebuild their cities and on substantial reparations in goods from the parts of Germany occupied by the Red Army. In Upper Silesia the Russians have acquired a potential coal supply almost equal to their entire pre-war production. The zinc deposits near Beuthen are among the largest in the world, and the great Silesian industries, in contrast with those of the Ruhr, are reported to have suffered little damage from bombing. In normal times the Silesian plants are equipped to turn out machine tools, rails, railway locomotives and cars, and automobiles—all of vital importance in Russia's reconstruction.

Russia, therefore, can be counted on to make a good recovery even if left to its own—and Germany's—resources. Without help from us it will still be able to adopt the policy of self-sufficiency, more or less isolated from the world economy, which it followed with some success during the 1920's and 1930's. This policy paid dividends during the war. It will not contribute either to the cause of international organization or to a rapidly rising standard of living for the Russian people.

Whether Russia continues to emphasize a self-sufficient defense economy depends on certain conditions over which we and Great Britain have some control. First, will an international security organization emerge that offers Russia, as well as Britain and ourselves, genuine protection against war? Second, are Britain and the United States willing to contribute economic aid to Russia that would underpin the political guaranties? It is impossible to separate the security arrangements agreed upon at San Francisco from the economic arrangements which are the tangible expression of continuing international cooperation. During the war the ever-increasing flow of lend-lease material was tangible evidence of American good faith in the coalition war. A long-term loan would provide similar evidence that cooperation would continue in the peace. Under such circumstances and only under such circumstances is Russia likely to feel secure enough to abandon its isolationist policies.

But why, Congress may ask, should the United States buy Russian cooperation to the tune of six billion dollars? Lend-lease was a matter of national survival; peace-time credits are harder to justify. The answer is twofold. First, it is as much to our benefit as to Russia's to have a workable security system rooted in mutual understanding and cooperation. Second, even though the policy of extending lend-lease into peace-time relations could be justified, Russia is asking only that a repayable loan be made. Russia's record for honoring financial obligations is good. Third, a six-billion-dollar export program to Russia might play an important role in maintaining employment in our vastly expanded heavy industries during the next decade. All these advantages will be lost if we attempt to use our strong bargaining position to force political concessions that Russia fears may endanger its security.

## Trieste and San Francisco

BY I. F. STONE

*San Francisco, May 20*

I DO not wish to be alarmist, and I put this down in the utmost sobriety: it is beginning to seem as if the main business of the United Nations Conference on International Organization is not to write a charter for a stable peace but to condition the American people psychologically for war with the Soviet Union. Three weeks ago this was a mere subterranean political tendency. It has developed at a terrifying rate into the major preoccupation of the press and of the conference. The assumption that sooner or later we shall have to fight a third world war against the U. S. S. R. has become the premise of Anglo-American political maneuvering. It seems to me essential to bring this to public attention as sharply and widely as possible before matters get out of hand.

A few weeks ago anti-Soviet propaganda was conspicuous only in the Hearst and similar papers. The hysteria skilfully generated by these sources and by off-the-record poison to favored correspondents has since spread to more respectable

quarters. The four-page special conference edition distributed here by the New York Times has shown a steady decline in objectivity, and this morning's issue was largely taken up with one aspect or another of the red menace. The unspeakable William P. Carney, who so distinguished himself during the Spanish civil war, was back with a cock-and-bull story about "reds win control of America's press," while Edwin L. James, the paper's managing editor, attacked the Russians as "welshers." James B. Reston, No. 1 staff man of the Times at the conference and a first-rate reporter, has lapsed into some febrile and feeble anti-Russian editorializing in what are supposed to be news stories. This press atmosphere, for which the American delegation must bear a heavy responsibility, is hardly calculated to improve relations with the U. S. S. R.

Tongues clack at all the better cocktail parties about the terrible danger of letting the Russians into Central Europe. Archbishop John J. Mitty at a solemn mass this morning at St. Mary's Cathedral, "for the cause of Lithuania," de-

nounced "Russian occupation" of that country as a violation of moral law. All the bitter reactionary left-overs of Eastern Europe, from Poland's Matuszewski to Yugoslavia's Fotich, are playing Paul Revere behind the scenes. Let us imagine that Moscow had a free press and free speech like ours and that while we were meeting there to frame a world organization Trotskyite papers set up a din about capitalist duplicity and orthodox archbishops attacked our government for oppressing Puerto Rico. In such circumstances I doubt whether our delegation, even if it didn't pack up angrily and go home, would be willing to trust American security to Russian promises. It is a useful exercise in international understanding to try to put ourselves in the other fellow's place for a change.

The increasing emphasis here on combating the Soviet menace is accompanied by a mounting series of conflicts in Europe. While Mr. Roosevelt was alive, the United States was a kind of middle man between Britain and Russia, but since his death the British have been able to seize the central position and play us off against the Soviets in typical balance-of-power politics. Mr. Churchill's remark about not handing over Europe to new forms of totalitarianism and police government has been supplemented during the week by General Alexander's nasty ultimatum comparing Tito in Trieste to "Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan." Admittedly there are difficult problems involved, but this is the way one talks to an enemy, not an ally. It is the spirit of "come on and fight," not of "let's sit down and talk this over."

The Trieste crisis has the gravest possibilities and over-shadows everything else here tonight, even the reported surrender of Moscow on our desire for a pan-American regional bloc. This last-minute Russian acquiescence may prove another of the costly victories the American delegation has won at San Francisco. For acceptance of regionalism in this form may easily lay the legal basis, from the very beginning of the new organization, for splitting the world into hostile blocs. My own feeling is that the Russians may have decided that the new organization is not important enough to fight about, and that their wisest course would be to help wind up the conference as rapidly as possible before it causes more trouble. If my hunch is correct, we may also see rapid compromises on some of the other remaining issues. Our delegation is reluctant to pledge itself to "full employment." It does not want a promise of eventual independence for colonies. The Soviets, having reaped the political advantages of their progressive stand on these issues, may be content to let us win a psychic victory on both.

San Francisco's wrangles over organizational details are becoming less and less important except as reflections of deep-seated political difficulties which cannot be sidestepped much longer. Stalin's letter on Poland, with its flat denial that the sixteen arrested underground leaders were invited to confer and its refusal to link their cases with the governmental reorganization promised at Yalta, helps to clear the air on that issue. I am convinced that we must recognize that the diehard elements left in the London Polish government in exile cannot safely be included in any new Polish government and that the Anders army in exile cannot be

allowed to return as an army without the risk of civil war in Poland. But I am also convinced that the Russians and the Warsaw Poles are prepared to implement the Yalta pact by taking in leaders who have left the London government in protest against its intransigence, and that on this basis a mutually satisfactory settlement is possible.

Trieste is more difficult and more dangerous. Economically and traditionally it is the natural outlet of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Austria to the sea. But though the Istrian Peninsula is overwhelmingly Slovene, Trieste itself is overwhelmingly Italian in population. Trieste stirs the deepest nationalist feeling in both Yugoslavia and Italy. It is one of those problems not really soluble within a nationalist framework, and the ideal solution would be the city's internationalization. But this would require a genuinely international organization and spirit, and San Francisco has yet to provide either. On top of the nationalist clash is the clash in viewpoint between British troops wishing to preserve "order" and revolutionary partisan forces eager to purge all fascist influences, including clerical ones—a point which must alarm the Vatican. A third and perhaps the major element in this formidable situation is British concern over the shift in the European balance of power. This is reflected in the desire to stop Soviet influence at what is being referred to as the Hamburg-Trieste line, the fear of Soviet emergence via Trieste into Mediterranean politics, and an apparent determination to have a "test of strength" at Trieste. Historically the Balkans have proved hazardous places for such "tests." Trieste is not so far from Sarajevo.

Britain, hitherto distinctly unfriendly to Italy, seems to have reversed its position and to be exploiting Italian nationalist sentiment for Trieste. The spectacle of Yugoslavia and Italy at loggerheads in the old familiar way over Trieste is most discouraging to those who had hoped for a new world. But Yugoslav desire for Trieste, hatred for Italy, contempt for the weak way in which the Bonomi government has handled war criminals (several of them wanted in Yugoslavia), and the still fresh memory of all that Yugoslavia suffered under the Axis seem too deep to permit an Italian-Yugoslav agreement that might short-circuit British plans. These conclusions are reached on the basis of an off-the-record talk with a leading Yugoslav delegate here. The Yugoslavs feel that Trieste was freed by their partisans, and while they are ready to provide all military facilities to the British, they want to run the civil administration pending a final territorial settlement at the peace conference. After what happened in Greece I do not blame them.

At the moment, however, these are all minor matters compared with the importance of preventing an armed clash which would end big-power unity and bring the threat of a new world war very close indeed. Trieste, which the Yugoslavs tried to discuss with the British as far back as 1941, is the fruit of the familiar and disastrous policy of postponement. Like a number of similar problems, it cannot be kept on ice until the peace conference. A new meeting of the Big Three is made an immediate necessity by the Trieste crisis, but I do not think it can accomplish much unless President Truman is prepared to take up Mr. Roosevelt's role and mediate between the Russians and the British instead of remaining the tail to Mr. Churchill's giddy new kite.

# Austria: Test for the Coalition

BY ERNST KARL WINTER

*The Nation regards this analysis of the contemporary political situation in Austria as intensely interesting and illuminating. Dr. Winter would not expect us to be in entire agreement with his interpretation of the role of right and left in Austria's past and present. We will say that we have not seen an article which throws as much light on the situation in Central Europe at the point where present lines of force appear to converge. We are particularly interested that an intelligent Austrian Catholic finds good cause for hope that Austria will become a bridge rather than a barrier between Soviet Russia and the Western democracies.*

**W**HEN the Nazis entered Vienna in March, 1938, the shadow of World War II fell across Europe, though the Western world took little notice of it. When the Red Army entered Vienna in April, 1945, the post-war period of reconstruction began, though few people seem to have grasped that fact. The next phase of world history may reveal in Vienna whether Russian pragmatism will evolve an effective scheme of world organization or follow the road of German irrationalism. Vienna, the old capital of Central Europe, is still its pivot. There not only a new European civilization can be born, but the dream of the centuries, an ecumenical age of Christianity, with West and East not only meeting but amalgamating can perhaps be realized.

As an Austrian Catholic I see here one of the greatest opportunities ever granted to a small people. Austrian Catholics who have stood uncompromisingly against Nazism made up their mind long ago that they must side with Russia against Germany instead of persisting in the ridiculous and suicidal position of fighting a "war on two fronts." Even Schuschnigg, who wanted to save Austria by dealing with Hitler, was sure in the fading days of his power in which direction he would turn if he could start all over again. At my last meeting with him, between his trip to Berchtesgaden and his final capitulation, he confided to me—who had advised him to do so for years—that "if he had the choice," he would take Stalin, not Hitler, and that, he added, "would mean Otto Bauer," then the leader of the Social Democrats in exile. There is no doubt today that even the most conservative Austrian Catholics are ready to give Russia, if it wants it, the chance to organize the Central European world, a task in which both Old Austria and Nazi Germany signally failed.

The first product of the new situation in Austria is the Provisional Government of Dr. Karl Renner, which is really the kind of government political realists have wanted for Austria since 1930. It consists of Social Democratic trade unionists and intellectuals, Communist organizers and propagandists, Christian Socialist peasant leaders, representatives of the lower middle classes and the Christian workers, and

several non-partisan experts. Although it is as yet only a government of eastern Austria, it embodies the one practical political development conceivable in Austria since 1918—a coalition between the left and the right.

Semi-officially, it has been said that the new Austrian government violates an agreement entered into by Russia and the two Western powers that Austria should be administered for the time being by an inter-Allied commission. Officially, it has been stated that "the whole question is being taken up with the Russian government" and that therefore nothing further will be said at present. The public has no knowledge whatever of any agreement about Austria made by the Big Three. Was it an "international pact" or simply some kind of "diplomatic understanding"; if the latter, as is probable, did it not foresee that circumstances arising in the course of the liberation of the country might make modifications necessary? Let us assume, for instance, that at the time of the agreement all three partners believed that no representative Austrian political leader would have survived the Nazi occupation and that therefore no government would be possible. When the Russians discovered that this was not the case, were they not justified in allowing Austrian internal politics to take their course without outside interference? In other countries, whenever expediency, military or political, required it, the Western Allies have tolerated a lot of what looked to the outside world like unilateral action by the Russians. Why not also in Austria?

It seems, however, that the "diplomatic understanding" about Austria goes back to the Moscow conference. At that time the independence of Austria was made conditional on the efforts of the Austrians themselves to regain their liberty. I pointed out then, in a letter to the *New York Times*, how little could be accomplished by promising Austria independence as a reward for good behavior if, as all Austrians knew, independence would have to be granted anyway, for the good of everybody. While the Russians, who may have been the author of the idea, obviously interpreted it as what it was, a means of propaganda, Hull and Eden seriously repeated it as if some kind of international servitude might be imposed upon the Austrians by the World Areopagus. Obviously, the "agreement" to administer Austria by a commission instead of a government was only the consequence of this previous "understanding," which in fact seems to have been a big misunderstanding. For when the Russians entered Vienna, they announced at once to the world that the Austrians had saved their national honor and thus proved worthy of independence. Now the propaganda stage was over and the real business could begin. It seems that the Western Allies did not understand this change. At any rate, while the Russians enabled a national government to come into being which is gradually carrying out far-reaching constitutional changes, the Western Allies stick to obsolete formulas which often only cover inactivity. One cannot help feeling that they have let

themselves be maneuvered into a corner, where they can do little to advance their interests.

The idea underlying the new coalition government is basically acceptable to the Western powers. It is the first government formed under Russian auspices upon which the bright light of history falls. Numerically, the balance between the left (Social Democrats and Communists) and the right (Christian Socialists and the non-partisan experts) may be kept, or it may be destroyed if the two leftist parties combine against the one rightist party. Yet if the three Christian Socialist representatives of the peasantry, the lower middle classes, and the Christian workers understand their business—which I, knowing them, do not question in the least—they will be able to reorganize their rank and file both economically and politically under the protection of the coalition government. It may prove much more difficult to restore the unity of the labor movement, now consisting of two parties.

Inasmuch as the Red Army is in eastern Austria, the Communists are in charge of the new Austrian army, the police, and the gendarmerie. They have also taken over the Ministry of Public Instruction and Religion. Strange as it may seem, considering their Marxian dogma, they rely upon military power and intellectual propaganda, while the Christian Socialists, quite like Marxists, are satisfied with positions of economic power. The new Minister of Public Instruction and Religion, Ernst Fischer, seems to be the "strong man" of the new government. He has been a Social Democrat with Communist leanings since the early 1930's. When I tried to aid the formation of a coalition regime in 1933 by bringing Schuschnigg and Bauer together—matters went so far that some younger leaders from both parties planned to meet privately—I proposed to Bauer the inclusion, among others, of Fischer, who was then literary editor of the Social Democratic daily. Bauer, with a sovereign wave of his hand, simply said, "A poet!" Fischer's great passion for many years was to criticize from his position farther to the left the ideology and tactics of Bauer's and Renner's so-called Austro-Marxism, which I tried to interpret positively from my position on the right. In analyzing the historical causality of Austro-Marxism, however, we agreed in many respects, although it was certainly easier for me, who was on the outside, to appraise the labor party objectively. Fischer esteemed at least Bauer's ethical qualities, but Renner for him was never anything more than a "reformist petty bourgeois."

It would be very unfair to hold Fischer to account for everything he has said in communistic pamphlets—many of which were published also in this country until 1940. As the Austrian voice on the Moscow radio during recent years, he proved himself an Austrian patriot such as the Austro-Marxists of the old school, with their *Anschluss* ideology, never dreamed of being. Moreover, the Communists today are more conservative in many matters concerning school and church, matrimony and family, than the Socialists. Thus I do not think that a *Kulturkampf* is inevitably in the air. A Communist Minister for Public Instruction and Religion might seem to be the least desirable symbol of cooperation if the political coalition between the left and the right in Austria had not already introduced a new system of tripartite administration of all important public posts—each ministry will contain three party officials. If this system is allowed to grow

organically, it will be able to cope with all problems rising out of partisan differences.

The Renner government in Vienna is the first step; the amalgamation of eastern and western Austria will be the next. As these lines are written, two of the traditional provincial governments, both under Social Democratic leadership, have been reestablished—one in Graz, sponsored by the Russians, the other in Klagenfurt, where in a somewhat confused situation the British Eighth Army seems not to have objected to it, while the Yugoslav occupying forces obviously disapprove. Similar provincial governments will probably follow in Linz, Salzburg, Innsbruck, and Bregenz under Christian Socialist leadership. The next natural step will then be an understanding between the central government and these provincial governments. This process should be facilitated by the Western Allies. It would be a calamity beyond measure and repair if political antagonism between centralism and federalism, which are backed now by the different occupying forces, should be allowed to grow into a metaphysical war between communism and Catholicism. I cannot see that either Russia or the Western Allies would profit from such a development.

The Austria of the coming months will be the test case of cooperation. And I mean not only cooperation between the left and the right, between labor and peasantry, between socialism and Christianity, within Austria, but also cooperation between the West and the East, between capitalism and Sovietism on a world scale. As far as Austria is concerned, both kinds of cooperation are strictly interdependent. Since the Russians are actually in Vienna, while the Americans, the British, and the French are only in the provincial capitals, I do not hesitate to say that the main opportunity and the main responsibility rest with the Russians, although the Western Allies can do much to facilitate or hamper progress. If cooperation is finally established, it will not mean that the Russians completely lose the upper hand. If the Western Allies wanted a strictly tripartite regime without anybody on top in Vienna, they should have insisted on a joint Balkan campaign and the consequent liberation of Vienna by the arms of the three Allies. By taking the course they did, they agreed to a "Russian age" in Central Europe which will inevitably affect all Austria. But they still have the chance to make this age, in spite of its predominant color, one of cooperation, in which the factor of military power will gradually retire into the background.

If there is cooperation among the world powers, the western and eastern provinces of Austria will grow together again into a pivotal state which will be so closely interwoven with the destiny of the United Nations that it will be worthy of containing their headquarters. If there is not cooperation, the line between the West and the East will cut straight across the body of Austria, perhaps right through the heart of Vienna. In such an event, the gulf between the two hemispheres of mankind would gape in Austria more terribly than anywhere else. Even then only fatalism would hold that the two halves must be swallowed up in a final catastrophe of this planet, but constructive firmness would be needed to prevent the catastrophe. With this prospect in mind, every decent Austrian will work for cooperation with every ounce of his substance.

# The Anatomy of Full Employment

BY LEO BARNES

A GOOD deal of recent post-war planning is either dominated by wishful thinking or based on the rather reckless use of large, over-all figures of national income, output, or employment. It is not uncommon to find serious surveys of post-war national income *begin* with the assumption of full employment, when the likelihood of full employment after the war should be the very thing to be demonstrated. Similarly, grandiose figures like 60 million jobs, \$150 billion national income, and \$200 billion gross national product are often airily tossed around with little if any effort to specify the particular items presumably adding up to the impressive totals.

Realistic thinking about jobs after the war calls for much more careful nose-counting. To obtain a reasonable answer to the question, "How are we going to employ a post-war labor force of more than 60 million men and women?" it is first necessary to scrutinize each major industry and occupation with the object of determining its employment potentialities. Only such an examination will enable us to make the distinction which is pivotal to clear thinking about post-war jobs—the distinction between what employment *could* be and what it *probably will* be.

The road to understanding how full employment can be reached a few years after the war must be paved with the knowledge of what employment is likely to be in the immediate post-war period. This article will try to throw some light on the possibilities by illuminating the probabilities. Based on an industry-by-industry employment survey, the evidence it offers is certainly not as spectacular as the highly optimistic or pessimistic deductions found in much post-war planning that has blossomed forth in print. However, it can be far more useful for effective planning to achieve the "economic equivalent of war."

What does this evidence show?

First, it shows that the *immediate* post-war period will be one of moderately high but definitely not full employment. For the first "normal" peace-time year, after demobilization and reconversion adjustments, a realistic employment prospect is about 55.5 million jobs of all kinds. This means unemployment of about 5 million, rather than the 1.5 million assumed in optimistic post-war speculation.

Second, the evidence shows that reducing transition unemployment to 5 million will not be the achievement of private enterprise alone, even if it is aided by a strong replenishment demand for goods. The prognosis of 55.5 million jobs includes more than 7 million persons on the civilian and military pay rolls of the federal and local governments, and several million more in private industry whose jobs directly or ultimately depend on government spending.

Third, the long-run implication of the evidence is that, once the post-war replenishment boomlet subsides, maintaining 55 million jobs will require substantial government planning and intervention in the economy. Correspondingly, to

raise employment to 60 million jobs and keep it there will demand even more thoroughgoing government direction of our economic life.

## I

The nose-counting on which these conclusions are based is summarized in the two tables on the following page. The method by which the counting was done is explained in Part II. The implications of the nose-counting are analyzed in Part III.

The two tables are not as forbidding as they may at first seem to the non-technical reader. They tell a tale worth the small effort that may be required to use them. Both are studies in comparative anatomy—of the structure of American pre-war, war, and post-war employment. Table I indicates job figures for the seventeen main types of occupation in which working Americans earn their livelihood. Table II is a more detailed breakdown of manufacturing—the largest single field of employment—into twenty-one major industry categories. In each table the five columns show the same relationships.

Column A gives employment figures for the various occupations as computed by the 1940 Census, the most reliable estimate of employment yet made in the United States. Column B looks back through the previous forty years to discover the best pre-war peace-time employment record for each occupation. In those cases in which 1940 was a depressed year for a particular type of business activity, this maximum employment figure serves to indicate the pre-war employment peak for that occupation. As a rule, the closer to 1940 the date next to a figure in Column B the more reliable it is as an indicator of possible post-war employment. Column C portrays the impact of World War II on employment in each of the listed occupations. In most cases employment has been significantly expanded over 1940, but a few less essential occupations show a decline. Taken together, Columns A, B, and C reveal what the maximum employment capacity of each occupation or industry has been up to now. They offer standards by which to judge the figures in Columns D and E.

Column D is a breakdown of what *full employment* would reasonably require in the way of jobs in each occupation. President Roosevelt's and Secretary of Commerce Wallace's objective of 60 million post-war jobs is used as the full employment target because that is the goal in terms of which we are going to be thinking during the next four years. About 11 million more jobs than in 1940 are required to reach this goal. The exact proportion of these 11 million jobs assigned to each type of occupation represents my judgment of the maximum increase in employment in each field under *highly optimistic* assumptions of post-war business activity. Finally, Column E lists my own "guesstimates" of what average employment in each category *will probably be* in the first "normal" post-war year. The reasoning on which these estimates are based is explained in Part II.

TABLE I. THE ANATOMY OF AMERICAN EMPLOYMENT

	A March, 1940, Census figures of employment	B Highest pre-war peace-time employment <sup>1</sup>	C Highest employment in World War II <sup>2</sup>	D Hypothetical employment required for 60 million jobs in 1947-48 <sup>3</sup>	E Probable employment in 1947-48 <sup>4</sup>
(Millions of Workers)					
Manufacturing <sup>5</sup> .....	10.6	11.2 (1940)	17.2 (1943)	14.7	12.4
Mining .....	.9	1.3 (1918)	.9 (1943)	.9	.8
Construction .....	2.0	3.5 (1926)	2.2 (1942)	3.7	3.2
Transportation .....	2.2	2.6 (1920)	2.8 (1944)	2.8	2.5
Communication .....	.4	.5 (1929)	.4 (1943)	.5	.4
Public Utilities .....	.5	.7 (1929)	.6 (1943)	.6	.5
Wholesale and Retail Trade .....	7.5	7.5 (1940)	7.1 (1944)	8.3	7.8
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate .....	1.5	2.0 (1929)	1.3 (1944)	1.7	1.6
Business and Repair Services .....	.9	.9 (1940)	.8 (1944)	1.0	1.0
Personal Services .....	4.0	4.0 (1940)	3.5 (1944)	4.3	4.1
Amusement, Recreation, and Related Service .....	.4	.4 (1940)	.3 (1944)	.5	.4
Professional, Educational, etc., Services ...	3.3	3.3 (1940)	2.7 (1942)	3.7	3.5
Miscellaneous Private Employment .....	.7	.7 (1940)	.7 (1944)	.7	.7
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing .....	9.5 <sup>4</sup>	11.8 (1910) <sup>4</sup>	9.7 (1942) <sup>4</sup>	10.0	9.5
Gov't Employees Not Elsewhere Classified	1.8	1.8 (1940)	3.8 (1943)	2.1	2.0
<b>Total Regular Civilian Employment..</b>	<b>46.2</b>	<b>46.5 (1929)</b>	<b>54.4 (1943)</b>	<b>55.5</b>	<b>50.5</b>
<b>Emergency Public Works, etc.....</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>3.6 (1936)</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>2.5</b>
<b>Total Civilian Employment .....</b>	<b>48.9</b>	<b>48.9 (1940)</b>	<b>54.4 (1943)</b>	<b>57.5</b>	<b>53.0</b>
<b>Armed Forces .....</b>	<b>.3</b>	<b>2.0 (1940)</b>	<b>12.2 (1945)</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>2.5</b>
<b>Total Employment .....</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>49.2 (1940)</b>	<b>64.0 (1944)</b>	<b>60.0</b>	<b>55.5</b>
<b>Total Unemployment .....</b>	<b>6.2</b>	<b>.5 (1916)</b>	<b>.6 (1944)</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>5.0</b>
<b>Total Labor Force .....</b>	<b>55.4</b>	<b>55.4 (1940)</b>	<b>64.8 (1944)</b>	<b>61.5</b>	<b>60.5<sup>4</sup></b>

TABLE II. DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

<i>Durable Goods</i> .....	5.0	5.6 (1940)	10.3 (1943)	7.8	6.4
Iron and Steel and Their Products...	1.3	1.3 (1937)	1.9 (1943)	1.6	1.4
Electrical Machinery .....	.4	.5 (1929)	.9 (1943)	.8	.6
Machinery Other Than Electrical ....	.7	.7 (1929)	1.6 (1943)	1.0	.8
Automotive Industries .....	.6	.7 (1937)	.9 (1943)	.9	.8
Transportation and Equipment					
Other Than Automobiles .....	.3	.3 (1940)	2.6 (1943)	.7	.5
Non-ferrous Metals and Products ....	.3	.3 (1940)	.6 (1943)	.5	.4
Lumber and Timber Basic Products ..	.6	.9 (1923)	.6 (1942)	.8	.7
Furniture and Equipment .....	.4	.4 (1929)	.4 (1942)	.6	.5
Stone, Clay, and Glass Products.....	.3	.4 (1926)	.5 (1943)	.6	.5
Miscellaneous Durable Goods .....	.1	.1 (1940)	.3 (1943)	.3	.2
<i>Non-Durable Goods</i> .....	5.6	5.6 (1937)	6.2 (1943)	6.9	6.0
Textile Mill Products .....	1.2	1.2 (1923)	1.2 (1942)	1.4	1.2
Apparel and Finished Textiles .....	.8	.9 (1937)	.9 (1943)	1.0	.9
Leather and Leather Products .....	.4	.4 (1919)	.4 (1942)	.4	.4
Food and Kindred Products .....	1.1	1.1 (1937)	1.2 (1943)	1.4	1.2
Tobacco Manufactures .....	.1	.2 (1919)	.1 (1942)	.1	.1
Paper and Allied Products .....	.3	.3 (1940)	.3 (1943)	.4	.3
Printing, Publishing, etc. ....	.6	.6 (1937)	.6 (1943)	.7	.6
Chemical and Allied Products .....	.4	.4 (1940)	.8 (1943)	.7	.6
Petroleum and Coal Products .....	.2	.2 (1937)	.1 (1942)	.3	.2
Rubber Products .....	.2	.2 (1928)	.2 (1943)	.2	.2
Miscellaneous Industries .....	.3	.3 (1940)	.4 (1943)	.3	.3
<b>Total Manufacturing .....</b>	<b>10.6</b>	<b>11.2 (1940)</b>	<b>17.2 (1943)</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>12.4</b>

<sup>1</sup> Figures in this column are not to be added to each other because they may refer to different dates. Total unemployment figures are minimums.

<sup>2</sup> 1947 or 1948 is assumed to be the first "normal" peace-time year, depending on the length of the war with Japan. Estimates are averages for the year.

<sup>3</sup> See Table II for detailed breakdown of manufacturing employment.

<sup>4</sup> Average for the year is indicated for agriculture because of wide seasonal disparities in employment.

<sup>5</sup> The total post-war labor force is a million less in Column E than it is in Column D since the more jobs there are available, the higher the potential labor force. This is because, when work is easier to get, the normal labor force is augmented by additional people looking for extra earnings.

## II

How are the results in Column E of the preceding tables derived? The answer to this question will also be an explanation of why I believe the more optimistic figures in Column D will remain a target to shoot at for a long time after the war.

The estimates for 1947-48 are arrived at largely by balancing the chief factors which create additional employment against those which are likely to create unemployment. Five pairs of opposing factors in the tug-of-war to maintain employment were considered:

<i>Employment Creating</i>	<i>Unemployment Creating</i>
1. Increase in demand for particular products or services.	Decrease in demand for particular products or services.
2. Adequate supply of all necessary factors of production (the five M's—men, machines, materials, money, and management).	"Bottlenecks" in one or more of the factors of production.
3. Unrestricted competition and ease of new entry in an industry.	Monopolistic and semi-monopolistic conditions in an industry.
4. Reduction in average working time in an occupation.	Increase in average working time.
5. Decrease in productivity in an occupation.	Increase in productivity.

Estimating potential demand for particular products and services (Factor 1) is a good *starting-point* for calculating post-war employment. This is so even though, ordinarily, trying to deduce employment from demand is like a dog chasing its tail. Employment depends on demand, to be sure; but effective demand is also largely determined by the general level of employment. However, because of the huge backlog of demand for many types of both consumers' and producers' goods not available during the war, this approach is, for the immediate post-war period, substantially less fallacious than usual.

Data on prospective post-war demand for different types of goods and services cannot, of course, be immediately translated into employment figures. It is first necessary to answer two other questions: (a) How much of the demand will, in fact, be *satisfied*—that is, become effective demand? (b) To what extent is this effective demand likely to be satisfied *without* increasing employment? These questions are answered by weighing the influence of the other four factors listed above in particular industries and occupations. Limitations of space prevent recapitulating this procedure for each of the thirty-seven major categories of employment. However, an analysis of the automobile industry will illustrate the general technique.

There is little doubt, if only because automobile production will have been suspended for at least four years, that the prospective demand for cars after the war will be unprecedented. Some observers calculate a backlog of demand as high as 23 million automobiles. To be quite conservative, let us say that it is only half that, or about 12 million cars. As now constituted, the industry just does not have

the physical capacity to produce that many cars a year (Factor 2). Moreover, members of the industry undoubtedly are not too interested in expanding capacity to make that many vehicles a year. Their motive is simple: why kill off an excellent post-war market in one year?

This brings up Factor 3, the state of competition. The more competitive the relationship among firms in an industry, and the easier it is for new firms to come into it, the more closely will production usually approach the output permitted by theoretical capacity. On the other hand, where internal competition is restricted, or where it is hard, because of technological, financial, or patent difficulties, for newcomers to enter an industry, production is usually kept down—and prices kept up—without technically running afoul of the anti-trust laws. If it were as easy to go into automobile manufacturing as, for instance, into radio manufacturing—for which little more than a soldering iron and a work bench is required—many more automobiles would be produced in 1947-48 than actually will be.

Accordingly, as a result of these two factors—limited capacity and lack of industry enthusiasm for expansion—automobile production immediately after the war will probably not be much more than 6,000,000 cars and 1,500,000 trucks a year.

The next problem is: to what extent can this effective demand be satisfied without increasing employment in the automobile industry? The answer is determined by the adequacy and efficiency of the automobile industry's labor force and productive machinery (Factors 4 and 5). The fact that approximately 600,000 workers could turn out 3,700,000 cars, about 800,000 trucks, and related automobile equipment in 1940, does not mean that 6,000,000 cars, 1,500,000 trucks, and corresponding related equipment would require almost twice that many workers. It is on as simple an error as this that many optimistic forecasts of post-war employment seem to be based.

In the first place, many of the 600,000 workers were not on the job full time in 1940, either on a weekly or on a yearly basis. Probably 4,000,000 to 4,300,000 cars and 1,000,000 trucks could be turned out by about the same labor force just by having everybody work five eight-hour days a week, fifty weeks in the year. In the second place, as output approaches optimum capacity, productivity per worker also rises, even without startling technological innovations. This might account for another 100,000 cars and 50,000 trucks. Finally, technological improvements between 1940 and 1947 will certainly increase output per man-hour. Normally, this type of productivity increase is figured at about 2 per cent per year and would therefore be from 14 to 16 per cent for the period from 1940 to 1947-48. However, because of the interruption in automobile production during the war and the consequent loss of both management and labor "know how," let us be more conservative and assume only about a 10 per cent rise in productivity over the pre-war period.

The interplay of these factors results in totals of between 4,500,000 and 4,800,000 cars and between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000 trucks that can be produced in 1947 or 1948 by approximately the same number of workers that produced 3,700,000 cars and 800,000 trucks in 1940. On the same basis, to turn out 6,000,000 cars, 1,500,000 trucks, and the

related equipment in 1947 or 1948, only about one-quarter more workers would be needed than in 1940—or fewer than 800,000.\*

### III

What does all this painstaking nose-counting add up to? What are its implications for post-war thinking?

1. *The size of the probable immediate post-war achievement.* While the estimate of 55.5 millions as the probable total of all types of employment, including public works and the armed forces, in the first "normal" peace-time year is 4.5 million less than 60 million jobs, it is decidedly not pessimistic—for 1947-48. It represents about 6 million more jobs than were ever before available in this country in time of peace. Of course, about one-third of this 6-million-job gain is accounted for by the anticipated growth of the regular armed forces from .3 to 2.5 millions. None the less, the figure of 53 million civilian jobs is about 4 million more than in 1940, our best pre-war employment year, and compares favorably with the war-time peak of 54.4 million civilian workers reached in the winter of 1943.

How is this anticipated advance of 4 million in civilian employment over pre-war levels distributed among various occupations? More than one-quarter of the increase, or about 1.2 million jobs, is attributed to a substantial expansion of construction and housing activity. Expansion of manufacturing industries also accounts for an increase of more than 1 million jobs; but in percentage terms the expected total for 1947-48 is only about 10 per cent more than the 1940 peak, or a much smaller gain than the projected 60 per cent jump in construction employment over 1940. Practically all the rest of the increase in jobs is traced to moderate expansion in trade, transportation, and professional and government employment.

2. *The economic compulsives of 60 million jobs.* The size of our probable post-war initial accomplishment compared to the pre-war record highlights the boldness of the Roosevelt-Wallace target of 60 million jobs. This goal requires 11 million more jobs of all kinds, and about 8.5 million more civilian jobs, than we had in 1940. It calls for at least 3 million more civilian jobs than we had at top war employment in 1943.

To be sure, in terms of over-all percentages, providing 60 million jobs may not seem too tremendous a task; 8.5 million more civilian jobs than the 48.9 millions of 1940 is less than a 20 per cent increase. However, our survey shows that, barring resort to work-sharing through a compulsory and substantial cut in the standard work-week, many types of occupation cannot be expected to contribute this much of an increase. Practically no additional jobs are to be looked for from agriculture, forestry, fishing, or mining. Similarly, only negligible increases are to be expected from public utilities, communications, finance and insurance, and personal and other non-professional services.

The overwhelming bulk of the necessary 8.5 million addi-

tional civilian jobs must therefore come from manufacturing, construction, trade, the professions, and government service. These occupations employed about 28 million persons in 1940: They would have to employ at least 36 million to furnish 60 million jobs for the economy as a whole. To the extent that certain of these selected occupations failed to achieve this average increase of about 30 per cent, others would have to make up the deficit. Even if, as the National Association of Manufacturers has predicted, manufacturing employment should for a time jump 25 per cent above pre-war levels, there seems little likelihood that other occupations, except construction, will be able to equal or maintain this pace.

3. *What level of employment could be sustained without government control over the economy?* The implication of the preceding analysis is not defeatism. It is rather that providing 60 million jobs requires considerable government intervention in economic life. Aware of this, both liberal and conservative post-war planners have claimed that a less ambitious goal—ambiguously called "high-level employment"—might be achieved and maintained without such intervention. The evidence of the present survey casts doubt upon even this more modest possibility.

Those who are hopeful about the job-making capacity of private enterprise after the war usually emphasize the role that more than \$100 billion in war savings will play in stimulating business. Doubtless the existence of many kinds of demand frustrated by war shortages and partly represented by these billions in war savings will exert strong upward pressure on output and income after the war. However, this pressure will be offset by reconversion and demobilization unemployment, by technological innovations spurred by higher labor costs, and by business reluctance to expand output and thus "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs." Accordingly, while the probabilities point to somewhat higher post-war production and employment figures in most lines than corresponding pre-war peaks, the totals are likely to be well below some of the sensational amounts proclaimed by optimistic economists and business spokesmen.

Of course, replenishment spending after the war will undoubtedly bring ample profits to business and a sort of spotty prosperity to many workers. If the comparatively moderate unemployment that is to be expected in this period can be rotated among enough persons, and if unemployment benefits are more widely available than before the war, the dangerous illusion of the possibility of a smoothly functioning, uncontrolled private-enterprise economy might well prevail again.

4. *What happens after the post-war replenishment boomlet?* This article does not pretend to furnish any clue either to the duration of the replenishment boomlet or to the level of employment in the years following its collapse. However, it is for this more remote period that the author reserves his gravest doubts about the job-creating abilities of the private-enterprise system. Temporarily achieving a high level of employment after five years of durable-goods starvation is no great economic accomplishment. Permanently sustaining that level of employment would be. In the coming replenishment spree our chief intellectual danger will be confusing these two very different goals. Thereby we may forget the basic

\*In addition to the specific factors examined in the analysis above, there are, of course, other more general conditions which help determine employment through their influence on the economy as a whole. It has not been possible to consider them here. However, such over-all influences as the current political atmosphere, the prevailing level of wages and prices, the length of the average working day and week, and the impact of taxes on business initiative and investment are not expected to change so markedly that their combined effect will substantially increase or decrease employment by 1947-48.

economic lesson of our generation—that a huge and complicated economy like ours cannot be run successfully on the *laissez faire* philosophy of the nineteenth century.

To achieve and maintain full employment in a free society is the challenge confronting the post-war world. Henry Wallace has jestingly remarked that since war brings full employment, America ought to declare a permanent state of war against the Pacific Ocean. This is a grimly humorous way of saying that we must find the full economic equivalent of war if our social system is to survive. In that quest both wishful optimism and unwarranted pessimism—against both

of which this article has been directed—are psychological obstacles that must be overcome.

Sustained full employment is neither certain nor impossible in a free society. But it will require far more cooperation among management, labor, and government than we have ever had except in war. The economic equivalent of war will require some, at least, of the economic organization of war. Management and labor in Great Britain, France, and other democracies seem to have learned this lesson. It is to be hoped that their American counterparts will not need another depression to teach them.

## Chicago's Un-American Guests

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

*Chicago, May 17*

GERALD L. K. SMITH, the somewhat shopworn rabble-rouser from the Middle West, is now seeking to practice on the delegates to the United Nations conference at San Francisco the art he learned in Louisiana's canebrakes as a disciple of Huey Long. The ebullient Mr. Smith, who has ridden a number of different horses in his various attempts to be the man on horseback, is not, however, the only one of his coterie at present kibitzing the conference; he is, as is his wont, merely the loudest. The conference has largely rid Chicago of the nationalists, anti-Semites, and others of like breed who make it their headquarters. If it were not for the *Chicago Tribune's* daily dose of poison, the old town would not seem the same.

The trek of the hate-mongers to San Francisco, there to advise the assembled delegates to cease and desist, has delayed the investigation by a committee of the Illinois Senate into the mail-order business they conduct on a national scale. The delay, however, will not be more than temporary, and while it is awaiting the return of the principals, the committee intends to put in its time examining a few of the small fry who didn't have the price of a ticket to 'Frisco.

Smith's ultimatum to Senator Vandenberg, who he says will be retired from public life if he returns to Michigan next year with a record "of having approved the savagery of Russia, the imperialism of Britain, and the secret deals of Yalta," is old stuff. Smith has been delivering ultimatums right and left for some time. Both the Democratic and the Republican National Convention received them last summer, but neither paid much attention. In fact, Smith didn't expect them to, any more than he expects conference delegates to take time to listen to him. He's too smart for that. But it goes over big with his followers. His presence at the conference, his ultimatum to Vandenberg, his invitation to the delegates to hear him speak are but material for his next series of speeches. His old theme, largely a philippic against President Roosevelt, no longer serves.

If the investigation ordered by the Illinois Senate without a dissenting vote goes through according to schedule, it will

be the first exposé by a public agency of the many anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-United Nations groups which have flooded the country for so long with the product of their poison pens and psychopathic minds. One Ainslee E. Horney of Chicago brought about the Senate's action by sending to the legislators a pamphlet attacking a pending bill for a state Fair Employment Practice Commission as "a Jewish conspiracy to force employers to employ Jews and Jew refugees." Signed "The Hoosier Patriot," the pamphlet gave no indication of its source except for the statement that it had been printed by "The Hoosier Press, P. O. Box 32, Hammond, Ind." The *Chicago Sun* promptly exposed "The Hoosier Patriot" as none other than Horney, a North Side Chicagoan with a long record of anti-Semitism. So far as the newspaper could discover, Horney makes his living, which appears to be a pretty good one, dispensing hate in one form or another.

After the *Sun* had published its findings, the Senate determined to go into the matter more comprehensively. A resolution presented by Senator Richard J. Daley, Democratic minority leader, and adopted unanimously authorizes an investigation into anything and everything un-American in the state of Illinois and gives the investigating committee the power of subpoena. Lieutenant Governor Hugh Cross, a Republican, promptly appointed a committee of five, three Republicans and two Democrats. The committee chose Senator Daley, a minority member, as chairman.

If the Daley committee goes all the way down the line, it has a big job cut out, one that may expose to public view not only the scores of small fry who purvey hate and scurrilities but also the Thyssens who provide the cash for their sordid activities. It may also demonstrate what many have long suspected—an interlocking directorate of racial agitators, extreme isolationists, and some subversive groups.

Powerful influences are already at work to keep the committee from doing more than merely scratch the surface. Daley, however, a young Irishman from back o' the yards, as the Chicagoans say, is not one to be easily scared. He is a lawyer who grew up in the rough and tumble of politics in

the stockyards district. He is a fighter. And he appears to be honestly concerned over the damage done by the "lunatic fringe" not only in aggravating racial problems in America but in fanning the isolationist elements now poised for an attack upon the results of the San Francisco conference.

By following Horney's trail the committee will come across many another agitator small and big. The Hoosier Patriot, for example, is an associate of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, author of "The Red Network," and of other defendants in the recent Washington sedition trial. He is an associate of Charles Hudson, who contributes to the *Gentile News*, a monthly tabloid of hate and innuendo published at 30 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, by Eugene R. Flitcraft, whose nefarious Gentile Cooperative Association recently lost its state charter. The court, in revoking the charter, described the association as similar to the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, and "other subversive groups." The *Gentile News*, which features the recently inaugurated "Nationalistic News Service" of Gerald L. K. Smith, also carries advertisements for Horney's Hoosier Press, which has produced several virulent anti-Semitic works.

The Horney trail leads also to Earl Southard, secretary of the Citizens' U. S. A. Committee, a rabidly isolationist outfit headed by Captain William J. Grace. Southard, it is known, aided Horney in establishing the "blind" at Hammond, Indiana, the supposed headquarters of the Hoosier Press. An investigation disclosed that the only tangible evidence of the press in that city is Post Office Box 32. Inevitably Mrs. Lyril Van Hynning, president of the hysterical "We, the Mothers" group, will be brought into the investigation. Her organization countered the Big Three's demands for unconditional surrender of the Axis with pleas for a negotiated peace.

Many similar organizations have made Chicago their headquarters—anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-United Nations, or all three. For it is a peculiarity of these groups that while they specialize in one particular form of hate, they exclude few prejudices of any kind. At a meeting of one of the better-organized groups, you can usually obtain the literature of several others. With diatribes against the Jews are distributed copies of Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag*, of Charles Hudson's *America in Danger*, or perhaps of *We, the Mothers'* publication, the *Women's Voice*. The *Broom*, an anti-Semitic sheet published at San Diego, California, is given out with the *National Record*, the literary effort of former Senator Robert Reynolds.

Though it has been described as the "Munich of America" because it harbors so many hate-mongering groups, Chicago is not strongly affected by them: the city gave President Roosevelt an overwhelming plurality last November, one sufficiently large to overcome the adverse vote in other parts of the state. The organizations in question simply use Chicago as headquarters; they pour their literature chiefly into the hinterland of America, where it seems to be more potent. That is why the investigation the Daley committee has embarked on has national significance. If it can uncover the sources of the funds used by these groups, if it can demonstrate the interlocking directorate, and if it can bring the Führers, the real ones, not the noisy ones, into public view, it may succeed in purging American life of some of its most unwholesome elements.

## In the Wind

JOHN O'DONNELL, Washington columnist of the *New York Daily News*, on April 25 defended the acquittal of three drunken men, two of them privates A.W.O.L., who set fire to the packing shed of an American farmer of Japanese descent, on the ground that "this is a white man's country." The acquittal, said O'Donnell, reflects "the honest thought of the people." The editors of the *News*, however, apparently didn't think so; for after the first edition that paragraph disappeared from the column and was replaced by a picture of Sir Anthony Eden and Sir Alexander Cadogan.

THIRTY-FOUR BILLS for tax-supported health-insurance programs have been introduced in the legislatures of twenty states thus far this year. Only sixty-six such bills were introduced in the ten-year period 1935-44.

ARGENTINE MOTORISTS, the only ones in the Western Hemisphere who still drive on the left side of the road, will move to the right June 10. Does this represent another triumph for our State Department?

"WHAT GOOD," asks the *London New Statesman and Nation* of April 21, "can come of a non-fraternization order which is said to have been defined by an American commander who told his troops that they might spend the night with a German girl but must not stay for breakfast?"

PRINTERS' INK, an advertising trade publication, reports in its issue of May 11 that Northwestern newspapers are now carrying twice the usual number of war-time ads offering homes for sale. It estimates that 15,000 war workers have left the region within the last three months.

WHY WE FIGHT—from the Charlotte, North Carolina, *Observer* of May 13: "The three billion Russians a year who used to see movies before the war don't know Van Johnson. Or Ruth Hussey, Betty Hutton, or June Allyson, for that matter. Why, it's enough to make a movie fan wonder what in the world Russia is fighting for!"

TAMMANY HALL has retained the public-relations firm of Russell H. Potter Associates, not only for the coming mayoralty campaign but on a continuing basis. The old Tammany regulars are said to be greatly disturbed by the fact that Mr. Potter is a Republican and a resident of Connecticut. He will try to erase the word "Tammany" from the public consciousness—he wants people to call it the "New York County Democratic Committee."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: The House Appropriations Committee is seriously considering a \$500,000 cut in the appropriation of the National Labor Relations Board for 1946. Also three riders which would protect collusive contracts with company unions and prohibit the use of NLRB funds in cases involving foremen or food-processing workers.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.]

## France at This Moment

### Its Role at the Conference

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*San Francisco, May 17*

THE fourth week of the conference has formally re-established France as a great power. The "Big Four" has become the "Big Five," and the "in due course" clause of the Dumbarton Oaks draft, which might have delayed the seating of France as a permanent member of the Security Council, was deleted "amid the enthusiastic applause of the committee in charge of constructing the World Charter"—according to the committee's own communiqué. Those who grieved with France in its years of trial will join in the applause.

But once that has been said, an objective analysis of the role played by France in the conference seems indispensable. France is far too important for future developments in Europe to limit comment to a simple statement of congratulation.

The position of France at the conference was not easy. Right or wrong, it had refused to become a sponsoring power. And from the day its delegation arrived, it was evident that it did not wish to seek a position which it had declined of its own free will. Not being a sponsoring power, it did not feel like taking the initiative on any of the controversial issues arising out of the Yalta meeting. The delegation hinted in a passing remark that had France been taken into the confidence of the Big Three at the Crimea parley, it might have provided a solution for the difficult Polish question. It was not stated what the French proposal might have been. With the primary objective of becoming, as rapidly as possible, a member of the "Big Five," the French delegation firmly adopted a course that would not antagonize the United States, Great Britain, or Russia. China, the remaining big power, had taken a similar attitude. France gave battle, therefore, on a problem of secondary importance having no explosive content. The question of making the French language an official language of the conference could not be resented by anyone. After all, those delegates who might not wish to sit through the monotony of translations were perfectly free to leave the room. It was a small easy victory, but it apparently made the French delegation very happy.

All would have proceeded smoothly if the question of the admission of Argentina had not come up to shake the delegation's decision not to take sides on matters which did not affect France directly. But Molotov's opposition to the admission of a fascist Argentina, before the charges against it, beginning with those of the United States, had been cleared up, did upset the program of the French. In the meeting of the steering committee M. Bidault sat by in discreet silence as the discussion became heated until a direct question put by the Russian first delegate, "Has the For-

eign Minister of France nothing to say?" forced him to speak a few hesitating words. His hesitation became more evident and even more painful in the public session. M. Bidault abstained from voting on Mr. Molotov's motion for a delay in the invitation to Argentina. But once the motion had been turned down, M. Bidault voted for admission. It was a bad moment for all of us who had been spiritually on the side of the French during the magnificent epic of the resistance.

Among those who deeply regretted this scene was surely M. Bidault himself. Of all the delegation chiefs seated at the conference, he was the only one who had come directly from the resistance. From 1941 to 1944 Georges Bidault had been one of the most courageous fighters against the Nazis. He undertook missions of extreme risk and inspired such confidence that he was named chief of the National Resistance Council of France. He was no last-minute antifascist. In his newspaper *l'Aube* (the Dawn), during the Spanish war, he had attacked the policy of non-intervention and had denounced Munich as the suicide of the Western democracies. His group of Catholic Democrats had a more courageous and consistent foreign policy than the Radical Socialists. He has not changed. Before he left San Francisco I talked to him at length, and enjoyed the subtlety of his thinking, his sincerity when he warned against the belief that fascism is dead and the fascist threat a bad dream of the past. He is as intelligent as he is honest. But he follows a policy that was decided upon in Paris, and he carries it forward with the loyalty natural in a man of his stature, without giving any sign of dissent. That policy, as I have said, has as its supreme goal the assurance for France of the position of a great power. The key to the whole situation is found in that policy.

Wherever the French delegation could take a progressive position without embarrassing the Anglo-Saxon powers, it has done so. The delegation expressed disapproval of the steering committee's decision not to permit the World Trade Union Congress to participate in an advisory capacity in the work of the conference. It used that opportunity to point out that France was in favor of inviting to the conference not only inter-governmental organizations but also those great international organizations which speak for the people.

In the third committee, the one charged with the formulation of measures to insure the decisions of the Security Council, Paul Boncour vigorously pressed his old demand for the organization of an international force which, if it had been authorized at Geneva in 1932 by the Disarmament Conference, might have stopped the aggressors in time. On several other questions the French delegates have taken a genuinely progressive stand. But as soon as they realized the British position on colonies, they put back into their pockets the only really revolutionary idea they had brought to San Francisco—the plan for a federal empire. Under this plan

a French Union would replace the French empire, and millions of French colonials would gain French citizenship. Each colony would be given a considerable degree of autonomy and have its own parliament. The presentation of this new colonial policy at San Francisco would have been sensational. An impressive document of more than twenty pages was ready to be published. But the contrast between this plan and the farce presented at the conference, beginning with the silly trick of calling mandates trusteeships, would have been too extreme; and René Plevin, French Minister of Finance and National Economy, decided that its submission at this moment would be inopportune.

Talking intimately and off the record, French delegates explain that France has no alternative but to try to get along with the two big Anglo-Saxon powers until its international position becomes stronger. They point out that while nominally since the Crimea parley France has been one of the Big Five, all the problems of the occupation of Germany were decided without it. Only at the last moment Bidault received assurances from Secretary Stettinius in regard to its claim to occupy the left bank of the Rhine and its demand for a ban on the reconstruction of the Krupp factories, which have armed all German armies of the past. The same holds true for the Pacific. The French have four divisions ready to go to the Pacific, but their repeated requests have been turned down by the Allied combined chiefs of staff. This may be merely a consequence of the ambiguity still prevailing as to the geographical limits of the respective commands of Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Allied commander-in-chief in Southwest Asia, and General Albert C. Wedemeyer, American commander in China, since Indo-China lies in a doubtful area between the two. But the French are sensitive and easily attribute a suspicious motive to any obstacle imposed by the other great powers. It was difficult for the American delegation to convince the French that Indo-China was considered a part of the French empire, and that the United States did not dream of appropriating this territory. The mere fact that Marshal Smuts, about a year and a half ago, questioned the capacity of France to become a great power again has made him, in the eyes of the French, the most hated man after the Germans. We thought then that the Marshal was wrong, but the French reaction seems a little exaggerated.

Our French friends should keep in mind that today France is great in the eyes of the world not because of the empire, or its place in the Security Council, but because of its splendid rebirth after Nazi occupation, its repudiation of Vichy treason, and its leadership in the struggle for liberation. Jean-Jacques Mayoux was right when, in the middle of the battle, while still in North Africa, he wrote in *Franc Tireur* of the "Jacobin greatness" of France. The real greatness of France speaks in the voice of the resistance, and it is that voice we missed in San Francisco. We do not ask France to become the *enfant terrible*, the trouble-maker, of the conference, the leader of a bloc of small nations, as some wanted. But we had hoped that what has happened in France in the last four terrible years would find some form of expression in San Francisco. If the delegation had spoken for the French resistance, it would have spoken at the same time for all the liberated peoples of Europe.

Paul Boncour said to me, "We are a devastated country." René Plevin let figures speak: "The war damage in France amounts to twenty billion work hours, representing two million men working for four full years." But the reconstruction can also be accomplished under the banner of resistance, with the spirit which inspired the struggle and made France rise again with unbelievable rapidity. The French people understood it that way. While the resistance is not heard in San Francisco, in France itself the people voted in its favor. Eighty-five per cent of the municipal council posts went to the resistance. Among those most surprised were many of the French delegates themselves. But at least one of them, the Communist Minister François Billoux, knew better. He had expressed to me his certainty that the left would win by a strong margin. More surprised and surely more disappointed must have been the distinguished gentlemen of the Quai d'Orsay who hurry through the lobby of the St. Francis Hotel. They were supposed to have been swept away in the tremendous political upheaval of 1939, but they have reappeared, aggressive and complacent, speaking as they did eight years ago of "political realism." Do they mean perhaps the political realism of the Daladier government, which led to the débâcle of 1940?

In their elections the people of France have said what their foreign policy must be. They have corrected the mistake made at San Francisco. Some people will say these were only municipal elections. But in Spain it was the municipal elections of 1931 that brought about the fall of the monarchy and the formation of a republic. General de Gaulle at least has understood. In his speech of May 15, two days after the second balloting, he did not end with the habitual, "Long Live France." He added, "Long live the Republic! Long live the Resistance!"

## The Elections Interpreted

BY JULES MOCH

Paris, April 22

THE men and women of France have voted. No woman, and no man under twenty-nine, had ever cast a vote before—younger men were not yet twenty-one at the time of the last elections. Taking into account the million men in the armed forces, who in France have no vote, and the more than two million prisoners and political and Jewish deportees still to be liberated, that means that three-quarters of the electoral body came to the polls without previous voting experience. It seemed scarcely possible that this large number of novices, voting under unusual and difficult conditions, could get the democratic machine in motion again after eight years of disuse. Everything went smoothly, however, and no incidents were reported.

Certain groups had feared that the women, far more than the men, would be influenced by the Catholic church or swayed by emotional appeals. Their fears were groundless. There was no increase in the proportion of clerical votes. In some communities special ballot boxes were set up for the women, and there it was seen that they voted much like the men. French women voted not as women but according to their class and environment.

The whole electoral body displayed the political maturity

of the old French democracy; four years of Nazi propaganda had had no effect.

With the exception of Paris, where proportional representation was tried out for the first time, the municipal elections were conducted by the old double-balloting system; unless a candidate received a clear majority on the first ballot, a second was taken. The number of candidates varied from ten to thirty-six depending on the size of the commune. In former elections if the first balloting was indecisive two friendly parties would join forces and present a combined slate for the second. This year a strong sense of unity prevailed from the outset as the result of the common underground struggle. The Communist Party astutely seized on this fact to propose that in advance of the first balloting common resistance slates be drawn up, known as the "Listes d'Union Patriotique, Républicaine, et anti-Fasciste," or U. P. R. A., which would include representatives of all the parties and movements belonging to the National Council of Resistance. Its aim was threefold: to symbolize and cement the unity of the resistance forces, to present a strong united front against any fascist or reactionary offensive, and to gain seats in municipalities where it had no chance to win under its own banner.

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, recommended that wherever possible its various local groups run a straight Socialist ticket. It had no fears about the reactionary threat and felt that the party should go before the electorate under its own name at the first balloting, basing its appeal on a program more concrete and revolutionary than the minimum common plan first proposed by the National Council of Resistance in March, 1944, when France was still occupied by the Germans.

This divergence of views produced an infinite number of combinations. In most cities the Socialists presented straight party tickets; and in many places so did the Radicals and the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (a new Catholic party which includes both reformist progressives and social conservatives). In these cases, the U. P. R. A. slate consisted almost entirely of Communists or representatives of various pro-Communist organizations—Front National, Union des Femmes, Secours Populaire, Forces Unies de la Jeunesse Patriotique, etc.—or, here and there, of Communist-line trade unionists. Elsewhere very strange alliances were observed, the U.P.R.A. list containing, in addition to Communist candidates, Radicals, Catholics, and moderates; these represented a real anti-Socialist coalition.

In some regions, particularly in the villages, Socialists ran on the U. P. R. A. ticket. In others they allied themselves with various resistance groups—either Radical or, in rare instances, Catholic—against the Communists and their sympathizers. In still others Socialists and Communists formed a common extreme-left slate against the Radicals, Catholics, and moderates.

In the six Paris districts, where proportional representation and a single ballot were initiated, all parties offered straight tickets, determined to stand or fall on party lines.

Despite this confused welter of candidacies, the voters gave a clear expression of their will.

1. A tremendous majority voted left. The Popular Front of 1935-36 won an incontestable victory, with this single

reservation—its Socialist and Communist elements were increased at the expense of the Radicals.

2. The conservative right, led by Louis Marin, and the moderates of the center, represented by Paul Reynaud, showed a marked loss of strength and in certain regions actually disappeared, many of their members voting for the new Mouvement Républicain Populaire. The M. R. P. gained a number of seats and appears on the way to becoming the big moderate party, despite the fact that certain of its leaders incline toward extremist solutions of social issues.

3. The Radicals, as I have said, lost ground, except at Lyon, where the strong personality of Herriot maintains the party's prestige. The voting made it clear that the Socialists have gained power at their expense in the rural communes, which formerly were radical strongholds.

4. In several industrial cities, notably in the coal basin of the Pas-de-Calais, the Communists cut into the Socialist vote slightly, but the Socialists made up this loss in the industrial regions of the Midi, formerly Radical.

5. The non-political resistance movements were defeated where they opposed candidates of political parties. The Frenchman remains true to his old party ties. None the less, the elections were a victory for the resistance on two counts: first, almost all the political candidates were at the same time members of the resistance; and second, wherever the political parties and the resistance movement had drawn up a common ticket, the ticket was victorious, with the result that many mayors named by the resistance at the time of liberation were returned to office by a unanimous vote.

6. The elections were actually a vote of confidence for De Gaulle, whose popularity has not diminished. But the vote was more a vote of gratitude to "the first resistant of France" than of approval for the work of the Provisional Government. It indicated the country's desire for a ruthless purge, a bold and rigorous policy toward big business, and the socialization of banking and basic industries. The temper of France is openly revolutionary. Let the government take notice. Logically the first consequence of the elections should be an increase in the number of left Ministers and the swift start of social reforms.

These are not the conclusions of a partisan. Except for Nice and St. Etienne, where the results are not yet known, all the large cities of France voted left. Paris turned in Communist and Socialist majorities. Marseille, Bordeaux, and Toulouse went Socialist. Lille has a Socialist Council. Nantes voted for a U. P. R. A. ticket predominantly Communist; Lyon for a U. P. R. A. ticket with a Radical slant.

The people of France have spoken. The government must adjust its policies to conform to their will.



Foreign Minister Bidault

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

A CORRESPONDENT who found satisfaction in my dissection of "The Robe" went on to say that the movie "Music for the Millions" needed the same sort of "biting review." A bit later, under duress, I saw it and wondered again how anyone could stop holding his nose long enough to produce, take part in, or do the camera work on such a picture. In particular I wondered how José Iturbi, who might be presumed to have some respect for music and for symphony orchestras, could collaborate in a venture which makes a travesty of both. His is a truly shocking performance. Margaret O'Brien is not to be held responsible, I suppose, considering her age. One can only groan at the sickening misuse of an extraordinary child with an extraordinary talent. As for the strong infusion of religious propaganda, that is no doubt to be set down as another triumph for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

And what of the public that takes such trash lying down? As I say, I went under duress—from a thirteen-year-old. She was very angry with me when I expressed my disgust. Yet her own passive acceptance was shattered by three or four elementary questions which movie-goers apparently do not ask. At least not out loud.

The passivity of American movie audiences, and of American crowds in general, is to me a very depressing thing. On the afternoon of V-E Day I made my way to Times Square. After all, I found myself thinking, victory comes but once every twenty-five years. It was anything but gay—but of course by that time a sound truck was circulating with the announcement that this was not V-E Day. The paper scraps had been thrown hours before and now were dirty underfoot. The light of the sun breaking through the overcast sky was pale and wan and very unbecoming to the milling faces of a crowd which had brought, one felt, a burden of inertness which it hoped to have lifted. Street-cleaners were closing in; bored policemen were directing people to keep to the sidewalk and being obeyed. When a photographer appeared on the roof of the Astor marquee, a crowd gathered and looked up at him hopefully as if asking for the excitement they had come to find and had somehow missed. When it was not forthcoming, they went limp again. I can't help feeling that the inertness of most city crowds—and perhaps rural ones too—must be related to the fact that more and more people are becoming more and more dependent on having their fun made for them by mass-entertainment industries. Those passive, amorphous faces in Times Square might have been composition faces made of the same processed stuff as the gadgets and the movies and the magazines and the books of mass production.

IF WE ARE GOING to be technical about what you saw on the Capitol grounds," writes Mary W. Janes from Washington, "they were *Allium canadense* (wild garlic), not wild onions (*Allium tricoccum*). And the bulb is lovely garlic."

A PUBLISHER called me the other day to inquire about a likely translator, and we exchanged a few remarks on the whole sorry question of translations. A good translator is as rare as hen's teeth. He must be thoroughly at home in two languages and he must know how to write himself. But few people who qualify wish to spend their time on other people's books at any price, and the market rate for translation is ridiculously low.

And there are other hazards. A publisher reads a translation which seems to him excellent. When he has a job to be done, he calls in the translator whose work he has admired. He gets a script so badly written that one of his own editors has to rewrite it. Later on he meets the editor who rewrote the first translation, and they have a good cry together. But meanwhile the so-called translator, on the strength of a second excellent rendering, is busy concocting another mess for another publisher.

Some time ago I got a reprint of an amusing article on The Way of the Translator by Max Nomad, in the *American Mercury*, which touches on this point, among others. "A phony in the literary translation game," he writes, "can go on undiscovered for years; his victims are even less expert bilingually than he, and the notoriously docile average reader, finding himself baffled by a passage, will blame his own ignorance rather than suspect . . . the translator. . . ." Mr. Nomad then cites some of the great boners of translation history. The most amusing is the one contained in this famous passage: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." I quote Mr. Nomad:

The idea of a camel going through the eye of a needle was incongruous and striking. There was, however, no reference to that animal in the Greek original of the Gospel, which merely spoke of the difficulty a *rope* would have in passing through the eye of a needle. The Greek equivalent of rope is *kamilos*. But it so happens that another Greek word, spelled *kamelos*, means camel.

I RECENTLY RECEIVED, for the first time in many months, an issue of the *Countryman*, the little green English magazine which "comes from the country." It has lost weight. It is only a quarter as thick as it used to be, but it has not changed otherwise. It contains the usual pot-pourri of lore, ancient and modern, and gives the same delightful impression of having been thrown together willy-nilly between trips to the pasture or the stable to attend to matters more important than editing. It opens with an item entitled simply *Goose* by D. B. Wyndham Lewis. And it really is about geese, Mr. Lewis's own flock.

Anybody can look up the form of the Embden-Toulouse goose in the textbooks [he writes]. They give you facts about incubation, plumage, depth of breast, diet, egg-power, and so forth; they do not touch on the essential goose. It is rather as if you looked up Dante in the encyclopedia and found "Mediterranean type, Florentine (Alighieri) breed and markings; 5 ft. 9 in., weight 13 st. 9 lb.; features aquiline and complexion sallow; addicted

to politics and poetry," and nothing more. The Embden-Toulouse . . . is a goose of rich personality, charm, and a certain moral force.

Here are a few of the other titles: Oldest Inhabited House, (with photographs), The Ministry of Food's Neglect, Winter Caravanning, Cormorants and Shags, Straw Boots. There is also a piece on The Burning of Margaret Og which gives some statistics on the cost of disposing of witches:

The cost of burning two persons included twenty loads of peats 40s., "ane Boill of Coillis" (a boll of coals) 23s., four tar barrels 26s. 8d., "fire and iron" barrels 16s. 8d., "a staik and dressing of it" 16s., four fathom of tow 4s., carriage of the foregoing 13s. 4d., and to the executioner another 13s. 4d.

NOTES ON THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE (continued): When General Eisenhower responded to an ovation in a London theater he said: "I wonder if you people realize what it means to me to be back among friends, among people whose language I can almost speak."

## Democratic Faith and Puritan Piety

PURITANISM AND DEMOCRACY. By Ralph Barton Perry. The Vanguard Press. \$5.

EVIDENCES are multiplying of a healthy reaction against over-simple historical interpretations of ideas. By the latter I refer to those interpretations which explain a great many things about ideas except what it is in their meanings that enables one set of ideas, rather than another, to exercise historical influence. Any social interpretation of an intellectual movement should at least exhibit an analytic grasp of its central ideas. For only then can assertions that these ideas "express" the interest of this group or that be intelligible.

None the less, there are certain dangers to be guarded against in approaching ideas in history primarily from the standpoint of their logical nexus. Ideas play a role in history not by virtue of their logical implications but by virtue of our perception of implications. What is implied is always broader than what is perceived. Selective interest quickens perception and reinforces the willingness of human carriers to act upon ideas. We may see certain connections between ideas which those who uttered them were unaware of; they may have understood them in a way which a purely logical analysis will not reveal. When we read back our current analysis and interpretation into the past and make a plausible logical case in the present for a view propounded long ago, we may unconsciously be distorting the actual historical and psychological significance the ideas in question had. By using the theory of relativity a great contemporary philosopher has even argued that Galileo and his persecutors were both scientifically justified.

Professor Perry's "Puritanism and Democracy" is a good illustration of the virtues and defects of a primarily logical analysis of historical ideas. The book is an impressive, full-bodied study of the influence and interplay of the ideas of puritanism and democracy in American life. It defends the thesis that we owe what is most distinctive in our culture today to continuing traditions derived from the moral and

religious ideas of seventeenth-century puritanism and the social and political ideas of eighteenth-century democracy. At the same time it is an essay in vindication of their essential meaning as enduringly valid against all known alternatives. It presents an illuminating analysis of the theoretical conceptions central to these two intellectual movements. In effect, therefore, Professor Perry has written a history of certain ideological currents in American life and a philosophical treatise in defense of democracy, which toward the end suddenly blossoms forth as "Christian democracy."

The book possesses very substantial merits. It is written with clarity and a certain verve that sustain the reader through almost seven hundred pages of close print. The material reflects a wide, if not very discriminating, reading. Since Professor Perry's gifts are primarily philosophical, he is at his best in dealing with ideas as theorems related to other theorems. But he has many shrewd things to say about people and what moves them as they seek their way in affairs that are not ideal. Some of his insights into the human heart are very penetrating. Although without the genius and sparkle, they are in the spirit of William James. There is a kindness in his judgments of men and movements—even those of which he is most critical—which betokens a will to understand. The analysis of the nature and presuppositions of democracy will take high rank in the literature of the subject. The author has an authentic feeling for what democracy involves, not only as a scheme of political arrangements, but in the relationships of human beings to each other. He takes his stand uncompromisingly on democracy as a moral ideal.

The basic limitation of Professor Perry's work lies in a profound methodological error of historical interpretation. This consists in dissolving what is historically specific about a doctrine into its more general elements, evaluating the latter without reference to the former, and then identifying the essence of the doctrine with the general elements. The specific elements then become extrinsic historical expressions of the underlying general ones. It is a fallacy, as Professor Perry notes, to identify the nature of a thing with its specific or distinctive character. A man is not merely rational. But surely it is just as fallacious to overlook or play down the distinguishing character which sent us on the quest for explanation. This is precisely what Professor Perry does when he evaluates puritanism. It is dissolved into a form of Protestantism, Protestantism into Christianity, and Christianity into a species of ethical culture. This makes an embarrassingly large number of people essentially Puritans.

Professor Perry is aware of all the evils and errors in Puritan theory and practice, but they are transformed into historical idiosyncrasies of essential qualities. Thus, the Puritan's rigorism and fanaticism are deplored because of their historical effects; but after all they express recognition of the abiding importance of moral principles. The Puritan's hatred of the body was injurious and unaesthetic, but for all its excesses this attitude represents the discovery that deadly evil may lurk in apparent good, that the indulgence of the senses may actually be a form of imprudence. Historically, Puritan piety sanctifies the values of capitalism; the essential truth embodied here is that every well-organized society requires thrift, industry, sobriety, and self-discipline. "It is indispensable to any society that men should keep their promises." In practice,

puritanism was a theocracy, but the Puritan theocracy "exemplified the truth that a community requires some form of moral cohesiveness."

Not a single feature of Puritan ruthlessness, cruelty, and superstition is blinked by Professor Perry; it is simply transmuted into a limited historical expression of the life of reason. Even Cotton Mather's spiritual prescription for the cure of toothache is not immune to this treatment. Cotton Mather, racked by toothache, regards his pain as divine punishment for having sinned with his teeth, "by sinful, graceless, excessive Eating, and by evil Speeches." He resolves upon repentance, prayer, and discipline to cure himself. The only disease the Puritans could treat, Professor Perry reminds us, was sin. Consequently physical evils like toothache were translated into "symptoms" of sin. This, he admits, historically hindered the quest for effective remedies. None the less, "the Puritan is to be credited with a recognition, however misapplied, of the broad principle that the first and sometimes the last step in the correction of evil is sound diagnosis." He got in the way of scientific medicine, but that was a historical blunder. He really was on its side. By the time Professor Perry is through refining the ideal or essential form of Puritanism from its historical dross, we cannot help concluding that Aristotle, Epicurus, and Professor Perry himself were much better Puritans than the Puritans of the seventeenth century. The latter tried their best, but the historical circumstances were too much for them.

This technique of reinterpretation is masterly: the trouble with it is that it can vindicate ideas, institutions, and movements hostile to the enlightened secularism in whose behalf Professor Perry uses it. M. Maritain, for example, has argued that when we punish a man for criminal political actions, we are doing in our own way what the Inquisition did in its day when it burned and tortured a heretic merely because of his ideas. Both represent essentially an effort to preserve necessary order and unity in the community! How they did it and what they regarded as "order" are not essential differences.

Professor Perry's interpretation of puritanism is a piece of sincere but completely unnecessary apologetics in a good cause. The good cause is democracy. We are exhorted to embrace a refined puritanism as a symbol of democratic piety because of the kinship of essential doctrines between them and the ties of historical influence. As to the actual historical effects of puritanism on the growth of democracy, Professor Perry admits that the question is complicated. He does not settle it on the basis of empirical historical data but reverts once again to the coincidences and sympathies of doctrine. On the historical side, a few good case studies would seem to me to be much more decisive than reams of dialectical exegesis in helping us to determine whether those who were markedly under the influence of Puritan thought helped or obstructed the development of democratic institutions and practices in America. For example, who led and who opposed the movement for the Bill of Rights amendments to the Constitution, and what were their doctrinal affiliations? Surely, in answering questions of historical connection the actual behavior of social groups is more important than their ritualistic talk, significant as that may be.

As for doctrine—the deepest and most fundamental bond between puritanism and democracy, according to Professor

Perry, was "their common respect for the human individual" and their common belief in "the dignity of man." There is as much warrant for coupling puritanism and democracy on these grounds as for coupling Mormonism or Catholicism with democracy. It overlooks the tremendous difference between a theological doctrine which referred to men's supernatural souls and a secular democratic attitude to men as natural human beings. From the theological doctrine of the dignity and eternal worth of human souls, and their equality before God, nothing necessarily followed, in logic or fact, about their democratic status in this world. This doctrine was compatible with different types of social order and with different modes of treatment of Indians and Negroes, baptized or not. The democratic philosophy, on the other hand, in prescribing equal treatment in relevant respects for all men, pointed unmistakably to the political and social paths that had to be taken by those who seriously professed it. Both doctrines in a sense may be called doctrines of salvation. But the first sought only to save men from the corruption of sin; the second from the corruptions of ignorance, poverty, and tormenting pain which unfortunately may still be present when sin is absent. To treat them as Professor Perry does is to confuse two different universes of discourse.

Moving on an entirely different plane is Professor Perry's analysis of the meaning of democracy. Here eloquence is the voice of reason. Distinctions have relevance and point. Many sentences have epigrammatic wisdom. "A democracy of opportunity must be at the same time a democracy of personal esteem." He shows convincingly that the logic of democracy is pledged to a just and humane international order, that it is based on no metaphysical or religious dogmas, that it must "permit and protect" all religions which are not actively intolerant of other cults, religious or secular. After doing this, he calls it "Christian democracy"! Why not Confucian democracy?

The weaknesses of this last part are primarily those of omission. But they do not mar the brilliance of the analysis. As it stands it is a persuasive statement of the validity of democracy as against its rivals and alternatives. It would have been strengthened by a detailed reply to modern critics of democracy like Michels and Pareto, who argue that democrats may be victorious but democracy never, to others who argue that democracy is too good for men, and to those who affirm, from Plato to Santayana, that expert knowledge alone gives a right to rule. Allied to this omission is the failure to consider the chief problem of modern democracy—the relation between economic planning and political freedom. But perhaps this is just as well. For whenever Professor Perry dwells on concrete material, his touch is uncertain. He has an unerring eye for the democratic implications of words and documents; but he is blind to the fact that they are sometimes used to conceal historical actualities rather than to report them. I shall not discuss his few remarks on Soviet Russia, of which he says that it has gathered strength "from a growth of liberality (!) and industrial freedom (!)." From a naivete—perhaps one should use a stronger word—so complete as this the only charitable thing to do is to turn one's eyes away. Let us hope he will not try to prove that Russia, too, is a "Christian democracy."

In conclusion, Professor Perry's book is important, chal-

linging, and uneven. No one will be satisfied with all of it. But it has something for everybody. It is both a thesaurus of democratic thought and an arsenal of democratic defense. It shows not only a love of ideas but a recognition that they count in history. But it does not adequately explain why they count and how.

SIDNEY HOOK

## VERSE CHRONICLE

### Auden and Others

IT APPEARS that Auden is trying to purge himself of the literary play boy, the too willing collaborator, the adventurer in shady forms of modernism, indeed all the ingratiating but facile alter egos which once prompted John Crowe Ransom to declare him—if I remember the phrase—"the wit-tiest and most far gone of modern poets." As "For the Time Being" recently showed, Auden is now at pains to curtail the vaudevillian extravagance of his long poems. And in a preface to his "Collected Poetry" (Random House, \$3.75) he modestly classifies his past work as, first, "the pure rubbish" which he "regrets ever having conceived"; second, "the good ideas" which "incompetence or impatience prevented from coming to much"; third, the pieces he has "nothing against except their lack of importance"; and last, the few poems for which "he is honestly grateful."

To judge by the contents of the "Collected Poetry," Auden regards as rubbish, or something like it, the longer works of his early period. Without exception he bans from this book the fantastic dramas of his youth; and of "The Orators" he retains only a few fragments. (I doubt that "Paid on Both Sides" and "The Dance of Death" quite deserve this oblivion.) He includes, however, most of the long poems of recent date—"The Quest," "New Year Letter," "In Time of War," "The Sea and the Mirror," and "For the Time Being." And on the other hand, the shorter pieces of all periods are liberally represented. This emphasis in favor of brevity seems to me right; for in Auden, I think, the heart that perceives is superior to the mind that formulates, the rhetoric is better than the architecture; and he is at his best in works requiring a minimum of organization. For the rest, this collection certainly confirms Auden's great reputation. Rich in the imagery of disaster as befits the terrible age that produced it, but rich also in humor and learning, in song, in the sense of place and of time, in the kindly gestures of friendship and love and homage, it is one of the great literary records of our day.

From Auden and Spender, Jon Beck Shank ("Poems," Knopf, \$2) has acquired an easy way with language, a candid way of talking about himself, a light way of saying portentous things about history:

The age is older, rich in color,  
Spirited, will kiss and tell;  
Is up and doing, uniformed,  
At times coherent, but not well.

But Shank is still uncertain who he is and what he wants and whether he even wants to be a serious poet. "The final escape," he writes, "is that gardenias smell white." On the

# Woodrow Wilson

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other hand, William Everson, Jacob Sloan, and Charles E. Butler, all young and unheard-of poets like Shank, are very serious but have no style, not even an inherited one. Out of their experience as conscientious objectors, Everson and Sloan write bitterly of the war; their volumes are called, respectively, "War Elegies" and "Generation of Journey" and are handsomely published in illustrated pamphlets by the Untide Press, Waldport, Oregon (25 cents each). Sloan blends Jewish themes with narratives of life in the C. O. camps. Everson records in his elegies what he calls "the phases of my relationship with the world at war."

In his foreword to Butler's "Cut Is the Branch" (Yale Series of Younger Poets, \$2) Archibald MacLeish observes that "it is not easy to say which of the many possible reactions to the war will seem most truthful to those who took part in it." But he knows that Butler's reaction is one of uncompromising negation, and it is curious to find this official of a war government and former scourge of the "irresponsibles" commending a poet who once more proclaims the old doubts and disgusts. For Butler consents to know nothing of war except that it destroys life. The honest statement of this radical knowledge is the merit of his poetry.

There will be room for them: there will always be room.  
The earth is deep and wide, and the seas are deep,  
And the earth and sea will take them and consume  
Whatever pain they know, falling to sleep.  
There will be room for them in the dust and foam  
Of all the wild and quiet ranks that run  
Through time as in some half-remembered dream,  
Falling eternally to spear and gun.

Upon their grief, as on the tears of those  
Whose lives break with their dying, the seas will close.  
Spacious, unquestioning, the earth will fold  
Upon them now, as on the men of old  
Who fought for Helen's beauty or some king  
Whose name spelled honor, or for anything.

F. W. DUPEE

## FICTION IN REVIEW

WITH no new novels that press for review, I have the opportunity to return briefly to John Hersey's "A Bell for Adano," which has just been announced as the Pulitzer prize-winner for fiction. I have been rereading Mr. Hersey's book, to find it even more primitive than I had remembered. This much-admired story of the American occupation of an Italian village is written in a prose redolent of the primer; it defines political good and evil in terms that make good and evil unmistakable to a school child. There is Major Joppolo, who stands for democracy: he is the kind of man who sees to it that simple Italian villagers are given a bell; and there is General Marvin, who stands for a possible American fascism: he is the kind of man who has a mule shot because it blocks his arrogant path. The squeeze of lemon in a concoction that would otherwise be too smooth for even our present childish tastes is the temporary victory, at the end of the book, of the Marvin force over the Joppolo force; but this triumph of evil, we feel sure, is only momentary; we put down "A Bell for Adano" with the com-

fortable conviction that although democracy has been momentarily deprived of its job, its good deeds live after it and its eventual victory is inevitable. Mr. Hersey's fears, that is, are more of a filip than a warning. They never suggest any true complication of either ideas or feelings.

Of course we are not surprised that the Pulitzer committee has again chosen a novel that can scarcely give pleasure to people who take literature seriously; one has only to look back over the fiction awards in other years to realize that what would be really surprising would be to see the award go to a work of distinction. But this year's choice seems to me to be particularly striking for what it tells us both about the political direction of our present-day literary thought and about the quality of our political thought. For not only the general success but the critical prestige of "A Bell for Adano" indicates to what extent our literary judgment serves our political partisanship: it is evident that a novel need only agree with our politics to be a good novel. And nothing, I think, could better prove than the success of Mr. Hersey's novel that in the very degree that we are disturbed by the confusions and contradictions of actual events we deny or discourage any complication of our political ideas and emotions. In her Notes by the Way last week Margaret Marshall quoted the lesson Yeats's father taught him, that ideas rob a man of his nature and make the blood thin; and surely a large part of the anemia of our current fiction must be due to the soft political idealism which is its major inspiration. There is even the anomaly that it is our literature of affirmation and fortification that is fast becoming our new escape literature. It seems to me that a not too perverse case could be made for the thesis that the detective story, the romantic love story, all the fiction that we commonly think of as an evasion of reality actually if unconsciously bring us into closer connection with reality than our "healthy" didactic literature. In any event, at worst our old-fashioned escape reading frankly substituted for reality instead of befuddling us about reality itself.

Yet obviously, when I condemn "A Bell for Adano" as an oversimplification, it is not because I do not consider it as much a proper function of art to simplify complexity as to raise us to the level where we can more adequately cope with contradictions and confusions and despair. The occasional simple formulation of our popular emotions is a requirement not only of simple people but of all sections of society. Roosevelt, for instance, was notable for the ability to fulfil this general need, and on V-E Day we must all of us have missed the release and climax and coherence which he would have been able to give to our national sentiment. But the difference between a good art of simplification and a bad one lies, of course, in the sincerity, the naturalness, of the performance. One does not become the spokesman for mass feelings by an act of will, and to assume such a role, either because one wishes to influence large numbers of people or because one wishes to rid oneself of the responsibilities of sophistication, is to traffic in a dangerous condescension—dangerous because it makes not only for bad art but for bad politics. Condescension may be the antithesis of mule-shooting; and it is certainly harder to recognize as a menace. But it is still, I think, as potential a threat to the democratic spirit.

DIANA TRILLING

## CONTRIBUTORS

ERNST KARL WINTER is an Austrian Catholic writer who from 1934 to 1937 was deputy mayor of Vienna. In "The Social Metaphysics of Scholasticism" and "Plato's Sociology" he has advanced a criticism of Thomistic scholasticism from the Platonic point of view. From 1938 to 1942 he taught sociology and social philosophy at the New School for Social Research in New York.

LEO BARNES is director of economic research for the Research Institute of America.

MILBURN P. AKERS travels through the Middle West as a political reporter for the Chicago Sun.

JULES MOCH, a Socialist deputy before the war, played a prominent part in the resistance movement. He is now a member of the French Constituent Assembly.

SIDNEY HOOK, chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University, is the author of "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy" and "The Hero in History."

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# Films

JAMES  
AGEE

**SAN PIETRO** is the record of the part which one regiment of infantrymen took in one of several fights which resulted in the capture of one village, the key to an Italian valley. At the end of the fight the seven-hundred-year-old village was chaos, and the regiment required 1,100 replacements. "San Pietro" runs only half an hour, and still leaves much of a world open to the most highly imaginative use of its kind of material. But it is in every way as good a war film as I have seen; in some ways it is the best.

It was made by six Signal Corps camera men under the command of Major John Huston, who also designed the scenario and wrote and spoke the narration. Most of these men were veterans. That fact presumably helps to explain a number of things: how they all lived through the shooting of the film; how deep inside the fighting some of it was made; how well they evidently understood what to expect, how to shoot it, what it was good for, and its weight and meaning in the whole picture. But remarkable as the camera men evidently were, it is fairly clear that the main credit for the picture goes to Major Huston. He moved continually from one of his men to the next, showing them what he wanted and where to go for it; he kept planning and revising his scenario and his narration in spare time during the days and nights of fighting; he had to work blind, for the film was developed and printed in Washington and he saw nothing he had—or had lost—until he got back to this country. Yet Huston and his camera men understood so well what they were after that when he did return, to assemble the film, he had to make very few changes in his narration.

The attitudes which have pervaded most of our combat films are seldom questionable and usually something to be proud of; but there is a major advance here. It is clear that Huston understood what he was recording, and how to record it, with a wonderfully vigorous and whole maturity, at once as a soldier and an artist and a man. No war film I have seen has been quite so attentive to the heaviness of casualties, and to the number of yards gained or lost, in such an action; none has so levelly watched and implied what it meant, in such full and complex terms—in military terms; in terms of the men who

were doing the fighting; in terms of the villagers; and of their village; and of the surrounding country; and of the natural world; and of human existence and hope.

Huston's narration is a slightly simplified technical prose, at once exact and beautifully toned and subtly parodistic; it is spoken with finely shaded irony, equally free of pompousness and optimism and mawkish generalizations and cheap bitterness. Against the images he has chosen, their always satisfying arrangement, and their beautiful over-all plan and implication, this text points itself so richly and flexibly that for once wordiness in a film more than earns its way. As for the over-all plan and implication, I don't see how that of any post-war film is going to improve on it, and I rather doubt that any will come quite up to it. For at one and the same time, without one slip along the line, from the most ticklish fringes of taste to the depths of a sane mind and heart, it accepts the facts and treats them as materials relevant to anger, tenderness, pride, veneration, and beauty. Somewhere close to the essence of the power of moving pictures is the fact that they can give you things to look at, clear of urging or comment, and so ordered that they are radiant with illimitable suggestions of meaning and mystery. Huston's simple, wordless use of children, toward the end of this film, does that, and seems to me the first great passage of war poetry that has got on the screen. In emphatic agreement with some recent comments by Bernard Haggin, however, I do want to object to one thing: music can only vitiate this kind of film. Here, with all words and irony at last withdrawn, as you watch the faces of the children, each one unimaginably beautiful and portentous, and ordered and timed into their culmination as nobly as the words in a great tragic line, it is as infuriating to have to fight off the emotional sales pressure of the Mormon Choir as it would be if all the honored watches and nasal aphrodisiacs insisted on marketing themselves against a Toscanini broadcast.

Music can be well used in movies. It was wonderfully used in Dovschenko's "Frontier," for instance; for another kind I like the naive, excitable, perfectly appropriate score of the soundtracked version of "The Birth of a Nation"; and indeed I think the greatest possibilities have hardly yet been touched. But music is just as damaging to nearly all fiction films as to nearly all fact films, as it is generally used in both today. Its ability to bind together a succession of

images, or to make transitions between blocks of them—not to mention "transitional" and "special-effect" and "montage" passages—inevitably makes for laziness or for slackened imagination in making the images and setting them in order, and in watching them. Still worse, it weakens the emotional imagination both of maker and onlooker, and makes it virtually impossible to communicate or receive ideas. It sells too cheaply and far too sensually all the things it is the business of the screen itself to present. The rough equivalent might be a poet who could dare to read aloud from his own work only if the lights were dimmed and some Debussy was on, very low.

One of the best scenes in Vincente Minelli's new picture, "The Clock," is a good example. In this scene a soldier (Robert Walker) and a girl (Judy Garland) walk, as if hypnotized, into their first embrace. A kind of sentimental mysticism is tried for here, and more than achieved; moreover, the timing of their walk and of the several shots is boldly and successfully unrealistic; the increasingly large close-ups and the gravity, the suggestion of death, which grows in the soldier's face achieve at once a remarkably deep and pure power of the moment and of the individuals, and a kind of generic pity and majesty. But all this time, with the dirtiest and most merciless kind of efficiency, a full orchestra and hyped-up soprano are working at you, below the belt. How much better the same scene would play silent, or at least without music, I cannot gauge; but I am reasonably sure of two things. It would play much better; and if Minelli had not been assuming soft-salty horn-choirs and other questionable kinds of assistance—he was anyhow well content with them once they were glued on—he would have exerted himself to make the scene still more powerful. (A sudden reduction of the sounds of the city, to which they had just been listening, would have been good enough; but those sounds are as unimaginatively worked out as the music itself.)

The whole of "The Clock" suffers in every field from equivalent kinds of softness. It is strictly a romance, and in every essential respect a safe one, safely told, disappointing and angering in the thought of the great film it might have been. (The very simple story of a soldier's two days in New York, it had every right to be as good in its own very different way as "San Pietro.") But within its softly chosen terms it is also quite charmingly and sometimes beauti-

fully told. Emotionally, it is perceptive, detailed, and sweet, and there is more ability, life, resource, and achievement in it than in any fiction film I have seen for a long time. The script by Robert Nathan and Joseph Schranck is very shrewd; but the man who pours it so full of gifts is Minelli. Considering the breadth and variety of his talents, his eye and feeling for the city itself are surprisingly dull; but his extras and their gaits and groupings and clothes, and their stammering collisions and multiplicities of purpose and aimlessness, beat anything I can remember out of Hollywood; and while I don't wholly care for his passion for elastic boom-shots and for the curiously pelvic rhythm he gives this picture, I can certainly respect the achievement. Minelli appears, too, to know better than most directors just how to use his individual players: to turn the show over to Keenan Wynn for his alcoholic cadenza; to retract slightly James Gleason and to leave his wife Lucille a long tether; to develop in Robert Walker his singular gentleness and pathos and to rid him of infantile mannerisms; and to prove for the first time beyond anybody's doubt that Judy Garland can be a very sensitive actress. In this film Miss Garland can handle every emotion in sight, in any size and shape, and the audience along with it. Incidentally, the dress she wears during most of the film is about the most appropriate prop I can remember since McTeague's checked cap in "Greed."

By what I can see in the film, and have heard, Minelli does not discriminate very clearly between the good in his work and the not-so-good or the downright bad which in part he puts into it and which in part is forced on him. Much as I regret that, it may on the whole be just as well. If he knew better, he might be either much more of an artist or much less of one; in either case he would have a much harder time working in Hollywood. I suspect I may overrate this best of his films; but I also

suspect that twenty and fifty years from now, however embarrassing a lot of it is, it will be remembered.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

VICTOR has issued its first record (11-8761; \$1) of the Detroit Symphony conducted by Karl Krueger—a somewhat over-muscular performance of Offenbach's Overture to "Orpheus in Hades," which seems to have been recorded with a too limited frequency-range, since the sound, though marvelously clear and faithful to timbre, is heavy and lacking in brightness even on a wide-range machine.

One of Victor's new "showpiece albums," entitled "Music to Remember" after the film of that name (SP-4; \$1.75), offers two little records with Iturbi's vulgarly affected and poorly recorded performances of Chopin's Mazurka Opus 7 No. 1, his Waltzes Opus 64 Nos. 1 and 2, and the Fantaisie-Improvisation Opus 66. Victor is charging twenty-five cents above the price of the two records for an "album" which is nothing but a double-pocket of heavy paper with gaudy pictorial decoration and slushy verbal material that can be of use to Victor in selling the records but of none to the buyer in storing them. That is, the paper does not protect them against breakage, and there is no room for corrugated pads; so the buyer will have to take the records out of this album and put them into a normal one.

For the rest, Victor is featuring an older set (605; \$2.00) of the superb Toscanini-N. B. C. Symphony performance of Rossini's Overture to "William Tell." The new pressing produces a sound that is less strident but that retains its original Studio 8H hardness. And combined on a single disc (11-8727; \$1) are two Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony recordings which formerly filled in the last sides of album sets: the charming waltz from Tchaikovsky's Serenade for strings, and Grieg's "Last Spring," which are performed well but recorded with harshness and stridency.

Tudor's creative mind continues to be obsessed with sexual frustration; in his new ballet "Undertow" he carries it to a psychopathological extreme which ends in murder of the love-object. I would have said that a ballet of this kind stands or falls not by its idea but by the dance-terms in which the idea is realized; after seeing "Undertow" I must

add that even when the detail is good the ballet may fall by its idea. "Fancy Free" succeeds not only because of the excellence of the movement in which its idea is realized but because the movement carries out an idea which is itself acceptable. In "Undertow" much of the stylized movement and pantomime into which Tudor has translated his observation of behavior and his insight into motivation—the elderly respectable citizen slithering surreptitiously about the prostitute, the young newlyweds ecstatically flinging themselves into each other's arms, the vicious young girl hovering provocatively about the four young toughs until they seize her and drag her off—is the most brilliantly imaginative, the clearest and sharpest in conception and execution, that Tudor has done. But with those details one sees what is done in relation to them by the central male character, and one is made aware of the distorted, unacceptable idea which his behavior represents; and one's continuing objection to what is distorted and unacceptable finally outweighs one's enjoyment of what is brilliantly imaginative.

For once Tudor has no help from the music, which this time is one of William Schuman's ranting horrors. But Raymond Breinin's scenery and costumes are excellent. And the piece is danced superbly by the Ballet Theater company, with especially brilliant performances by Alicia Alonso and Nana Gollner.

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which she first put on a couple of years ago, is the best of her present productions because it presents the dances in their normal context—except for the fact that normally they would not have to fight off a Dali setting. "Dances from Capriccio Espagnol" turned out to be not dances from Massine's ballet but Argentinita's dances to Rimsky-Korsakov's score—enjoyable enough, but no substitute for Massine's wonderful work. As for his "Moonlight Sonata," I was willing to take a reliable witness's word that it was something worth missing.

Since I was critical of Ballet Theater's performances of classic ballet I should mention a beautiful performance of "Les Sylphides" with Toumanova, Alonso, Hightower, and Eglevsky. Toumanova danced with restraint; Eglevsky with the continuity of impetus and phrase that he has acquired this season; and Hightower with her lovely fluency and suppleness; but it was Alonso who made the greatest impression with the way she did the Prelude—a way very much like Markova's in the delicacy, lightness, and sharp definition of the movement, the quiet and repose of its continuous flow.

Which brings me to the outstanding events of Ballet Theater's season—Markova's guest appearances in "Romeo and Juliet," "Pas de Quatre," and "Giselle." And for comment which expresses certain images of Markova's dancing that I have, in my own previous comments, been able to express only approximately and inadequately, I will turn this column over to its occasional guest. After describing, in the *Herald-Tribune*, the technical characteristics of her dancing that are extraordinary, Mr. Denby wrote: "But her dancing is based on a rarer virtue. It is the quiet which she moves in, an instinct for the melody of movement as it deploys and subsides in the silence of time that is the most refined of rhythmic delights. The sense of serenity in animation she creates is as touching as that of a Mozart melody. And like Mozart . . . she is a completely objective artist. Who Markova is, nobody knows. What you see on the stage is the piece she performs, the character she acts." And describing her Juliet as "a miracle of acting," in which "every nuance of pantomime is poignantly clear and every movement is a different aspect of the cumulative tragedy," he added: "And the restraint of them all, the slow-motion continuum from which they each arise as dance gestures and which flows so steadily through the whole hour-long ballet are wonders to have seen."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### Individual Equality

*Dear Sirs:* There has been much discussion of the voting procedure in the Security Council on an accusation of aggression. But there should be no voting procedure at all on aggression or on any other breach of international law as established by the council in its proper and legislative function. It has long been recognized that the use of one body both to legislate and then to judge cases under its own statutes means no law at all but simply arbitrary action on each case.

Let the Big Three, the Big Five, or whatever we arrive at, hold permanent seats on the council while lesser nations have smaller voices. This is a rough substitute for a representative formula, which it might be impossible to establish in so varied a world. But let us make all nations juridically equal before a high court established by the Security Council. Let this be a true court which will interpret the world security treaty and the statutory law of the Security Council. Adequate means for enforcing the court's decisions should be created by the council, and the absurdity of voting council members judging themselves should be dropped.

ROBERT J. ULLMAN

New York, March 10

### "Long Live the E. L. A. S."

*Dear Sirs:* A copy of the *Volo Anayenisi* of January 6, 1945, when fighting between the British and E. L. A. S. was still going on in Athens, has come into my possession, and I have translated the following item:

Moses Simeon Pesah, chief rabbi of Volo, who with other Israelitish citizens fled to Free Greece during the period of the occupation, after the liberation sent a warm letter of thanks to the National Headquarters of the E. L. A. S., to the 54th Regiment, to the Directing Committee of Thessaly, and to the Volo Provincial Committee, in which he expressed deep appreciation to the E. L. A. S. and the other organizations of the E. A. M. for the assistance which they had furnished him and all Israelites. The Chief Rabbi closes his letter as follows:

"The universal history of Judaism will devote a special chapter to the noteworthy event of the salvation of the Hebrews of Greece who took refuge with the E. L. A. S. and from them received

adequate assistance and protection from the hard persecution of the barbarous Germans. We Israelites of Greece will never forget the great kindness and the warm reception which we all received without discrimination at the hands of the heroic national army of the E. L. A. S. and of other groups of the liberating organization of the E. A. M., namely, the *Ethniki Allilengyi* (Welfare Organization), which supported the victims of fascism and fed the poor; the peace-loving *Poliofilaki* (Civil Police); and the E. P. O. N. (Youth Organization). We shall transmit commemoration of these deeds as a sacred usage from generation to generation as our meed of appreciation to the liberating army of the E. L. A. S. and its related bodies.

"May the blessings of the Most High attend your deeds—folk-saving deeds for humanity, nation-saving deeds for Greeks. May He guard you from every danger and misfortune, to the advantage of all. Your path be the path of victory.

"Long live the E. L. A. S.! Long live Hellas!

"(Signed) Moses Simeon Pesah,  
"Chief Rabbi of Volo."

ELI CHAMBERLAIN

New York, February 23

### Prejudice Marches On

*Dear Sirs:* I recently took a copy of *The Cross and the Flag*, published by rabble-rouser Gerald L. K. Smith, to the FBI and asked why they permitted it to be sold on the streets of Pittsburgh. I brought two articles to their special attention, Ickes and Franco and Argentine Episode, and I also expressed my views against Franco. The special agent to whom I spoke wanted to know what was wrong with Franco and subjected me to a "Spanish Inquisition," asking who the Loyalists were, etc. When I asked why he was questioning me he said he wanted to find out how much I knew about it.

When I asked why Coughlin was not taken in, I was told that they had nothing on him. When I suggested that the Catholic church might be protecting him, I was accused of being prejudiced. Indeed, I am prejudiced against a religious organization that has accepted

#### FULL TEXT OF DEBATE BETWEEN DR. JENKINS AND E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS

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# Crossword Puzzle No. 117

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 A ministering angel
- 5 Savage and deformed slave of Prospero in Shakespeare's *Tempest*
- 9 "The ----- who praises in enthusiastic tone, All centuries but this and every country but his own" (*The Mikado*)
- 10 Enclosures
- 11 This kind of cataract won't hurt your eyes
- 12 The gilt on the gingerbread, in a manner of speaking
- 13 Frenchman who is part German
- 15 Thick and sticky
- 17 He likes to put his oar in
- 19 What ships weigh (no, not "anchors")
- 21 Spill — but not the sort you light up with
- 23 Can provide you with a shakedown on the table
- 25 The things 'round the hotel are what the gardener has pulled up
- 26 American town in nautical guise
- 27 Stretch in all directions
- 28 ----- Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street

## DOWN

- 1 Irascible old gentleman in *Oliver Twist*, always ready to "eat his head" if his opinions were proved wrong
- 2 Bert's idle (anag.)
- 3 An interesting start
- 4 A cat tale would naturally be concerned with milk

- 5 Parish in Somerset, England (now called "Queen's Camel"), where King Arthur held his court
- 6 Might load ice on an ancient who is lukewarm
- 7 Australia's famous surf-bathing beach
- 8 A bit large for a buttonhole
- 14 Suddenly (three words, 3, 2 and 4)
- 16 Open country you get to via Cork?
- 17 Rose by another name
- 18 A red pine undergoes a slight transformation
- 19 They don't mind being dictated to
- 20 Only tidal rivers have one
- 22 Take one, and you have a pastry shop; two, an inn; three, a Grand Hotel
- 24 A test for the musician

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 116

ACROSS:—1 CRAWLS; 5 SEPTIC; 9 ITCHING; 11 TROIKA; 12 IGNORE; 13 ERRANDS; 14 FLNA; 17 RASP; 19 POT-BOILER; 22 CATTY; 23 GORES; 25 BOUGHT; 26 FORMED; 27 TUBER; 29 CRETE; 31 SERENADER; 34 ODDS; 36 TODD; 37 ALL LIES; 39 BATTLE; 40 ATTEST; 41 MAN-MADE; 42 THROAT; 43 STUPOR.

DOWN:—1 CATSUP; 2 ANOINT; 3 LIKE; 4 STARLIGHT; 5 SNIDE; 6 EGGS; 7 TOO FAT; 8 CREEPY; 10 HEALER; 15 LOMBARD; 16 ABDUCTS; 17 RAW MEAT; 18 STUDDIED; 20 LOTUS; 21 REFER; 24 SORREHEADS; 25 BEDLAM; 26 COMBAT; 30 EDITOR; 32 DONE UP; 33 ROSTER; 35 CLEAT; 37 ALMA; 38 STET.

money from Mussolini and aided fascist organization in Europe, that meddles in our political affairs and uses its influence in Latin America.

I wonder what Biddle's attitude is. Why is Coughlin still at large? Whose money supports *The Cross and the Flag*? Pittsburgh citizens should find out.

IRENE STANFORD

Beaver, Pa., April 3

*Dear Sirs:* I recently had the misfortune to meet a high-ranking American officer who boasted that he had been "transferred" from three commands because of his openly expressed anti-Semitic views. This officer has not been dismissed from the service; he has merely been transferred. By its "attitude of non-intervention" the army has helped perpetuate existing prejudices. Prejudice is not instinctive; anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes are developed in growing citizens by the deliberate anti-democratic propaganda of an adult minority. Incidents involving racial prejudice should be reported to the proper authorities whenever possible, and should be widely publicized. Attempts should be made to educate the guilty toward a more democratic way of life.

SERVICE MAN

April 27

## We Were Wrong

*Dear Sirs:* If you paid a dollar for the information that *Les Lettres Françaises* uses the cap and bells of a court jester to designate the bishop in its chess problems (In the Wind, April 28), you were had. This symbol is always used in France to designate the piece known in English as the bishop but in French as the jester, *le fou*.

WAVERLY ROOT

Rockport, Mass., May 1

## Saintsbury Memorial

*Dear Sirs:* To mark the centenary of the late Professor George Saintsbury's birth, a memorial volume is being prepared for publication. This is being compiled by a number of us who were Professor Saintsbury's students. The volume will include, among other things, a selection made from those of Saintsbury's writings which have appeared only in the pages of periodicals. Any information which your readers could give me about such contributions would help materially the work which is now in progress.

AUGUSTUS MUIR

Berden, Hertfordshire, England,

February 7

# THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE CHINESE CAPTURE OF THE TREATY PORT OF Nanning, following the recent victories at Foochow and in the provinces of Kwangsi, Hunan, and Honan, suggests a major Japanese retreat from these areas in order to strengthen their defenses in vital areas along the coast and in North China. It seems probable, too, that the enemy is moving troops from the interior of China to Manchuria to meet a possible Russian attack. But new Japanese landings north of Foochow indicate that there will be no abandonment of the China coast. Meanwhile, the speeding up of the Okinawa offensive and the virtual completion of the campaigns in the Philippines and Burma have led the Japanese to predict new United Nations operations at a number of widely scattered points. These are, of course, largely fishing expeditions designed to elicit some information from this side of the Pacific. But it is quite clear that sooner or later there will be a landing or landings somewhere on the China coast. Admiral Nimitz and several other high Navy officers have informed the Japanese that we are coming. The basic nature of American strategy will not be revealed, however, until these landings have been completed. The seizure of isolated ports such as Foochow or Swatow would be useful chiefly to strengthen the blockade against Japan. Landings at Canton, Shanghai, or in Shantung, on the other hand, would clearly forecast major land operations against the Japanese on the continent. Once the Okinawa campaign is finished, the Japanese will probably learn our intentions—the hard way.

★

JUST TWO MONTHS AGO, EARL BROWDER, writing in the *New Masses*, attacked J. Alvarez del Vayo for his article V-Day and Revolution, published in *The Nation* for March 17. Del Vayo had criticized the Communists for their policy of political coalition with the right and of cooperation with big business. Browder accused Del Vayo of "defeatism" and advised him to "think more profoundly on these problems." But apparently it is Mr. Browder who is going to do some thinking. The American Communist position has been exhaustively analyzed and sharply assailed by the leading theorist in the French Communist Party, Jacques Duclos, a man who stands well with Moscow. Duclos insists that nothing going on in the world or in America justified the party's decision to convert itself into a "political association" and to support free enterprise and a truce with business, even to the point of refraining from asking for any "drastic curbs on monopoly capital" after the war. He comments ironically on the attempt to solve "the problem of national unity with the good will of the men of the trusts, and under quasi-idyllic conditions, as if the capitalist regime

had been able to change its nature by some unknown miracle." Duclos's long article also reveals for the first time the fierce debate that raged in the political bureau of the American Communist Party over the policy advocated and finally forced through by Browder. William Foster led the opposition and fought to the end but then announced that he did not intend to make his differences with Browder known outside the central committee.

✱

THE ATTACK BY DUCLOS, PRINTED IN FULL IN the *Daily Worker*, undoubtedly heralds a new line; Browder's comment, obsequious in tone, "welcomes" the criticism and urges a full discussion of the issue raised. But if the Communists follow the course indicated by the French leader they will merely swing closer to the position already held by most of their European comrades. In Europe, Communist support of reactionary governments or groups has become more and more a matter of form rather than fact. The ingredients of revolution are everywhere too near the surface and the demands of the people too urgent to permit a consistent policy of collaboration. In order to maintain the strength built up during the period of underground and guerrilla fighting, the Communists in Europe have had to temper their demands for national unity to the more clamorous needs of the masses. The attitude of the American Communists has been such a travesty on a working-class program that to maintain it after the fighting ended would have meant certain political suicide. It takes at least total war to sell cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers to American workers. But it is wrong to expect, as most newspaper comments appear to, a violent reversion to full-fledged class-war tactics. Russia still wants the coalition with Britain and the United States and still needs financial and other material help from us. The Communists will, we believe, adopt a more progressive but not a revolutionary line. It is no accident that M. Duclos spoke approvingly of the more liberal wing of the American Administration and twice quoted Henry Wallace.

✱

HOW MUCH LONGER CAN BRITAIN AND THE United States keep Franco poised on the top of a thin jet of American oil? It's a neat trick while it lasts but it can't go on indefinitely. A good push from any direction will knock him off, and several pushes seem to be in the making. The other day the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Consultative Assembly proposed that the Allies jointly request Franco to abdicate in favor of a democratic government, and, if he refused, to break off relations with him immediately. The Committee asked the French government to put the plan up to the Allies without delay. It based its demand on security requirements, emphasizing Franco's pro-Axis behavior during the war and his present refusal to hand over Pierre Laval, Vichy's Chief of Government who fled to Spain from Germany. This move is obviously of immense political importance. If the French government acts, the British and Americans will be faced with the necessity of an immediate decision which they have been maneuvering by every means to avoid. Meanwhile anti-Franco pressure is still rising in San Francisco. Negrin's brief visit created much

interest, and although Molotov and Eden had left when he arrived, he had talks with the heads of almost every important delegation. He refused to hold a press conference but in private conversations he was able to give a clear idea of his conception of how the change from fascism to democracy in Spain should be brought about. Negrin left San Francisco for a few days in Washington en route to Mexico, where he will consult with the leaders of all the Republican parties and organizations. The moment an agreement is reached among these groups, the only remaining pretext on which the British and American governments could base a refusal of the French demand will have vanished.

✱

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST MAJOR test in the House has ended with a victory that should raise hopes abroad of America's dependability in the sphere of international cooperation. The passage of the Reciprocal Trade Treaty Bill by 239 to 153 was a personal triumph for the President, a demonstration of Democratic Party strength and discipline in the House, an indication that substantial forces in this country can be mustered to support a liberal trade and foreign policy. Thirty-one Republicans, including Clare Luce of Connecticut, Baldwin and Bennett of New York, Bolton of Ohio, and Wolverton of New Jersey, defied party leadership to vote for the bill, while the one "Progressive," Hull of Wisconsin, stood pat with the G. O. P. Speaker Rayburn is to be commended on his able leadership, and we also applaud Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee, Ranking Majority Member Cooper of Tennessee, and Robertson of Virginia for the aid they gave Rayburn and the President. We urge labor and liberal organizations to get busy and muster all the strength they can for the coming fight over the bill in the Senate. Final passage is the first necessary step toward a stable world peace.

✱

CARTELS WILL FACE HARD TIMES IF CONGRESS acts favorably on the O'Mahoney and Voorhis bills. O'Mahoney's proposed Foreign Contracts Act would require the registration of foreign contracts made by domestic and foreign companies doing business with the United States. But Congress must act quickly, for as former Attorney General Biddle pointed out when he recently testified in favor of the bill, cartel arrangements disrupted by the war are already being resumed. Biddle urged Congress to force American cartel partners to throw their international agreements open to the public, although he warned that publicity alone would not destroy the cartel system. He told of a telephone conversation between the former head of an American chemical company and the head of I. G. Farben just before we entered the war, in which the former said, "Have no fear, whatever I do will be in your interest." The fact that cartel loyalties supersede and are often inimical to the national interest was amply demonstrated by Representative Voorhis, who a few days after Biddle testified addressed the House on his resolution calling on the government to prevent the enemy nations of World War II from rebuilding their war potential in neutral or other nations and to prevent citizens, organizations, or corporations of the United States from contributing

to the future war potential of such enemy nations through cartel agreements. Military victory has not destroyed German economic penetration. Germany was defeated before and rose to fight again largely through the help of cartel partners in the now victorious and neutral countries. They are ready to repeat the performance.

✱

HITLER SAVED AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, DANIEL Heineman, when Brussels was liberated, by providing him with a special guard and enabling him to leave the city with important documents. Voorhis charged in his address in Congress. Heineman, of course, isn't an ordinary American. He is the chief representative in the United States of the Sofina Company, a huge public-utility holding company organized in Brussels and now registered in Panama. Its managerial offices are in New York, its technical staff is in Lisbon, and it keeps its books in Cuba. Heineman was one of the chief figures behind the Sofina meeting in Lisbon last year when representatives of manufacturers of warring and neutral countries met to facilitate the protection of German interests in neutral and Allied countries. The spotlight was thrown on Heineman and the Lisbon meeting by Voorhis in a facts-and-figures speech on the cartel international. Voorhis said that he had just received evidence that representatives of the Spanish subsidiary of the German Schering Corporation recently walked into the American embassy at Madrid with a proposal for merging the Spanish subsidiary of Schering of Berlin with the American Schering Company of Bloomfield, New Jersey, so that relations with the German company might be closer. Germans, Voorhis asserted, control 40 per cent of Spain's entire industry; I. G. Farben alone has fourteen subsidiaries there. Further, German industry owns or controls some five hundred subsidiaries and affiliates in Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

✱

THE OPENING GUN WAS FIRED IN THE FIGHT to assure health, security, and jobs in post-war America with the introduction of a broadened social-security program under the sponsorship of Senators Wagner and Murray and Representative Dingell. The new bill contains many of the proposals found in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell measure introduced in the last Congress and many of the revisions suggested in recent years by the Social Security Board. The plan for health and hospital insurance has been strengthened, on the basis of recommendations in the report of the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education. In addition to bringing adequate medical care within the means of most of the American people, this bill would strengthen our public-health service, standardize unemployment insurance under federal auspices, and extend the coverage of this broadened program to some 15,000,000 workers who are denied its protection. This extension of protection to the least secure portion of our population should aid materially in sustaining consumer buying power and thus assure a higher level of employment. Although the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and most authorities in the field of social insurance and public health strongly support the bill, it faces a stubborn fight in Congress. The groups which defeated the Murray-Kilgore

bill last autumn will most certainly gang up on this far more comprehensive measure, and it can be pushed through only by an impressive demonstration of public support.

## *The British Elections*

THE resignation of the Churchill government marks the end of a long era. No election has been held since 1935; the Parliament now dissolved survived Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure, the Spanish War, Munich, and the total war that followed. Deaths and resignations aside, it was still a Baldwin Parliament. It had long outlived its day. The government itself, remade by Mr. Churchill in May, 1940, when the incapacity of Mr. Chamberlain became obvious, was a different matter; it was a war coalition and a strong one. Created at the most critical hour of Britain's history, it brought the country through to a great triumph. Its strength lay in part in the courage and capacity of its leader, Winston Churchill. But credit must also go in large measure to the British people as a whole, who gladly subordinated group and party interests to work for the common goal of victory. When the Nazi aggression was crushed, the end of the coalition became inevitable. That Mr. Churchill precipitated the issue by resigning now instead of postponing the elections until autumn, as Mr. Attlee asked, was a bit of political ruthlessness. But a long delay would have been out of the question in any event. Mr. Churchill's proposal that the coalition should continue until the end of the war with Japan was totally unrealistic in the face of crowding domestic and foreign problems which neither Parliament nor government was chosen to meet.

As Michael Foot points out elsewhere in this issue, Labor is badly handicapped by having to launch a campaign against Mr. Churchill only a few weeks after his government's triumph in the war. Yet many of the qualities that made Churchill an unequalled war leader render him unfit for constructive post-war leadership. The doggedness with which he held out against the possibility that his country could go down is matched by a similar determination that the England and empire of tomorrow shall not differ in essentials from the England and empire of his youth. In its fight against Churchill Labor has two powerful domestic issues—jobs and homes—to set against the Prime Minister's tremendous prestige. Undoubtedly the British people are desperately concerned with post-war employment and housing. But Churchill is a master campaigner, and he may try to keep a foot in each camp by adopting a Tory-reformist line, claiming credit for the Beveridge plan, the various housing projects, and the educational schemes which were formulated by the more liberal members of the war-time coalition. If he follows this strategy he will be hard to beat.

Churchill is more vulnerable to a determined Labor attack on foreign policy. Already the outlines of this attack may be seen in the pre-campaign statements of Clement Attlee, Ernest Bevin, and Hugh Dalton. In view of the immense sympathy for Russia that exists throughout England, Labor can be expected to hammer home its well-founded contention that a Socialist government is more likely to succeed in removing the existing suspicion between London and

Moscow than an all-Tory government. Its position on Poland, in particular, is both reasonable and conciliatory. Moreover, Labor can make effective use of Churchill's bitter opposition to the rise of popular governments in the liberated countries and his persistent support of reaction in Spain. The responsibility for these policies rests clearly with the Prime Minister, although Labor will undoubtedly have occasion to regret the Citrine whitewash of British action in Greece. But in spite of its undeniable complicity in the political mistakes of the coalition, Labor can and should wage a strong campaign on the need of a democratic foreign policy. The British people want peace even more than houses and jobs.

## Rankin and Veterans

FOR many months grave charges against the Veterans Administration have issued in an unending stream from a variety of independent and responsible sources, including the *New York Times* and the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. The truth or falsity of these charges is of the utmost importance to the future health and welfare of our 12,000,000 returning servicemen. Representative Rankin, however, is not concerned. Having previously killed a House resolution that would have provided for an impartial inquiry, he has now proceeded to the major task of intimidating and discrediting all sincere critics of the Veterans Administration.

The first victim was Representative Philip P. Philbin of Massachusetts, who vainly tried to present several hundred letters of complaint against the agency. The one question which exercised the committee was how Mr. Philbin had secured a large number of copies of a magazine containing an exposé of the Veterans Administration which he had distributed to members of Congress.

Albert Deutsch, medical reporter for *PM*, who was the next witness, fared even worse. The low medical standards of the Veterans Administration and, in particular, its deplorable lack of mental-hygiene facilities, concerning which Mr. Deutsch has prepared a careful report, were subjects of no apparent interest to the committee. At any rate it did not permit him to testify. Instead, at Rankin's insistence, it cited Deutsch for contempt because he refused to name five doctors with the Veterans Administration who had given him information in confidence. Albert Q. Maisel of Hearst's *Cosmopolitan*, is in the pillory as we go to press. Thus far the committee's interest has centered on topics so germane to veteran welfare as the rate which *Cosmopolitan* pays for feature articles, and whether Mr. Maisel imputes an anti-New York bias to the committee.

The nation-wide editorial protest which greeted Rankin's high-handed treatment of Deutsch indicates that the right of newspaper reporters to receive information in confidence is solidly established. It is clear that the House will not sustain Rankin in his action against Deutsch.

Rankin has now come up smiling with two new bills. One is allegedly designed to improve the caliber of medical personnel in the Veterans Administration by removing civil-service restrictions. Under the present set-up this would prob-

ably mean an increase in patronage and further deterioration of the medical service. The other bill would guarantee \$20 a week for a full year to every returning veteran, whether employed or not. According to Rankin, the present law, which restricts payment of this sum to unemployed veterans, "encourages idleness and loafing." This is as bad an argument against social security as has been advanced, and it certainly does not answer any of the charges that have been brought against the Veterans Administration. The investigation of these charges cannot be left to the Veterans Committee, which has too intimate a relationship with the Veterans Administration. It certainly cannot be entrusted to the chairmanship of Representative Rankin, who, apart from his other conspicuous qualifications, is believed to have received powerful support from General Hines, head of the Veterans Administration, in his early fight for renewal of the Dies committee. The job is one for an independent Congressional committee that is not afraid to dig for the facts.

## The Cabinet Changes

MR. TRUMAN means to be President of the United States. Leaving out of account his chance of reelection, he is slated to sit in the White House for a bit more than three and a half years. And it is now quite clear that he does not intend to pass that time as an interim President or even as a substitute for a deceased President.

He has his own rather definite ideas about administration. In the Cabinet changes announced last week he has given these ideas their first important expression. The changes indicate not so much a swing to the right or to the left as an insistence upon orderly and effective organization of the government.

Mr. Truman struck at the weakest spots, at the political liabilities, in the Cabinet he inherited. Frances Perkins has been Secretary of Labor for twelve years, and for about a decade of that span there has been a widespread demand that she be replaced. It is much to her credit that she herself joined in this demand and was prevailed upon to remain in office only because of her devotion to President Roosevelt. Among farmers Claude Wickard was almost as complete a political cipher as Miss Perkins was among union workers. Frances Biddle, too, was without any grass-roots political support and had become a handy target for criticism of the Administration.

The nomination of Lewis Schwellenbach to head the Department of Labor clearly portends a reorganization of federal activities in the labor field. As chairman of the Senate committee investigating the war effort, Mr. Truman was sharply critical of "conflicting authority over and responsibility for" various war programs. Judge Schwellenbach can be expected to effect the kind of coordinated control in which the President believes. If there are protests against him from labor on the ground that he is not a union man, they will probably be entirely pro forma. He was a liberal judge and a vigorous New Deal Senator. A good many persons now applauding his appointment have forgotten that he was one of the leaders in Mr. Roosevelt's fight for reorganization of the Supreme Court.

The President's predilection for centralized authority was also expressed in his choice of Clinton Anderson to take over both the Department of Agriculture and the War Food Administration. As chairman of the House Committee on Elections, Anderson did a fair, forthright, and extremely skilful job last fall. Under difficult circumstances he defended the right of organized workers to share effectively in the political life of the nation through the P. A. C. He put a stop to witch-hunting, and he turned a spotlight on the antics of O'Daniel in Texas. As chairman of the House food-investigating committee, he has been at least an exponent of full production, and his reports have been in the main constructive. How soundly he will administer what he has thus far only criticized is still to be seen.

Tom Clark for Attorney General is the most puzzling and most uncertain of the President's choices—a choice explicable only in political terms. With all Biddle's vacillations and hesitations, he undoubtedly had a fine record in respect to civil liberties. The Department of Justice has been wholly free from hysteria and has dealt decently with aliens and minority groups—in particular with the unfortunate citizens of Japanese descent. That this record will be maintained under Clark is not entirely certain. Carey McWilliams has revealed he was one of General DeWitt's advisers before the mass-exclusion order was issued on the West Coast. We can only hope that he will stand firm in the trying period of reconversion and national reorientation.

There is nothing in these choices to suggest an abandonment of New Deal policies. President Truman is wise to bolster his Administration with persons who possess political strength. And he is certainly entitled to have around him men of his own choosing on whose personal devotion he can rely. That he was by no means trying to clear out of office the close friends of his predecessors is amply attested by his retention of Morgenthau and Ickes and by his designation of Harry Hopkins and Joseph Davies as his special diplomatic emissaries.

## Conference Notes

*San Francisco, May 25*

I HAVE met the colorful Arab delegation at almost every party I have gone to. Historical processes are rapidly eliminating the princes of royal blood, and when an Otto of Hapsburg is no longer available to recall the romantic days of imperial Vienna, an Oriental Royal Highness is decidedly welcome. The Arab delegation is making the most of this upper-class weakness. Among its members are highly intelligent diplomats, politicians, and business men. They speak with equal competence of poetry and petroleum.

The creation of a League of Arab States was in itself an extremely shrewd move. In order to be able to represent Christian as well as Moslem elements the League includes Lebanon, which is historically a Christian state, although only about 58 per cent of its actual population is Christian. In this way the League can work both ends, calling on the Moslems when necessary and on Christian sentiment when that is advisable. The Arab League is well adapted to vari-

ous types of political intrigue as, for example, the attempt to oust French influence from Syria and Lebanon. But Professor Yahuda of the New School for Social Research charged in a press conference here that the main objective of those who wanted the five Arab states in the conference was to liquidate the Balfour Declaration and avoid the obligation of making Palestine the Jewish national home.

Business goes hand in hand with politics. American oil magnates joined in the enthusiastic reception accorded the Saudi Arabians, in whom they see a source of compensation for their difficulties in Mexico and elsewhere. As a result of all this, the Arabian delegation is being treated as one of the most important factors in building peace and collective security. Both these objectives are strangely symbolized on the green flag waving with the other United Nations flags above the entrance of the Fairmont Hotel. On it an Arabic inscription proclaims that there is no other God than Allah and no other prophet than his "messenger" Mohammed—and it bears the sword as an emblem. Undoubtedly, among the various talents represented in the Arab delegation, there is at least one jurist who can reconcile the cult of the sword with the aims of the organization for international security!

It is believed that San Francisco is only the first of a series of international conferences that will alternate with conversations among the Big Three and, eventually, the Big Five. Rather tardily, as is usual among the democracies, it is now being admitted that some kind of inter-Allied council should have been created two years ago to pave the way for the present meeting. Since this was not done, a number of conferences will have to be held during the next two years. It is useless to try to exclude political problems, as has been attempted here. Political problems enter the meeting rooms despite all efforts to bar them. It is interesting that the statements of various delegations regretting that the political policy of the United Nations had not been better formulated in advance are exactly those set forth week after week in *The Nation*. Nobody learns until the damage is done, and those who have learned least are the diplomats who failed so tragically in 1938 and are directly responsible for the millions of dead in 1945. The old diplomacy is again in evidence in San Francisco, exhibiting an arrogance that Talleyrand might have inspired.

Up to now no fewer than six cities have been suggested as the seat of the new international organization—Philadelphia, Ottawa, Vienna, Monte Carlo, Tangier, and Geneva.

Philadelphia finds few supporters among the Europeans, not because of any general anti-American sentiment but because of a more than mild distrust of the influence of American diplomacy.

Ottawa has definite advantages because it is near the United States without being in the United States.

Vienna, it is said, is favored by the Russians.

Monte Carlo was the proposal, serious or otherwise, of Mr. Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's amiable Foreign Minister. Certainly the little state of Monaco offers suitable neutral territory, and nobody can deny the material attractions of the place.

Tangier is a French idea. This odd proposal makes some

sense. For Tangier is not only a beautiful and well-situated city. It is also, under normal conditions, an international city. Once chosen as the seat of the world organization, Tangier would only have to be retrieved from the violent hands of Franco and restored to its proper legal status.

Geneva had at the beginning few partisans despite a plan to create a "free zone," embracing the city, between Switzerland and France and thus to by-pass Russia's long-standing

objections to Switzerland. Those who favor Geneva argue that the old League buildings costing millions are already there with archives, library, texts of treaties, and all the paraphernalia needed to carry on the work started at San Francisco. Today it looks as though this argument, plus the "free zone," might win the decision for Geneva. But the memories of the League weigh heavily against it.

J. A. del V.

## Canada's Post-War Election

BY J. KING GORDON

*Toronto, May 29*

CANADA faces a national election immediately after the close of the European war. The vote on June 11 will reflect attitudes and sentiments induced by Canada's five and a half years of strenuous war effort. It will also reflect to some extent divisions of opinion on post-war policies.

The present Liberal government of Prime Minister W. L. MacKenzie King goes to the people on its war record and on its program for post-war reconstruction. Few people to whom I spoke during the last few days in eastern Canada had much doubt that after June 11 Mr. King would embark upon his sixth term. The main question is whether he will have a clear majority. The second question is which will be the second party and official opposition—the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation led by M. J. Coldwell, M. P., or the Progressive Conservative party led by John Bracken?

Six months ago very few Canadians would have given Mr. King any odds on his chances of re-election. The wartime crisis over conscription had reached its most acute stage. The Minister of National Defense had resigned in protest over the continuation of the policy of voluntary enlistment for overseas service, the Cabinet was badly split, the pressure in all parts of Canada outside of Quebec had risen to irresistible proportions. Mr. King appointed a new Minister of National Defense, General McNaughton, and then adopted a limited policy of overseas conscription. This shift was interpreted in Quebec as a betrayal of Mr. King's anti-conscription pledge: elsewhere in Canada it was held to be too little and too late. The defeat of General McNaughton in a by-election and the elimination of the Liberal government in the province of Quebec were taken to be omens of the fate that awaited Mr. King when he went to the polls.

Now Mr. King goes to the polls and he will probably be returned. What has happened to change the picture? The first important happening is obviously the end of the war in Europe. Conscription has become an issue in retrospect. True, Mr. King has declared that there will be no conscription for the war in the Pacific but since only a small proportion of Canada's land, sea, and air forces will be wanted it is difficult to awaken much protest about a voluntary system which has raised nearly a million men in all branches of the service. In the second place, with the war over, the government's total war effort comes in for cooler appraisal.

Even leaders in the opposition parties are compelled to admit that for a country of twelve millions Canada has achieved goals in military mobilization, war production and civilian controls that have measured up to the best efforts of the other Allied powers. In the third place the Progressive Conservatives' preoccupation with conscription has emphasized the barrenness of the party in political ideas and the incapacity of top Conservative leadership. In the fourth place, the anti-conscriptionist, anti-King sentiment in Quebec has become weak and diffuse. The Bloc Populaire, which had led a passionate French nationalist movement against Mr. King has petered out to a shadow of its former menace. The most famous of French Canadian comedians recently brought the house down with a skit entitled "Le Bloc Flop."

An interesting illustration of the confusion of the present Canadian political picture is to be found in the role of the Progressive Conservatives in Quebec. Throughout the rest of Canada they are flailing Mr. King on conscription for reasons precisely opposite to those raised by the Bloc. In Quebec, they are using a devious tactic. Their organizer announced that the Progressive-Conservative party would run 27 candidates, it would back 33 "Independent" candidates, and it would not oppose 5 others including Mayor Camilien Houde, the violent and colorful anti-conscriptionist who was released from internment camp just in time to be elected mayor of Montreal. The Independents are almost all nationalists who have opposed the government's war policy. In 1911, as the *Winnipeg Free Press* pointed out in an unanswerable editorial on May 23, the Conservative Party followed similar tactics of playing both ends against the middle. To this day the maneuver is referred to in Quebec as "the Great Betrayal." The general impression seems to be that Mr. King will take at least forty of Quebec's sixty-five seats.

With this solid bloc of Quebec seats it is generally agreed that the King government will gain sufficient seats throughout the rest of Canada to return him to office: it is very doubtful, however, that he will receive enough to give him an over-all majority. The western provinces, led by Saskatchewan, are showing a strong leaning toward the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Throughout the whole country the C. C. F. has been urging the necessity of a planned economy with the nationalization of basic utilities and industries to meet the post-war needs of the Canadian people. The

outstanding exception in the western picture is Alberta where the Social Crediters will likely send back their usual quota. The Maritime provinces may show slight C. C. F. and Progressive Conservative gains. Ontario with its eighty-two seats is, therefore, the crucial province.

Ontario is particularly interesting because it is holding its provincial election just one week to the day before the Federal election. The issues generally discussed are provincial issues. In the last election the C. C. F. made spectacular gains increasing its representation in the legislature from nothing to thirty-four, just four seats less than those held by the Progressive Conservatives under George Drew. During the session of the legislature two developments occurred to complicate the political picture. Mitchell Hepburn, former arch-enemy of the C. I. O. and of Mr. King, returned to the leadership of the Ontario Liberals. The Communist Party re-emerged in the guise of the Labor Progressives. Their leader in the legislature, A. A. McLeod, urging a Labor-Liberal coalition, established himself as Mr. Hepburn's guide, counsellor and friend. For a time, this strange political marriage caused some confusion in the industrial districts of Ontario and perhaps harmed the C. C. F. But organized labor is strongly back of the C. C. F. The Canadian Congress of Labor has endorsed its program and local C. I. O. unions are solid in their support. The same applies to many A. F. of L. locals although right-wing labor and communist influence at top levels of the Trades and Labor Congress has swung that body toward the Liberal Party.

During the last week the basic programmatic debate was swept aside by the blast from a political bomb dropped fairly in the camp of Premier Drew by C. C. F. leader Ted Jolliffe,

a serious-minded young lawyer whom no one has ever thought of as extreme or irresponsible. The C. C. F. group as a whole have shown great forbearance in the face of an unscrupulous and heavily financed campaign of defamation. When in a full-length radio address, Jolliffe accused Premier Drew of maintaining a secret police, a "Gestapo" for prying into the affairs of political opponents, and affirmed that he had full affidavits to support the accusation, all other issues were for the moment forgotten. Drew replied with an absolute denial, admitting, however, that there was in existence a "special department" of the provincial police devoted to the task of investigating "sabotage." He announced that a Royal Commission would be appointed to probe the charges.

The outcome in the federal election depends to a great extent on the Ontario vote. Should Jolliffe's charge convince the voters, Drew will suffer defeat: nobody likes a Gestapo. But such a charge is powerful dynamite and the blast goes in all directions. Many people may suspend judgment until after the Royal Commission reports. In that case Drew may hold his own or even gain. An important gain for Drew would strengthen the Progressive Conservatives across Canada but not sufficiently to give them the edge on Mr. King; it would also weaken seriously the chances of the C. C. F. becoming the official opposition in Ottawa. If the C. C. F. can hold its own or gain in Ontario, then it would become the second party in Ottawa. In that position, while it would on no account enter into any coalition with the Liberals, it would certainly back the government in any progressive post-war legislation and would even be in a position to force the adoption of a program more advanced than the government would otherwise inaugurate.

## *The British People Must Choose*

BY MICHAEL FOOT

BRITAIN'S forthcoming election will be the most baffling for the prophet of any held in this century.

No appeal to the polls has been made for ten years; masses of electors have been shifted from their homes by the circumstances of war; the party machines are rusty; several million young men and women in the services who have never voted before in their lives will be deprived of the chance of participating in the controversy although provision has been made for them to vote; finally, some of the issues are blurred owing to the fact that all the leaders of all the major parties have been members of a Coalition which has not only won the war but has produced jointly several projects for post-war policy.

These are formidable obstacles to the presentation of a clear choice. But the alternative—a postponement of the election until after the Japanese war—was intolerable. Mr. Churchill can hardly have advanced this as a serious suggestion; it was more a device for branding the Labor Party with the responsibility of forcing the issue and disrupting "national unity." During the campaign several smaller crocodiles than Mr. Churchill will weep tears over "the unpatriotic

course which the misguided party politicians have chosen to follow against the advice of the great war leader." Such lamentations will not be taken very seriously. The present Parliament was returned in 1935 on a pledge that the most effective sanctions would be applied against Mussolini in Abyssinia. Mr. Chamberlain, now deceased, even assured those who gave him their confidence that a failure of the League policy in Abyssinia would entitle us to be held up to shame before our children and our children's children; four years later he was in Rome toasting the new Emperor of Ethiopia, King Victor Emmanuel. These memories, and they could be multiplied a hundred-fold, explain the undercurrent of bitterness in British politics, which only the headlong tides of war could submerge. They explain also why an election could not be decently postponed much longer.

The present Parliament, "the Long Parliament," is old and incapable. Indeed, several dozens of its number have mercifully passed away owing to hardening of the arteries, water on the brain, and other ailments. Increasingly in the past few months the consequent by-elections have revealed

how eager the people were to try something new even in constituencies once regarded as impregnable Conservative. There is also a suspicion that in the past few months, in order to avoid these awkward contests, the corpses of a few defunct Tory M. P.'s have been dumped in the cellars of St. Stephen's just near the place where Guy Fawkes stored his dynamite.

If the results of these by-elections were to be taken as a final and accurate guide, the obvious prophecy would be a sweeping victory for Labor and a reversal of the present situation, where the Tories control some 400 seats and the Labor Party 170. The Labor Party, of course, has not contested these elections on its own account; according to the political truce any vacancies were to be filled by the nomination of the party in possession. However, left-wing voters chafed under the yoke. A series of independent or Common Wealth candidates challenged the Coalition. They could not fight formally on Labor's platform; but the green gills of any Tory M. P. on the morrow of one of these smashing victories testified to the discomfort of the Tory machine. No one can doubt that it is genuinely scared. By-election returns, Gallup polls, reports from the services, have all shown the same tendency. There has been no sign of a positive mass enthusiasm for the Labor Party; there have been plentiful signs of disgust with the Tories and sure evidence that the rock of apathy and quiescence which was the chief Tory bulwark in the days of Chamberlain is finally splintered. As often before in history, war has broken the fetters on men's minds and made them eager to experiment with new social forms.

However, a General Election is something vastly different from a by-election. This is the fact that soothes the fevered nightmares of the Tories. A vote against the Tories at a by-election did not involve the displacement of Mr. Churchill; it merely made him irritable for a few days. A vote for Labor at the coming General Election may remove him from office, and the Tories, of course—including the vast majority of their number who condemned and ostracized him as a man of "no judgment" ten years ago when he was talking sense about the Nazis—know well enough that Mr. Churchill is their only asset. Without him they are naked and shameless ex-Munichites and appeasers. With him they are the bold champions of the Man Who Won the War, outraged by the insolence of Labor, which dares to dissent from so matchless a leader.

The Churchill card is the only winning one in the Tory pack with the possible exception of Mr. Eden, who masquerades as a modest queen; the other knaves and jokers, the Beaverbrooks, Brackens, Hudsons, and such, will be kept up Tory sleeves and out of sight until the game is over. Churchill is certainly a high trump. He will command the radio with an eloquence none of his rivals can attempt, with a voice already known and widely revered throughout the land. By one of the strangest ironies in history the whole future of the Conservative Party rests in the hands of a man who could not muster six Tory votes in the House of Commons a dozen years ago.

Labor has no personality to set against Churchill's. Attlee, the leader of the party and almost certainly Premier if Labor is returned, is effective in committee but unable to impress

the public. Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison have both performed huge tasks in the war. Stafford Cripps has a great reputation for integrity and administrative ability, and his return to the party is a big addition of strength. Outside the ranks of the official leadership Labor's campaign will be led by men like Aneurin Bevan and Emmanuel Shinwell, the two best platform speakers in the country. Altogether Labor could form an administration quite as competent as the Tories', although of course none would possess the world prestige of Churchill.

There are big issues to be fought out altogether apart from personalities, and here the running is made by Labor. The Tory campaign, which has hitherto been largely in the hands of men like Beaverbrook and Bracken and the diehards of the party, has concentrated on attacking war-time controls and the restraints on private enterprise. The Younger Tories would have preferred a greater emphasis on promises of social reform, full employment, and housing. Perhaps Mr. Churchill, a skilful electioneer, will contrive a delicate blend of the two appeals. There is nothing like a bet both ways, especially when safe jobs and good homes are the two needs uppermost in the minds of the British people.

Jobs and homes are, of course, the two chief items in Labor's program. Labor claims that they can be secured only by a program which goes far beyond the modest plans for an expansionist finance policy and a Town and Country Planning Act agreed upon by the Coalition in its halcyon days. The Labor Party is committed to a full-blooded program of nationalization, including coal mines, electricity, steel, and transport, together with a considerable measure of nationalization of finance and land. The leaders, and the rank and file of the party somewhat more vocally, appeal for the foundation of "a Socialist Commonwealth." The word may sound startling in American ears. After forty years of Labor propaganda and five years of war which have left Britain with no assets but the skill and energy of its people, plus the potentialities of leadership among its statesmen, the phrase does not really sound so frightening.

Even if Labor should win, it would be no easy task to build a Socialist Commonwealth in a war-ravaged land, and no Labor spokesmen will promise a simple road to paradise. But descending for one moment from the lofty altitudes of impartiality hitherto so painfully scaled in this article, it may be said in conclusion that there is a very real choice the British people have to make.

To reconstruct Britain after the most devastating experience in its history, to rebuild its broken cities, to recover its trade, to reequip its industries, and at the same time to provide all those social amenities which its people now demand will call for an unexampled burst of communal energy. The nation will hardly be able to do it on the old cutthroat pattern, and it would be wise not to dally with the old-fashioned methods which seemed to spell the decline of British industry in the twenties and thirties. If Labor in Britain could do the task while jealously protecting the civil liberties so justly prized by Western nations, it would have conducted an experiment in social democracy to amaze and lead the world.

The British people must begin to make their choice in July.

# Trouble Brews in China

BY T. A. BISSON

ON MAY 17 an apparently routine announcement under a Chungking date line stated that the Sixth National Kuomintang Congress had definitely set November 12, 1945, as the date for convening a National Assembly to approve the draft constitution. Ironically enough, this decision is being publicized in the United States as a progressive move inaugurating "constitutional government," whereas in fact it represents a desperate maneuver that may well foreclose any possibility of a constructive settlement of China's internal problems.

The current Kuomintang effort to introduce a constitution under its own auspices by unilateral action has already precipitated in China the most ominous political crisis of the past decade. For most of this period the constitutional issue has remained dormant. It has now been raised in a fashion which threatens to split China into two states, each with its own formally organized government. Once this development has taken place, the task of restoring even nominal unity will be virtually hopeless and the danger of eventual civil war in China will be sharply accentuated.

The Chinese News Service dispatch of May 17 declared that all questions concerning the membership and powers of the new National Assembly would be "left to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang or its standing committee to decide." Opinions of elements outside the Kuomintang, it was stated, would receive "careful consideration" in the People's Political Council, scheduled to meet in July.

On the membership issue, however, it is clear that the essential decision has been taken by the present Kuomintang Congress. The "consensus" of the Kuomintang delegates was phrased as "recognition of the validity of delegates elected before the war generally, and the holding of supplementary elections to make the Assembly more fully representative." This decision means that a considerable group in the National Assembly will consist of delegates chosen by the Kuomintang in 1936-37, and that the remainder will be "elected" in the coming months under Kuomintang procedures and from Kuomintang territory. A National Assembly thus constituted will be wholly unrepresentative of the Chinese people.

This National Assembly, moreover, is not a true constituent assembly. Its members are not meeting to frame a constitution. They are being summoned to give formal sanction to a draft constitution which has been carefully prepared by the Kuomintang leadership. Such "powers" as may be conferred upon the Assembly by the Central Executive Committee will be rendered illusory by this document, even though innocuous textual changes may be inserted by the hand-picked delegates. Their deliberations, so different from the strenuous sessions of the Philadelphia convention in 1787, will be a travesty of the constitution-making process.

The authoritarian character of the draft constitution has evoked criticism from virtually all sectors of Chinese polit-

ical life except the Kuomintang's inner group. Under its provisions, vast substantive and appointive powers are vested in the President, who holds office for six years and may be reelected for a second term. He is chosen not by popular vote but by an elected National Assembly. He is also responsible to this National Assembly, which, however, he convenes for but one month once every three years, except in emergencies. He appoints all members of the Executive Yuan, which in turn submits budgetary and statutory measures to the Legislative Yuan. A bill of rights is inserted, but it is doubly restricted. As in the Japanese constitution, each right is specifically qualified by the phrase "except in accordance with law." In addition, Article 25 blankets the issue by providing that "laws imperative for safeguarding national security, averting national crisis, maintaining public peace and order, or promoting public interest may restrict the citizens' liberties and rights." Instead of establishing the federalism which Chinese conditions require, the draft constitution makes the provinces mere agents of the central authorities by providing that governors be appointed by the central government.

All details of the draft constitution are painstakingly framed so as to ease the transition of the Kuomintang into the snug trappings of the new regime, through which it may continue to exercise its dictatorial powers with "constitutional" sanction. The war and post-war destiny of China may turn on whether the Kuomintang seriously determines to execute this political maneuver. A change of heart can still take place at the session of the People's Political Council in July. Very probably the Kuomintang wished to leave this possible avenue of compromise open.

At the moment, and this is the major weakness of its position, the Kuomintang is playing a lone hand on the constitutional issue. The Democratic League, composed of the political parties and groups in Kuomintang China which have yet to receive legal status, has registered no support for the Assembly now scheduled to meet in November. On the contrary, the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists are joining in a demand for establishment of a coalition government, formed by an all parties' conference. They maintain that the organization of such a government and the legalization of all Chinese parties are the necessary condition for the free elections which can alone create a National Assembly with the authority to adopt a constitution. In principle, however, they are not in favor of adopting a constitution until after the war, when all Chinese territory will have been liberated and the elections to an Assembly can be nation wide. The immediate need, in their opinion, is for a coalition government that can unify the country and prosecute the war with full popular support.

The Democratic League, at present cooperating with the Chinese Communists in a loose "united front," will occupy a strategic position of considerable significance during the

next few months. If the parties and groups in the League were given legal status, there can be little doubt that they would be able to rally behind them the progressive political sentiment of Kuomintang China. The Kuomintang's political tactics are to detach the League from its alliance with the Communists and enrol it in the drive to push the draft constitution through the Assembly in November, while at the same time refusing to give legal status to the groups included in it. Once the Kuomintang has entrenched itself in the provisions of the draft constitution, opposition parties will become a necessity, but they will have little possibility of shaking loose the dictatorship's grip. It would be awkward if the Democratic League refused to grace the new constitutional regime by nominating candidates for election and taking at least some government posts. There is already evidence that the Chungking government is seeking to manufacture one or two new parties in order to have some recourse in case the Democratic League remains obdurate.

The Chinese Communists, of course, are not expected to participate in the coming National Assembly. The move is in fact directed against them. With the draft constitution in operation, the Chungking authorities will have gained a position from which they can move openly toward civil war with a show of legal authority. They must first be certain that the present American support will continue. Assured of this, they can declare the Chinese Communists outlawed and invoke the crisis powers set forth in Article 44 of the draft constitution.

The first Chungking announcement of its constitutional intentions, early in March, was greeted in Yen-an as a declaration of political war, which indeed it was. Yen-an's rejoinder warned Chiang Kai-shek that he was taking the dictatorial course followed by Yuan Shih-kai, and that the end

of that road would turn out to be the same—political extinction. Since then the Chinese Communist Party has held its Seventh Congress at Yen-an, matching the Sixth Kuomintang Congress just concluded at Chungking. At this meeting preliminary steps were taken to assemble at Yen-an next autumn a body of elected representatives from the Border Region and each of the guerrilla base areas now established in more than half the provinces of China, mainly north of the Yellow River. The group of elected representatives will presumably be meeting at about the time that the National Assembly convenes at Chungking. It will constitute, in all but name, a government representing close to 100,000,000 Chinese people. At the appropriate moment, gauged by the steps taken in Chungking, the name can be assumed.

These developments have not yet gone so far that there can be no turning back. At San Francisco the Chinese delegation includes one Communist and two leaders of the Democratic League—an indication that political cooperation has not yet been entirely disrupted. Conciliatory forces may still be able to exercise some influence at the People's Political Council in July.

The issues in China are of such dimensions that they transcend the bounds of domestic Chinese affairs and require a new approach at the highest international level. No settlement is possible without frank and full diplomatic consultation between Washington and Moscow. The diplomatic initiative rests with the United States. Current developments in China are a direct result of the recent shift in American policy from the mediator's role, encouraging political agreement, to that of exclusive support for Chungking. It is still possible to retrieve the situation, but the time is growing short. The brief span of a few months may be all that is given.

## The Northwest Needs a CVA

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

AT THE end of the war the people of the Pacific Northwest face not a problem but an emergency of major proportions. In this region "post-war adjustment" will require a redistribution of population, a rapid development of resources, and a general reorganization of the economy. Other war-industry centers are concerned with shifting war workers to peace-time jobs; in the Northwest the problem is to create the jobs. The talk here is not of "re-conversion" but of possible "new industries," not of "adjustment" but of "regional development."

Before the war the Northwest was one of our newest and brightest domestic colonies. Since it was a new colony, it did not show the outward evidences of exploitation. The average per capita income was relatively high. The inventory of untapped resources was impressive. The signs of blight were negligible. Yet to a large extent the region was living on its capital. The basic resources from which much of its income was derived were in some cases being rapidly depleted. It was not a "problem area," but it had many serious problems. It lacked balance. It had too much

water in some sections and not enough in others, power going to waste in some places and a lack of power in others. Its industries lacked diversity, its pay rolls stability. The situation was made worse by the fact that powerful interests, profiting from the region's undeveloped colonial status, were opposed to industrial expansion. Only after a bitter fight with these interests was the expansion obtained that the war emergency demanded.

Since the beginning of the war the labor force of the region has increased 50 per cent, its income 100 per cent, and its population 10 per cent—the interior areas have been drained of man-power by the war industries on the coast. The chief war industries are shipbuilding, aircraft manufacture, and light metals, in all of which severe cut-backs are clearly foreseeable. New jobs must somehow be found for 500,000 war workers and veterans. That means that the region will have to produce goods and services worth \$8 billion a year and provide around 2,300,000 jobs of one kind or another. Since its resources are largely undeveloped, an enormous investment program will be required. And since

the economy is already out of balance, there must be unified regional development. Both requirements demand a plan and a planning agency.

The immediate problem, of course, is to cushion the effects of the cut-back period. Plans for this transitional period already exist. The governors of the Northwest states, through the Northwest States Development Association, have approved blueprints for fifty large-scale post-war projects requiring an investment of \$600,000,000 and providing employment for perhaps 100,000 workers. Fortunately these plans are all related, directly or indirectly, to the development of the Columbia River basin. If the projects can be constructed quickly and as a single planned development, they will greatly accelerate the general industrial and agricultural expansion needed to provide permanent jobs. For example, developments and installations necessary to open up 1,000,000 acres of Columbia Basin lands for the settlement of an estimated 50,000 farm families, previously projected over a period of fifteen or twenty years, might be completed in half the time if intelligently planned and efficiently carried out by a regional development corporation. Such a project cannot be accomplished through the cumbersome device of interstate compacts or by agencies directed from 3,000 miles away.

Plans for the larger task are also in existence—on paper and in broad outline. The seven-point program calls for (1) preparing some two and a half million acres of land for development; (2) developing a river transportation system to provide the Inland Empire with cheap and easy access to the sea; (3) harnessing the region's vast sources of hydroelectric power; (4) exploring its untapped mineral wealth; (5) creating, in the Northwest, a power technology region in which the electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries of the West would be concentrated; (6) protecting and stabilizing the fishing and lumbering industries; and (7) exploiting the unlimited possibilities of the region as a tourist and recreational area. Each and every phase of this plan depends upon the unified development of the Columbia River and its tributaries; power is the key to the entire accomplishment. As Dr. Paul J. Raver, administrator of the Bonneville Power Administration, has said, the task is "one of unification—involving the unified, balanced development of a river basin and its resources, envisioned in their entirety."

Plans and planners are not lacking in the Northwest, but at the present time there is no organization responsible for the prompt and efficient execution of either the transitional or the long-range part of this program. Existing agencies cannot undertake the task; it requires a single regional authority with broad powers and a high degree of autonomy. The Bonneville Power Administration is not such an authority. It is an administration and a power-marketing agency, not a development corporation. It was created by Congress in 1937, within the Department of Interior, for the sole purpose of transmitting and wholesaling power generated at Bonneville. Three years later it was given, by executive order, the function of selling the power generated at Grand Coulee. While it is empowered to construct and operate a transmission system, it has no authority over unified stream development or control. Even as a power-marketing agency,

it lacks authority to acquire existing private generating and distributing facilities. Nor are its functions in any way related to industrial research or economic progress.

As a great river system, the Columbia calls for unified, organic development. All of the uses to which the river can be put should be considered in relation to the development of the region as a whole. A planning function of this kind cannot be laddled out, a little to this agency, a little to that. Yet the federal agencies that are interested in some phase of the Columbia River are too numerous to mention. The aims of these agencies are not identical; their functions overlap; and with the exception of the BPA they are operated from Washington as straight-line government agencies. It is fantastic to assume that these various agencies, with a little gentle compulsion, can prepare a master-plan for the region or that they could jointly execute a plan if one were prepared. The matter of soils, for example, is of interest to several agencies within the Department of Agriculture; but it is also of interest to the Bureau of Reclamation, the General Land Office, the Geological Survey, the Grazing Service, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. River development concerns the Bureau of Reclamation, the Geological Survey, the Bonneville Power Administration, the Army Engineers, the Fish and Wildlife Service. Water and minerals concern a host of agencies. Underlying the whole problem, moreover, is the important question of enlisting the cooperation of state and local agencies. With whom are these agencies to cooperate?

To meet this general situation, Senator Hugh Mitchell of Washington, on February 4, 1945, introduced Senate Bill No. 460 to create a public corporation to be known as the Columbia Valley Authority. The corporation would be governed by a board of three directors to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Within two years after its establishment the authority would be required to submit a master-plan for the development of the region within certain policy objectives set forth in the act. The functions, facilities, and personnel of the Bonneville Power Administration would be completely absorbed in the new organization, and other federal agencies would be authorized to participate in CVA activities on mutually agreeable terms. The CVA would have the right to acquire private power facilities, but it would be obliged to sell the distribution facilities so acquired as rapidly as possible to local public agencies. It could obtain the transfer, upon request, of other water-controlled projects. It would be authorized to dispose of surplus electric energy in accordance with established federal policies. It would have broad powers in relation to power development, flood control, reclamation, and navigation. Whether Senator Mitchell's bill is preferable to the Murray bill or the Rankin bill may be debatable; that it can be improved and clarified is altogether probable; but that some such authority is needed is indisputable. It is needed not only to ease the shocks of the cut-back period and to unlock the resources of the Northwest but to protect the more than \$325,000,000 which the federal government has already invested in public projects on the Columbia and the \$110,000,000 it has invested in war plants in the region.

*[This is the first of three articles on the development of the Columbia River valley.]*

## *Fascism Without Mussolini—III*

BY MARIO ROSSI

IN A short while, perhaps even as this is being written, a new government may be formed to replace the present Bonomi provisional government in Italy. On the Italian political scene two forces are striving for full recognition—the British-sponsored monarchy, the real force behind a government whose members, while they may be fundamentally honest men, are weak and have no right of final decision, and the vigorous Committee of National Liberation now in control in northern Italy.

In the south today, where the situation is dominated by a monarchist bureaucracy supported by the Allies, there is economic chaos—even bare necessities can be bought only on the black market—and a deep feeling of frustration prevails. In contrast, the north is ready to face the task of bringing about economic and political recovery. Before the arrival of the Allies the partisans had named new provincial governors (*prefetti*), mayors, chiefs of police, and members of the municipal councils. A Central Economic Commission, composed of representatives of the five parties of the Committee of Liberation and of two workers' organizations, had been appointed to coordinate the economic activity of all northern Italy. This commission is divided into four sub-commissions—for finance and credit, industry and trade, agriculture, and transport—whose members are working hard to salvage the machinery and materials which the Germans had no time to destroy, and to start the great task of industrial reconstruction. There can be no doubt that the spirit of initiative shown by both management and labor in northern Italy will find a solution for the many grave industrial problems once the necessary supplies of coal and raw materials are obtained.

The Committee of Liberation has undertaken a complete reorganization of the Fascist judiciary to make possible the punishment of political criminals. There will be no repetition of the judicial farce seen in the south, where top Fascists were allowed to go free so that they might support the monarchist movement. Strict discipline is enforced to maintain law and order. Colonel Charles Poletti, Allied military governor for Lombardy, has stated that "there were no violations of the law or looting, and mopping-up operations of the Fascists and their followers proceeded in orderly fashion." The local administrations set up by the Committee can function because they have the confidence of the population. For example, when the provincial governor of Turin took office, the city had only a three days' supply of flour. Fifteen days later, although there had been no lack of bread, flour stocks had increased. The *prefetto* explained that the peasants used to hide their wheat from the Fascists but now voluntarily bring it in to the pools.

The Allies were forced by the exigencies of the situation in the north, as they were not in the south, to allow offi-

cially appointed by the Committee of National Liberation to remain in power. Otherwise the administration of the whole region would have been disrupted and very serious trouble would have followed. The problem now is whether north and south will join together against reaction, and if so, how. The anti-Fascists hope that a new government may be able to unify the country; they consider the Bonomi Cabinet incapable of doing so. "The Bonomi Cabinet," declared Rodolfo Morandi, president of the Committee of National Liberation, "is weak in composition, feeble in determination, and without a clear policy. Besides the persons directly responsible for appointments, there is a certain something which we are at a loss to understand, and we wonder whether it should be tolerated in the new democracy which we intend to set up. This 'something' is the atmosphere of the government, a sleep-inducing vapor which kills the determination to get things done. It weakens all serious efforts to deal with current affairs with the necessary energy." Even more outspoken was a broadcast by Radio Milan, which is controlled by the Committee of Liberation: "Woe to us if we follow the example of the south. Victory would be crippled, the fifth column would raise its head, and chaos would return everywhere. No, the north, which found the energy to expel the enemy, will also find the energy to frustrate all tricks, from whatever source, designed to save the ruins of a regime which no longer represents Italy."

After such a clear statement members of the government went to northern Italy to try to reach an agreement with the Liberation leaders. At this writing the consultations are still proceeding. The Committee of National Liberation has laid down the following conditions:

1. That a new government be nominated by the Central Committee of National Liberation, acting as the body replacing Parliament in conformity with the fundamental pact of unity among the anti-Fascist parties and with the still valid legality of the constitution.
2. That the National Liberation movement of the north, which organized, directed, and carried out the uprising, be granted representation befitting it as the interpreter of that part of the Italian people which fought for the defeat of Germany and the destruction of Fascism.
3. That the legislation of the Italian state be complemented, with suitable modifications, by legislation enacted and applied by the Committee of National Liberation in the north as the delegate of the Italian government, especially as regards the purge. The purge must be carried out with speed, severity, and firmness, in accordance with legal principles and social legislation.
4. That the heroic Freedom Volunteers be received into the Italian army and into the police forces, which must form the main part of the armed forces of the country.
5. That the new government proceed immediately, in

agreement with the National Committee of Liberation, to set up a provisional Representative Assembly for the purpose of preparing the electoral laws for the election of the Constituent Assembly.

6. That the president of the Council of Ministers (Premier) and those in the government give concrete guarantees that the aforesaid principles will be applied.

If these conditions are accepted, the monarchy will not be able to exert unfair influence in the elections.

There is evidence that the southern anti-Fascists are just as eager to reach a solution. Pietro Nenni, the Socialist leader, has emphasized the "close connection between the problem of the republic and that of agrarian reforms and between the socialization of big industrial combines and Italy's democratic rebirth." And the Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, who has too often indulged in compromises, now declares that Italy must obtain "within a few months, by means of a freely elected Constituent Assembly, a new democratic and progressive republican political organization." Even the Christian Democrats, through their official organ *Il Popolo*, say that Italy "must break entirely with the past, with methods now dead and buried, with the privileges, the egotism, and the obtuseness of former leading classes which are now bankrupt." Thus all the anti-Fascist parties with a mass following agree with their brothers of the north in demanding a speedy solution of the government crisis; they all insist that Bonomi must go, that a new government must be formed, and that a Constituent Assembly must be called as soon as possible so that they can legally express their intention of living under a republican form of government.

Naturally Italians are puzzled by the delay in revealing the Allied armistice terms. If the terms are honorable, every future Italian government will make it its duty to fulfil them, but if the courage, sacrifices, and democratic intentions of the Italian people have made them no longer applicable, the Allies had better modify them—for the sake of justice and of friendly relations in the future.

The present divergence between north and south, which has been artificially created by Allied support of the monarchy, will persist as long as the British continue their present policies and the Allied armies remain in Italy. The more the Allies build up the conservative elements in the south, the more violent will be the process of unification. It is time England stopped bolstering reaction, a policy it used to defend by alleging military necessity, but can now justify only as political expediency. It is time to recall that Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin declared on October 13, 1943: "The three governments . . . pledge to submit to the will of the Italian people after the Germans have been driven from Italy, and it is understood that nothing can detract from the absolute and untrammelled right of the people of Italy by constitutional means to decide on the democratic form of government they will eventually have."

Italy is now facing a decisive period. The new government will have the task of conducting the elections for the Constituent Assembly, which will decide the form of government Italy will live under. The Allies apparently hope to pit the hungry and politically immature masses of the south against the north and thus to give the monarchy a chance

to survive. There is no real split in Italy today; the south also has its great liberal leaders. If the Allies will only refrain from interfering, Italy will struggle toward a solution. And it will be an Italian solution.

[This is the last of three articles by Mr. Rossi on political conditions in Italy since Mussolini's fall.]

## Franco Skulduggery

ON February 25 two minor Falangist officials were killed at the party's headquarters in Cuatro Caminos, a workers' section of Madrid. There were strong suspicions that the men were assassinated by the Falangists themselves, as an excuse for a huge demonstration. That night sixteen political prisoners were put to death in reprisal. A day of mourning for the murdered officials was ordered, and there were street parades of Falangists, many of them wearing the insignia of the Blue Division. A number of workers were beaten up by Falangist bullies. The funeral cortege was in the most flamboyant Nazi-Fascist tradition.

On April 24 ten men and a woman were brought to trial for the murder of the two Falangists. It was a "public" trial, but only a limited number of newsmen and others, all admitted by card, were allowed to attend. The accused were not permitted to testify or to make any statements but were "represented" by a military officer; five military judges presided over the trial. Confessions alleged to have been made by all the eleven defendants were read. After six hours the judges pronounced sentence: eight to die (one by the garrote), two to be imprisoned for thirty years, the woman to be imprisoned for twelve years. Subsequently one of the death sentences was commuted to thirty years, and the woman was pardoned. It is not clear whether the garrote sentence was changed to death by shooting.

One of the men condemned to death was José Vitini, a high officer in the F. F. I. When the news of his arrest reached Paris, the resistance groups asked the government of General de Gaulle to intercede, and several notes were exchanged between Paris and Madrid, the French government requesting clemency for Vitini because of his services to the "cause of democracy." He was executed, however, accused of being the brains of the murders and also of the bombing of the pro-German newspaper *Informaciones* and of the German Tourists' Bureau (both of these bombings are believed to have been arranged by the Falangists).

On May 3 Ambassador Armour cabled Washington that the "Communist" leader of the gang, Vitini, had received a fair trial with counsel, and that the United States should avoid involvement in the matter.

No bigger bluff has been attempted anywhere in recent months than Franco's efforts to whitewash his regime through phony "amnesties" and the "restoration" of civil rights. Spanish propaganda is now stressing the Bolshevik bogey and the airport concessions to the United States—both imaginary. Meanwhile thousands of Nazis who have fled from Germany with their capital and cartels are comfortably established in Spain out of reach of the Allied occupation authorities.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## PARIS REGAINED

BY CYRIL CONNOLLY

Or l'heure actuelle comporte cette question capitale: l'Europe va-t-elle garder sa prééminence dans tous les genres?

L'Europe deviendra-t-elle ce qu'elle est en réalité, c'est-à-dire: un petit cap du continent asiatique? Ou bien l'Europe restera-t-elle ce qu'elle paraît, c'est-à-dire: la partie précieuse de l'univers terrestre, la perle de la sphère, le cerveau d'un vaste corps? —VALÉRY: "La Crise de l'Esprit."

I

A VISIT of three weeks is not long enough to estimate the political situation in any country. In this article I confine myself to the literary life of Paris, for that is what I know. But some kind of political foreword is necessary. Here are one or two rough, unready observations. In France the right are very right, the left are very left—there is no shading off via a sentiment of national unity. The rich are very rich, the poor are very hungry, and rich and poor, left and right, have all suffered equally from the cold. There are four political groups—the right (mostly ex-Pétainists, but not necessarily collaborators), the De Gaullists (mostly of the right, but spirited and patriotic), the resistance (mostly of the left, but including many progressive Catholics), and the Communists (once of the resistance, but now operating as a separate party). The right, which once supported the Marshal, now supports De Gaulle but sees in him a bulwark of property and religion. It includes many ex-Vichy civil servants who are said by the left to obstruct De Gaullist measures which are at all revolutionary, and even to sabotage them so as to provoke a left-wing rising which will swing the government ever more to the right.

The De Gaullist government includes some very able people and shows every sign of knowing how to increase its prestige and its hold. De Gaulle himself is regarded as being above politics: he is the symbol of the new France and is held universally in the greatest respect. There is nothing to support liberal apprehensions that he seeks a military dictatorship or a coup d'état; on the contrary he has shown genuine republican statesmanship. He is, however, obsessed with the question of French prestige and determined to obtain recognition for France as a great power. He is more concerned with the occupation of Germany, the retention of Syria in the French empire, and the representation of France at the peace conference than with internal affairs.

The resistance movement is suffering from erosion. It has to keep together Socialists, Catholics, liberals, patriots, and utopians, and resist indirect pressure from both the right and the Communists. Its popularity is still immense; its powers less so. The Communists are pursuing a long-time policy. They are the best-organized of the political parties; they have ministers in the government and newspapers in which to attack it; they play up their resistance record as the *parti des fusillés* and wrap themselves in the tricolor. They are

as nationalistic, or as patriotic, as De Gaulle himself, and will stand for revolution, if at all, only in their own time and in their own way. So far France has avoided a civil war (which no European country can afford) in spite of the crucial nature of its internal problems—food, fuel, transport, unemployment, returned prisoners, nationalization. There is every likelihood that it will continue to avoid one and be steered by De Gaulle through a general election.

This election will certainly lead to a great victory of the left, for the right, in spite of its power and its money and its publicity, has somehow lost its hold. It is too compromised. On the other hand, no one party is likely to have a complete victory, and the pattern for the future is likely to be on the lines of the *Front Populaire*, with De Gaulle presiding over a government of Socialists, Communists, Radicals, progressive Catholics, and generous-minded young patriots, all tinged with the ideals of the resistance. When France's prestige has been reestablished, nationalism may abate, and this new France will then be a very pleasant place to live in and desperately in need of its tourist trade to build up the pre-war standard of living. Paris is more beautiful than ever, and comparatively little of the country has been spoilt—except most of Normandy, Marseille, Toulon; otherwise nothing has changed. France is luckily able to feed itself, when transport becomes normal. The black market is still a universal necessity; it cannot disappear until an efficient system of rationing is introduced, and that presents enormous problems in a country where the peasant and the farmer have learned to blackmail the towns. The most striking absence in Paris, besides that of the tourists, is of the large rich Champs Elysées middle class, with their roadsters and dogs and mistresses and noisy wives in all the big expensive cafes. They have vanished from the dowdy, beautiful city much as their counterparts have vanished from London, and Paris is nicer without them. Everyone you meet there now is nice—warm, friendly, intelligent, and exciting. And that is what civilization should mean.

There have been three "literatures" in France since the war began: the literature of collaboration (Giono, Céline, Montherlant, Drieu, etc.); the literature of occupation, that is, of those researches into the human spirit, the meaning of words, myths, and symbols, the fate of man, at a level sufficiently deep to evade the political censorship—such are the writings of Sartre, Camus, Paulhan, Ponge, Valéry, Blanchot, Brice-Parrain, Queneau, Michaux and most of the poetry of 1940-44; and lastly the literature of resistance—literature of indignation and revolt which could only be published clandestinely and which has a political end in view—such are the brochures of the Editions de Minuit, *Lettres*

*Françaises, l'Eternelle* and the poems of Aragon and Eluard.

In Paris now no one reads the collaborators. The literature of the occupation, however, is widely commented on and discussed, while the literature of the resistance, which had of necessity been unduly inflated, is now finding its proper level. These distinctions are not absolute, for nearly all the "occupation" writers were also in the resistance movement. One might say that Aragon and Eluard remain "resistance" writers, and continue to fight the battle—which for them has become the policy of the Communist Party; so, but not as Communists, do Camus, Vercors, and Debu-Bridel.

When I went to Paris in January, these groups were just beginning to confront each other. The heavy snow and the emptiness made the city resemble Vienna or Petrograd; it was so unlike the Paris of 1939, or the Paris of the Liberation, as to awaken no nostalgic memories of civic exaltation, and yet the visit made me indescribably happy. London seemed utterly remote—a gray, sick wilderness on another planet, for in Paris the civilian virtues triumph—personal relations, adult-minded seriousness, aliveness, love of the arts. Literature is enormously important there, and one sees how pervasive, though impalpable, have become the irritable lassitude, brain fatigue, apathy, and humdrumery of English writers. At that time the presence of the Germans could still be felt; in the café chair where one sat they had sat not so long before. The three familiar waiters of the Flore, the same as in 1939, had tales to tell of them. There were even people who wanted them back. We were taken to see one of the worst of their torture chambers, the shooting gallery at Issy, a closed shed where not one survivor had been found to explain the meaning of the innumerable impressions of hands on the asbestos walls, or the huge furnace for blowing in hot air—only the bullet-torn posts at the end with the blood-stained rags attached to them told a clear story. The sensation of utter evil and misery which emanates from these human abattoirs, as from the dungeons of the Montjuig in Barcelona, still impresses on the visitor something of the ghastly atmosphere of occupied Paris; as do those streets, the rue des Saussaies, du Cherche-midi, de Lauriston, where the Gestapo had headquarters.

It is by bearing such an impression in mind that one can best appreciate the literature of the resistance, and the wonderful courage and resource of those who wrote, printed, and distributed its flaming broadsheets. Some of these are outstanding. There is Jean Tardieu's beautiful lament on Oradour, which begins:

Oradour n'a plus de femmes  
Oradour n'a plus un homme  
Oradour n'a plus de feuilles  
Oradour n'a plus de pierres  
Oradour n'a plus d'église  
Oradour n'a plus d'enfants  
Plus de fumée plus de rires  
plus de toits plus de greniers  
plus de meules plus d'amour  
plus de vin plus de chansons . . .

Then there are Cassou's sonnets written in prison at Toulouse—where Malraux was also interned and where his resistance manuscripts were destroyed. There are accounts of the horrible effects of imprisonment—Cévennes, "Dans

la prison," Minerois, "Le Temps mort," an account by Claude Aveline of a woman's life in prison—and "La Vie des martyrs," the appalling document issued by the doctors in the resistance movement, *pathologie des prisons allemandes en France*, which gives a bald and scientific account of the commonest illnesses, disabilities mental and physical, and grave disorders which follow on imprisonment, starvation, and the various kinds of torture inflicted by the Gestapo and Vichy police on their victims.

The finest words on the movement, apart from the poems of Eluard and Aragon, are perhaps the conclusion of Paulhan's little essay, "L'Abeille."

When I was a child [he writes] I was surprised, like all children, to find so many more deaths than births chronicled in the newspapers. (The explanation—which comes to one later—is obviously that it is rare, except for kings, to be very well known at birth, while for a famous man there is nothing left but to die.) I had also the feeling that all that was going to change, the world was for the new-born, and we would all die much less.

It was an absurd sentiment, yet I think a common one, and it renders more bitter the tragedy of an age when we learn every month of the death of a friend. One was in the *maquis*; his body, already swollen, has been found in a field. Another wrote pamphlets, another delivered messages. They were riddled with bullets while they sang. Others before their death underwent tortures more horrible than the sufferings of cancer or lockjaw.

And I know there are people who say they died for very little. A single piece of information, not always very accurate, wasn't worth that—nor a pamphlet, nor an underground newspaper even, not always very well edited. To those we must make reply: "It's because they were on the side of life. It is because they loved things as insignificant as a song, a flip of the finger, a smile. You can squeeze a bee in your hand till it suffocates. You will be stung before it smothers." "It's not much," you may say. No, it isn't much. But if it didn't sting you, for a long time now there wouldn't have been any more bees.

[To be continued]

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Advice on Japan

THE BEST TRIBUTE that can be paid to John M. Maki's book, "Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure" (Knopf, \$3), is that it represents a "grown-up" study of Japan. It is written by an American of Japanese descent who knows his way around in Japanese source materials and uses them to good purpose. It will not please those who would whittle down post-war policy to curbing "militarists" and tinkering with Diet reforms. Maki poses the problem in its true dimensions. He gives a full-length portrait, for the past and for the present, of the economic oligarchy that has always gone hand in hand with the political oligarchy in Japan. In the early centuries the two were identical; in modern times their common interests have fused them into a single oligarchy, despite surface indications to the contrary. Never have the people of Japan, its ordinary working men and women, been able to throw off the crushing weight of this regime "of the few, by the few, and for the few." In defeat their chance may come. Maki's prescription is quite clear: to give the Japanese people a helping hand when their revolt against the oligarchy breaks

out. One sentence should be placed at the head of every AMG textbook: "It will be a test of statesmanship of the victorious United Nations to allow Japan to pass through a period of disorder and dislocation that is necessary if she is to be really defeated and if she is to rebuild herself along sane and orderly lines in the future." This is the book to be read by those who feel instinctively that we shall not create a decent Japan or peace in Asia by hastily restoring to power a regime headed by the Emperor and dominated by the monopolists, the landlords, and the court bureaucrats.

T. A. BISSON

## Fiscal Policy and Social Welfare

THE THESIS that national fiscal policies can and should contribute to social welfare is making more rapid progress among economists than with the general public. No one has yet succeeded in presenting the subject in such a way as to capture the popular imagination.

In "Taxes Without Tears" (The Jaques Cattell Press, \$2.50) Dr. Donald Bailey Marsh of Barnard College has obviously chosen a title which he hopes will have popular appeal, but he has not fully lived up to it. After an excellent and smoothly written introduction, the book shifts rapidly into the style of a good economics textbook.

Even so, Dr. Marsh provides as good an introduction as any to the trends in economic theory initiated by Lord Keynes, Sir William Beveridge, and Professor Alvin Hansen. He has made some real contributions of his own, especially in separating from current ideas about full employment a number which are irrelevant and others which are related but not inherent in the basic problems.

The third part of the book, dealing with inequalities in the distribution of wealth, deserves special attention for its clear distinction between the social and the purely economic aspects of this question.

The author explicitly recognizes that the function of an economist as a professional man is to devise and explain techniques of finance, production, and distribution through which social ends can be achieved, rather than to be an advocate of particular social objectives. For the most part, he has kept within this limitation, and has therefore dealt somewhat sketchily with the political action which is necessary before improved economic techniques can be put into practice.

CHARLES E. NOYES

## Smollett as Traveler

TRAVEL BOOKS are as old as literature, and their history is filled with the illustrious from Xenophon to Lawrence. George M. Kahl, in "Tobias Smollett: Traveler-Novelist" (University of Chicago Press, \$2.75), presents us with an entertaining study of Smollett in the light of this tradition. Like most of the early English novelists, Smollett combined the travel book with fiction and a satiric insight into persons, places, and society. Mr. Kahl is concerned with all three and their invigorating interdependence.

"To understand Smollett the novelist it is essential to know something about Smollett the traveler. His biography sheds light on his prose fiction, but his prose fiction only confuses and distorts his biography." Aided by Thomas Row-

landson's wonderful pictures of Captain Weazel, Rod Ransom, Humphry Clinker, and their friends, Mr. Kahl proceeds to disentangle the confusion with a gusto worthy of his subject.

JOHN SENIOR

## FICTION IN REVIEW

SINCE all I knew of Marianne Roane's first novel, "Years Before the Flood" (Scribner's, \$2.50), was that it had won an Avery Hopwood Award—scarcely a recommendation, in my experience—I took up Miss Roane's book from the random pile of new novels on my desk with little hope of pleasure. After a bad opening page, however, it began to grow upon me that here was one of the most charming and gifted novels, certainly the most charming and gifted first novel, I had come across as a reviewer. Warm, witty, lively, resourceful, with an admirably relaxed taste and intelligence, this story of life in a small German town in the year 1927 is the sort of surprise I had almost stopped looking for—a novel which is not at all great nor was for a moment intended to be (a matter I bring up only to forestall the disappointment of those readers who in their search for greatness are always being taken in by the pretensions of the profoundly mediocre), but which introduces a new and beginning writer in a modest, thoroughly enjoyable literary performance. That it is an unfashionable performance is, for me, a large part of its merit. Nowadays, when writers are as intelligent as Miss Roane their novels are almost invariably bookish, derivative, introspective, over-sensitive, self-regarding—any of these things or all of them. Remarkably, Miss Roane's novel is none of them.

Miss Roane works on a limited canvas: her subject is the Rant family and a few of their friends and neighbors. The Rants get up in the morning, they eat their meals, Mr. Rant works in his toy factory, Mrs. Rant shops and fusses, their daughter Magdelone goes to school, a cousin comes from America, the Rants entertain at coffee in the garden, the town celebrates the Pentecost festival. The period of time covered by the narrative is a few months in a year when Nazism was only beginning to crystallize a threat; Hitler's name is never mentioned. Yet in purely novelistic terms—that is, in human terms—"Years Before the Flood" conveys more of a sense of past and impending German catastrophe than almost any other novel I have read. Compared, for instance, to Katherine Anne Porter's "The Leaning Tower," Miss Roane's story, while it makes no attempt at the formal, almost regal, art of Miss Porter's novelette, communicates rather better, it seems to me, the juicy, commonplace fact of life in even a bitterly frustrated, self-pitying country. The Rant family and its circle are muddled and various, fine and awful, like any family group in whatever political circumstances. Because she refuses to see people as political principles, Miss Roane sacrifices a certain easy grandeur; she also sacrifices the moral superiority to her characters which, ironically enough, has become the stamp of literary art in our recent democratic culture. Instead, Miss Roane writes out of a free and equal creativeness. Except for the one character, the Nazi Dr. Steinhuber—and even he is far more created

than the usual stereotype—she is fond of all her people, sound or unsound, strong or weak, simply because she found them worth writing about. Nor are there any surrogates for its author in "Years Before the Flood," not even the child Magdelone, who may be Miss Roane as a little girl. Not afraid of being judged by the fictional company she keeps—and what courage that would seem to take these days!—Miss Roane produces a company so vividly human that it can only do credit to her mind and heart.

Similarly off the modern style is Miss Roane's willingness to waste time on scenes and dialogue which have no apparent purpose in the narrative plan. "Years Before the Flood" is not a long book, but it gives a nice impression of prodigality; it knows that no less interesting than the central design of life is the detail of its decoration. The descriptions of the toys in Mr. Rant's factory, the conversations over the Rant coffee table, a passage like the discussion of Mrs. Rant's headaches—these are unnecessary, if you will, to Miss Roane's basic dramatic theme, but their wit and friendliness are the very stuff of fictional life. Perhaps it is because the modern novel refuses us this casual amplex and instead feeds us only what it thinks good for us that it is losing its power truly to nourish our spirits.

I have no idea what we can look forward to from Miss Roane as a novelist in the future. It is always chancy to prognosticate from a first novel, and in the case of "Years Before the Flood" there is a circumstance in the book's manner of publication which makes a forecast even more difficult. I refer to the fact that I do not know whether Miss Roane's novel is wholly invented or autobiographical—and therefore do not know whether she set herself a very large task which she solved successfully or a smaller task which she solved successfully; and obviously there is much surer "promise" in a novelist of proved powers of imagination than in a novelist who may be dependent upon personal experience. The biography on the dust-jacket of the book clearly implies that Miss Roane was born and bred in Michigan: "Marianne Roane started writing in the spring of 1943, when she was doing graduate work in English at the University of Michigan. Before then she had attended Jackson Junior College in her home town, Jackson, Michigan, and had planned a career as a painter . . ."; and this implication is strengthened by the unusual wording of the conventional flyleaf formulation: "The characters and incidents of this narrative derive solely from the author's imagination and have no counterpart in life." At the end of the story, however, when the Rant family emigrates to America—Magdelone is then thirteen—it occurred to me that I might have been misled in my assumption that this was entirely, and therefore amazingly, a work of the imagination. A telephone call to Scribner's did not clarify the situation to my satisfaction, and I can only hope that if Miss Roane did spend her early years in Germany the information was not suppressed, by either Miss Roane or her publishers, out of the unpleasant and unfounded belief that this would be prejudicial to her novel. Novels by German-born authors have appeared in this country all through the war, and I have no slightest recollection of any discrimination against them. Indeed, our attitude toward German-born writers and artists is one of the happier aspects of our war-time culture.

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## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

MY MIND has kept reverting to Virgil Thomson's remark, in his review of Dr. Alfred Einstein's "Mozart," that he was bothered by Dr. Einstein's "assumption that his undoubted familiarity with the facts of Mozart's life, including his working habits, gives him automatically a true insight into the meaning of Mozart's works," when Dr. Einstein's actual statements about the works, as Thomson demonstrated by quotation, showed no such insight but rather a "pontifical obscurity." For Thomson was dealing effectively with a very important contention of the musicologists.

The German musicologists now among us exhibit a consciousness of having conferred on the American musical public great benefactions for which it has not shown itself sufficiently grateful. As they see it, they brought the light of knowledge to a land dark with ignorance. There was music here; but there was not the understanding of music possible only with the *Musikwissenschaft* which they brought. And among their benefactions,

then, have been the books—Leichten-tritt's "Music, History, and Ideas"; Lång's "Music in Western Civilization"; Einstein's "Greatness in Music" and "Mozart: His Character, His Work"—which have provided the public with that knowledge indispensable for understanding: the knowledge of the historical development of music as part of all history; the knowledge, then, of the place of a particular piece of music in the development of musical forms and styles, of its relation to all that was involved in its creation—the personal character of its composer, the social and cultural events, forces, and tendencies of the period by which he was moulded as human being and artist.

The first thing to say about this is what Thomson points out about Dr. Einstein, and what is true of the other musicologists: they claim that knowledge is necessary for understanding, but their own knowledge about the relation of the style and form of a piece of music to all that was involved in its creation does not enable them to say anything about the piece that reveals any insight into its nature and effect as a work of art. If their knowledge is necessary for understanding it certainly is not sufficient. But the second thing to say is that the knowledge can be interesting and valuable in and for itself, but it is not necessary for understanding of the music. And, indeed, the third thing to say is that in practice it impedes understanding.

E. M. Forster has made some pertinent observations on what he calls the "pseudo-scholar's" treatment of literature. Forster writes: "Everything he says may be accurate but all is useless because he is moving around books instead of through them, he either has not read them or cannot read them properly. Books have to be read (worse luck, for it takes a long time); it is the only way of discovering what they contain. A few savage tribes eat them, but reading is the only method of assimilation revealed to the west. The reader must sit down alone and struggle with the writer, and this the pseudo-scholar will not do. He would rather relate a book to the history of its time, to events in the life of the author, to the events it describes, above all to some tendency."

In line with these are some of Balanchine's observations in the February-March issue of *Dance Index* that I mentioned a while ago. A ballet, he says, like a symphony, can be understood without any verbal introduction or explanation; it is not something to read in a program-note but something to see, as the sym-

phony is something to hear. "The important thing in ballet is the movement itself, as it is sound which is important in a symphony. A ballet may contain a story, but the visual spectacle, not the story, is the essential element. The choreographer and the dancer must remember that they reach the audience through the *eye*—and the audience, in its turn, must train itself to *see* what is performed on the stage. . . . Dance is continually in motion, and any single position of a ballet is before the audience's eye for only a fleeting moment . . . but memory combines each new image with the preceding image, and the ballet is created by the relation of each of the positions or movements to those which precede and follow it." And while Balanchine does not state it, the musical analogy is obvious: the audience must train itself to *hear* each new sound, which memory combines with the ones that preceded it, building up the impression of the entire work.

When I say that the knowledge the musicologists consider necessary prevents understanding of music I mean that it interposes itself between people's minds and the music, and substitutes itself for the music in their minds. Look around at a concert: you will see people not listening to a piece of music but reading about it—about its meaning, its style, its relation "to the history of its time . . . to some tendency." Talk to people who have heard a piece of music: you will find that what they listened for and got from it is its relation to period and tendencies. Read an announcement of a summer music institute: you will discover that it is going to be concerned with music in relation to periods and tendencies: "The music of the nineteenth century was dominated by the virtuoso and the mass orchestra. Seen as an expression of its time the worship of the virtuoso on the concert stage was a part of the hero-worship of this age. The development of the mass orchestra coincided with the process of industrialization and mass production. . . . The amazing return of contemporary music and musical practice to polyphony and to the smaller ensembles of chamber music may be understood as a reflection of the awareness of the fundamental task that confronts our generation: the reconciliation between individual and society."

And that brings me to the fourth thing to say. The musicologists have done the public a disservice not only by distracting its mind from the music, but by distracting it with material as bad as what I have just quoted, or what I

## Alcoholics ARE Sick People

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quoted from Einstein's "Mozart" recently, or what I quoted from Leichtenritt's "Music, History, and Ideas" a few years ago: "There seems to have been something fateful in the circumstance that Mozart died in 1791 just as the French Revolution reached the height of its frenzy. Haydn, robust and masculine, could still profit from the tremendous changes that were brought about by the French Revolution. Mozart, more delicate, extremely sensitive, with an almost feminine susceptibility, was so thoroughly a child of the dying rococo age that the rude shocks of the French Revolution were a fatal blow to him." Or, finally, what there wouldn't be space to quote from Lång's torrential "Music in Western Civilization."

Mr. Agee's film column will appear as usual next week.

## CONTRIBUTORS

MICHAEL FOOT, formerly acting editor of the London *Evening Standard*, is now on the staff of the London *Daily Herald*, for which he reported the San Francisco conference. He has just left for England, where he will stand for Parliament in the constituency now represented by Leslie Hore-Belisha.

T. A. BISSON lived in China for four years. He is the author of "Japan in China."

CAREY McWILLIAMS is the author of "Factories in the Field" and "Prejudice: Japanese Americans."

CYRIL CONNOLLY, editor of the English literary monthly *Horizon*, sent us advance proofs of his report for that magazine of his visit to Paris. He has added, for American publication, the introductory section on the political situation in France.

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## Louis Fischer Resigns

Dear Sirs: For over a year I have noted a steady deterioration in the quality of the political matter printed in *The Nation*. Many months ago I talked to the editors about this. In several conversations I gave specific instances of situations misinterpreted, facts omitted or distorted, and opportunities missed. Since then I have read *The Nation* with great care, and I now find its presentation of current events so misleading that I cannot continue as its contributing editor. I therefore ask you to remove my name from the masthead.

I have been associated with *The Nation* for twenty-two years, and I take this step reluctantly. In past months I have gone to my typewriter several times to write a letter of resignation. Each time I deferred the act partly out of my personal regard for you and partly because I hoped the magazine would change for the better. But week after week *The Nation* has failed to assess correctly or reflect adequately the crucial period through which the world is passing.

*The Nation* now has a "line" and omits whatever does not fit the "line." It seems to have lost its zeal for conscientious reporting. I had learned to expect better things from *The Nation*. There were years when you rose up to smite any power that wronged the weak, when your words rang out against every injustice and against the suppression of small, weak states by mighty neighbors. You used to enter the lists against all forms of expediency and appeasement. Now it depends on who is appeased. Now you devote a casual half-sentence to key world problems which expediency impels you to ignore.

Emotions and ideology can be partisan; reporting and interpreting should not be. We owe it to our readers to tell them the truth.

It is a long, long time since I have read in *The Nation* a profound, many-sided, unbiased analysis of the world situation, an analysis uninhibited by consideration for sacred cows or a "line."

*The Nation* has become very much like a party organ. Its opinions appear to be determined by loyalties to organized groups and to governments rather than to principle. *The Nation* is playing politics; that distorts its policies.

When I saw, more than a year ago, which way *The Nation* was going I asked to be invited to editorial conferences. The request was ignored. As contributing editor, I was not once consulted. I never had any responsibility for the policies of the magazine. You know this. But I want your readers to know it. That is why I am resigning as contributing editor and writing this letter.

We have won the war against Nazi Germany. Great tasks face the world. It is a time for bigness. It is a time for courage in criticism and for bravery in leadership. It is a time for penetrating clarity and hard hitting. I miss these qualities in *The Nation*. What an opportunity you are losing!

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, May 16

[We are sorry to say goodbye to Louis Fischer, sorry he believes *The Nation* has "deteriorated," sorry he feels we have slighted him. It would be foolish to pretend that we do not differ from him on many important issues; in spite of this we thought there was some common ground left. We are sorry to find there is none.

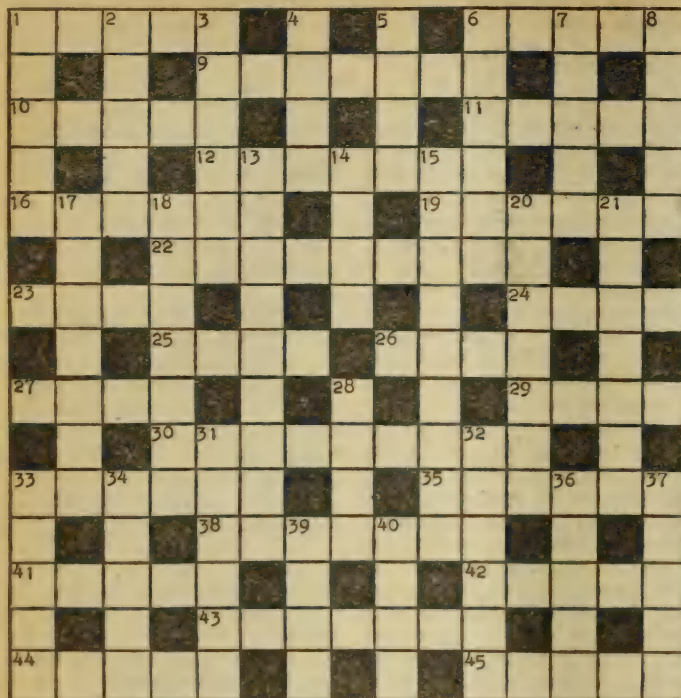
Mr. Fischer's letter would be easier to answer if it were not so resolutely vague. Why he felt it better to insinuate than openly to state the causes of his disapproval, we do not know. Certainly it is not the frank sort of attack one has the right to expect from a person who prides himself, as Louis Fischer does, on being blunt and outspoken.

We assume that he is charging *The Nation* with bias in favor of Russia and of communism. We suppose he considers that to be our "line." We suppose he is charging us with ignoring, out of "expediency," the bad behavior of the Soviet Union; of failing out of policy to denounce the Soviet power for suppressing "small, weak states." We suppose all this, not out of a vivid imagination or a guilty conscience, but because we have heard Mr. Fischer express these opinions in conversation—frequently and without any literary vagueness.

We can only answer quite flatly that he is wrong. We say what we believe. What we believe is very different from what Mr. Fischer believes. We do him the courtesy of assuming him to be honest.

It is clear that we are more concerned than Mr. Fischer is about the growing hatred and fear of Russia in the United

## Crossword Puzzle No. 118 by JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Jacob called him "a lion's whelp"  
 6 Doctor with an inside practice  
 9 "Flowery" ----- he despised"  
 (Coxe on Walpole)  
 10 Cars must be when new (two words,  
 3 and 2)  
 11 Somebody's sweetheart  
 12 "Serenely full, the ----- would  
 say, Fate cannot harm me, I have  
 dined today" (Smith)  
 16 Re Monday's dinner, better do it  
 again  
 19 Lorraine's inseparable companion  
 22 A tableau, as the artist sees it  
 (two words, 5 and 4)  
 23 Feel the lack of a maid  
 24 How much ground would you expect  
 a dentist to tackle?  
 25 Put upon  
 26 The cast may be seen in these  
 27 Stuff some watch "crystals" are  
 made of  
 29 Colorful girl in everybody's eye  
 30 Soil that will grow something be-  
 sides vegetables—but what?  
 33 What you must do to the bottle be-  
 fore you can commune with the  
 spirits  
 35 Not cap-a-pie, but almost the  
 opposite  
 38 Don Carlos looked a better bet to  
 him than Queen Isabella  
 41 A fowl remark  
 42 "Little Burr"  
 43 The Duchess of Gloucester (*Henry  
 VI, Part II*)  
 44 Bird we tip off to you  
 45 Boys and girls

## DOWN

- 1 He is expected to swear  
 2 Aunt in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*

- 3 Diogenes looked for such a man in a  
 barrel (an odd place to look)  
 4 It looks as though the foreign judge  
 might be acid  
 5 The lout, upset, calls for balsam  
 6 "Which way I fly is hell; -----  
 am hell" (Milton)  
 7 Famous Milanese opera house  
 8 "All hope abandon, ye who enter  
 here," he wrote  
 13 Her spring song is famous  
 14 Common complaint, getting old after  
 a hundred  
 15 They are proof against depression  
 17 Eli is on (anag.)  
 18 Slake  
 20 Trippers' summer paradise  
 21 Birthplace of the "Little Corporal"  
 23 There's nothing in this dye stuff  
 31 Necessary even in a quiet game of  
 tennis  
 32 Professional witness who always  
 makes an impression  
 33 Take off your hat  
 34 Indian woman who almost gives a  
 cry of fear  
 36 Greek island  
 37 Fancy finding the lowest form of wit  
 in London's *Charivari*!  
 39 Regretted not being rude  
 40 An "Oil" comes from the burial-  
 place of Scottish kings!

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 117

ACROSS: 1 GABRIEL; 5 CALIBAN; 9  
 IDIOT; 10 COMPOUNDS; 11 WATERFALL;  
 12 ICING; 13 GERVASE; 15 TREACLE;  
 17 MEDDLER; 19 TONNAGE; 21 UPSET;  
 23 PEPPERPOT; 25 THINNINGS; 26  
 UTICA; 27 DISTEND; 28 SWEENEY.  
 DOWN: 1 GRIMWIG; 2 BLISTERED; 3  
 INTER; 4 LACTATE; 5 CAMELOT; 6 LAO-  
 DICEAN; 7 BOND; 8 NOSEGAT; 14 ALL  
 AT ONCE; 16 CHAMPAIGN; 17 MOUNTED;  
 18 REPINDED; 19 TYPISTS; 20 ESTUARY;  
 22 SWISS; 24 ETUDE.

States. We think those feelings threaten the whole hope of a long peace growing out of this war; by generating similar feelings in Russia they multiply the unilateral and arbitrary defensive acts of the Soviet government. We believe this anti-Russian mood is not justified by Stalin's basic demands and interests, so far as we know them. We believe Russian policy is primarily a security policy, not an imperialist one; it can become dangerous to the world, therefore, only if Russia decides that the other major powers are plotting against it and takes steps, unilateral and aggressive steps, to offset the threat of a new anti-Soviet alliance.

We have not hesitated to criticize Russian—or Communist—policy when it has connived at the support of fascist or reactionary forces, as when Stalin recognized, and the Italian Communists accepted, Badoglio and the King in Italy. But here, too, we made a distinction between acquiescence in a policy for which Britain and the United States were primarily responsible and initiation of such a policy. Russia has not initiated reactionary policies. It has been high-handed; it has intended without any concealment to make sure that governments set up in its area of interest were "friendly." It has not used its power to keep fascist or ex-fascist kings and generals and admirals in office.

It would be dishonest to pretend that we think Russia's foreign policy is as great a threat to the basic purpose of destroying fascism and its political and economic roots as is the foreign policy of Britain and the United States. With all its arrogance and its open contempt for diplomatic procedure, Russia is carrying through an anti-fascist policy. This is so evident that it hardly needs documentation. The fact is, Russia's own national interests demand the extermination of the whole fascist set-up, whereas the Western Allies plainly fear that the revolutionary changes certain to follow a clear victory of the anti-fascist forces in Europe—and in the Far East as well—would endanger their control, economic as well as political. Indeed this is the heart of the matter. Russia can afford to ally itself with the forces of change; it can afford to wipe out the remnants of fascism and pre-fascist feudalism. Because Russia is not defending a crumbling status quo.

To develop fully *The Nation's* position would take more than this brief space in the letter columns. We shall take the occasion to do it properly in an early issue. Here we can only offer this summary answer to the charges Louis Fischer did not quite make.

—THE EDITORS OF THE NATION.]

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

TO APPOINT A NEW SECRETARY OF STATE A fortnight before the opening of the San Francisco Conference would have been practically impossible, but it would have been still more harmful to allow any diminution of his prestige while the conference was still under way. President Truman quite properly answered the continuous rumors of changes in the State Department with an energetic and repeated denial. But now that the conference is approaching an end, the early replacement of Mr. Stettinius by a stronger man, stronger in character and in knowledge of international affairs, seems inescapable. Not only the grave incident of Syria but dozens of minor conflicts all over the world, including the mounting difficulties in Argentina, confirm the fears so often expressed in these pages. It was easy enough to predict that the refusal of the major Allies to wage the war as a political war would leave the world at the end of hostilities overcharged with explosives. Yet even the most critical observers could hardly have anticipated that in the third week after V-E Day French and British forces would be on the verge of open conflict. Neither could one have imagined that some irresponsible in the State Department would risk panic in San Francisco by talking "off the record" about war with Russia "in ninety days." As I. F. Stone stresses in his Washington letter this week, the situation demands clear and strong diplomacy such as our State Department is unable now to provide. It is not only a question of replacing Mr. Stettinius. Nothing will be achieved unless, at the same time, the Department is purged of men like James Dunn, who have been directly and personally responsible for the worst maneuvers of appeasement and ultra-reaction. The military war is over in Europe, and the only weapons left in our hands for the political battles ahead are diplomatic competence and a strategic, decent, democratic line. As long as the State Department remains unchanged, we are disarmed and unprepared.

★

A NEW CRISIS DEVELOPED IN SAN FRANCISCO last week-end as a result of Russia's opposition to the formula, worked out by the Big Five, for diminishing the veto right of the major powers. For the third time during the conference it was suggested that the Russians were merely trying to find an excuse to quit the projected world security organization altogether. Other rumors circulated to the effect that the conference might recess and leave the task of ironing out further difficulties to the various technical committees, with the delegates meeting again several months from now under more auspicious circumstances. Both interpretations lack any foundation. Although the Russians may

drive the other nations into a state of desperation by delays and objections, they are no less interested in creating a world organization and writing a world charter. Certainly they will never accept responsibility for breaking up the conference. As to the possibility of a recess, nothing more absurd could be suggested. If events continue as they have been going, the atmosphere will be even more charged at the end of 1945 than it is now and the chances of reaching an agreement will be smaller. No matter how imperfect the results of the conference may be, the main thing, as we have so often said, is to create some link among the nations to keep them together in the difficult period ahead. This is the first essential. If the machinery of world organization were in existence today, for example, the conflict in Syria might have been resolved on an international basis instead of developing into an acrimonious dispute between two of the chief Allied powers. Once the world security organization is established, its deficiencies can be corrected on the march.

★

T. V. SOONG'S ELEVATION TO THE POST OF President of the Executive Yuan is rightly being hailed as a favorable development in the troubled Chinese picture. Dr. Soong, a liberal and a moderate, is head of what might be called the pro-United Nations faction of the Kuomintang in counterdistinction to the anti-democratic cliques headed by Ho Ying-chin and Chen Li-fu. Soong's appointment as chief of the executive branch of the government is at the same time a bid for American favor and an effort to mend relations with Russia, for Soong is about to visit Moscow. Some observers have gone farther and interpreted his appointment as preparing the way for an early settlement of the long-standing dispute between Yen-an and Chungking. This interpretation ignores the many signs of deterioration in Kuomintang-communist relations, which were discussed by Mr. Bison in last week's issue of *The Nation*. While the Hurley-Wedemeyer policies, aided by the opening of the Burma road, have undoubtedly brought about an improvement in relations between Washington and Chungking, this gain has been offset by a growing suspicion of American policies in Yen-an and increased antagonism between Chungking and Yen-an. The new Premier is undoubtedly anxious to find a basis for unity among the rival Chinese factions, but it is doubtful whether his position within the Kuomintang is sufficiently strong to offset the still powerful divisive influence of Ho Ying-chin and the CC clique.

★

IN RELEASING JUDGE VINSON'S LETTER TO Senator Wagner supporting the full-employment bill, the White House has fired the first shot in the most important battle of the domestic front. As a Senator, Mr. Truman joined with Senator Murray last December in indorsing the principles involved in this bill, and as President he is obviously determined to make it a major Administration objective. This public indorsement by Vinson will tend to disarm the Southern Democrats and right wingers in the party, for the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion carries great prestige among them. Judge Vinson deserves the highest praise for his letter. He wrote that the American people would not be content "to go back to protracted large-scale unemployment," that "given an adequate market" industry

would furnish the jobs, that "we cannot, however, leave the creation of that market to chance," and that the direction of this task must be taken over by government. The full-employment bill seems to us to offer the best approach to this problem within the traditional framework of American democratic processes, and we hope all progressive organizations will throw their weight behind it. Wagner, Murray, O'Mahoney, and Thomas of Utah are sponsoring it in the Senate, a bloc of seventy under Patman of Texas in the House. It is no exaggeration to say that the fate of this bill will be decisive for American prosperity and world peace.

★

INSIGHT INTO THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S struggle at San Francisco for a full-employment clause in the United Nations Charter is provided in a White Paper just issued at Canberra. After reviewing the failure of Australia's pre-war employment policies—which were chiefly of a nationalistic character—the White Paper stresses the need for sustaining both domestic and foreign markets. It emphasizes the importance of each country's doing all in its power to maintain employment within its own territory as a contribution to world stability. As the primary means for achieving this, the Australian government underlines the necessity for maintaining spending at a high level in order to stabilize the flow of private capital investment. It points out that public spending is the only effective means known for offsetting variations in private expenditures, and insists that a comprehensive program for public improvement must be ready for implementation whenever private spending and employment show signs of declining. For the immediate post-war reconversion period it proposes a national housing program, a land-settlement plan for ex-service men, a public-works program, and a program for expanding the key industries that have been undermined by the war. Australia's economic position after the war may, in some ways, be more difficult than that of the United States, but basically the problems involved in maintaining full employment will be the same in all the democratic countries. Success or failure will depend chiefly on the wisdom and vigor of government leadership. It is good to know that in at least one country that leadership is already being demonstrated.

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THE INTRICACIES OF NEW YORK CITY POLITICS have baffled us more than the maze of power relationships in the world of nations. It appears, however, that the plot has been unraveling satisfactorily since Mayor LaGuardia made his dramatic withdrawal from fusion and confusion. The villains and heroes have become distinguishable. The coy Tammany bosses have at last reached the foregone conclusion that a good candidate is needed if they are to elect a mayor in a town that has had LaGuardia for a decade or so. Kelly, Flynn and Company couldn't have done better than pick O'Dwyer: it is too bad that O'Dwyer couldn't have done better than pick Tammany. The A. L. P. backing may modify the taint of machine oil, but it will add its own special brand of flavoring. The Republicans, binding to themselves such allies as the Liberal Party and other independent groups, will, if they are wise, run a candidate of the stamp of McGoldrick, Stanley Isaacs, or Newbold Morris. Any one of them could be counted on to carry on the best of the LaGuardia tradition

—without the temperament and without, alas, the color. Which makes us doubt if any candidate now being talked of can hope to fill that spot on WNYC at one o'clock on Sunday. Perhaps, New York would do well to rehire Fiorello as a permanent feature on New York City's own station. He would be above politics, but he would still be free to discuss such favorite themes as the Fulton Fish Market, racetrack and other gamblers, meat racketeers, and the band in Central Park Mall. Before he knew it he would be straying off Manhattan Island itself, out into the great world in which Gabriel Heatter makes his home. Nothing would stop our mayor if he really put his heart into the job of radio commentator. And then perhaps he wouldn't mind if McGoldrick or somebody ran New York.

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THE ALUMINUM COMPANY OF CANADA OPENS its post-war books with an order from Franco's Spain for two thousand tons of aluminum. This is what we learn from a reliable Canadian source. The Canadian government has granted a priority for the shipment of the metal. In addition to this initial order the Spanish government has asked for annual deliveries of ten thousand tons, many times the total pre-war consumption of Spain. Even the Aluminum Company is a bit perplexed and is investigating what is behind—and ahead of—these orders. We should like to know too.

✱

A VICIOUS EXAMPLE OF HOME-GROWN RACISM is contained in a report of the California Senate's Committee on Un-American Activities. It has special reference to Japanese problems in the state, and despite an apparent objectivity, its effect is to give covert sanction to individual acts of violence against American citizens of Japanese descent. Under the heading "Subversive Activities" it states in an accusatory tone that the Japanese have rarely entered into the life of American communities and that "little Tokyos" have invariably developed wherever a substantial Japanese population existed. The committee is convinced that the Japanese settled on the West Coast by design. According to its report, Communists are the main defenders of Japanese Americans. Other organizations seeking to defend their rights, says the report, are quasi-religious and pacifist in character, of the type that is also concerned with the welfare of conscientious objectors. The California committee, judging by this report, is following faithfully in the footsteps of its spiritual parent, the Dies committee, which up to now has held the record for un-American activities.

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FROM ROME THE STARS AND STRIPES SENDS ITS own answer to those super-patriots of the West Coast. An editorial on June 3 points to the record of American troops of Japanese origin: "Nobody has asked where their grandpapas came from." Reciting the battle log of the much-decorated 100th Battalion of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team—Cassino, Anzio, the Appennines, France—the editorial recalls the occasion when it rescued a battalion of the Thirty-sixth (Texas) Division that had been cut off by the Germans. "That was a pretty tough assignment," the *Stars and Stripes* says, "a pretty dirty job in the hands of Americans whose families were being beaten up by the families of other American lads."

## Let's Finish the War

THE article by Max Hirschberg in this week's *Nation* gives a timely warning against falling into the same mistakes we committed after the First World War in letting the war-makers survive to plan new crimes against humanity. The article is a fitting sequel to the recent piece by Rustem Vamberg, which suggested that we would involve ourselves in legal tangles of the most inextricable sort—and end by letting top war criminals go scot free—if we attempted to judge war guilt in terms of recognized codes of law. It is better to regard the war as unfinished business until the aggressor is destroyed as well as the aggression checked. For war is a form of international political action. It is used by an aggressor to achieve certain set political aims of conquest or domination. It is used against an aggressor to reestablish a secure international community. We have now stopped aggression in Europe; we have not yet eliminated the aggressor except in those few cases where an individual was removed by accident of battle or suicidal fright. We are now in grave risk not only of letting the aggressor go free but of clothing him in white linen and giving him one of the chief seats at the feast.

Justice Jackson, just back from a European inspection and consultations with the War Crimes Commission in London, assures us that certain well-defined crimes—such as the ruthless killing of American prisoners in the Ardennes counter-offensive—will be quickly brought before tribunals. So too will be the specific crimes committed by Germans in the occupied countries. But these cases are comparatively simple compared with the great crimes of those who actually mapped out Hitler's diabolical schemes for exterminating whole races, destroying democracy itself, and invading neighboring lands. Even today these men think, not in terms of guilt, but of failure. Having failed, they are already planning how to succeed next time. We must make that failure so complete—and so personal—that there can be no third attempt. No German General Staff must be allowed to survive this war: so far generals have been treated as "officers and gentlemen." No Hitler propagandist must be allowed to slip through our fingers. And no industrialist or financier who supported Hitler on his road to power should escape punishment. The sooner Thyssen and Company leave Capri for St. Helena—to suggest the most lenient punishment—the better.

But at this very point we have grave fears that our policy against the aggressors will be compromised by devious international intentions. We don't like to see Robert Murphy in the post of top political adviser in Germany. For one thing, it is an insult to General Eisenhower, who, we suspect, understands something about the political as well as the military objectives of war. Sumner Welles, in a recent article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, warned that powerful pressure groups in this country, "particularly those which seek to embroil the United States and the Soviet Union and to bring about the resurrection of a 'strong Germany' as a buffer against Russia," will be favorably disposed toward a German "authority" as a bulwark against communism. The same groups will be quite prepared to see Germany's economic power reconstituted under the control of the old gang. They will

resist all attempts to encourage left-wing anti-Nazis assuming administrative control, first on local and then on provincial and national levels. We touch on this larger problem simply because the punishment of war criminals is actually more a political than a judicial question. It will be lightly skipped over if a pro-capitalist, anti-Soviet policy is followed: under such a policy top Nazi generals and industrialists would come in mighty useful. It will be carried through with expedition and rigor if we are determined to clinch victory in Europe in a genuine anti-fascist, anti-Nazi finale. Such a course, too, would bring us into the closest working agreement with Russia.

We have always insisted that indiscriminate punishment of the whole German people would be both unjust and senseless. The claim that the whole German people share in the responsibility for Nazism's crimes may be valid, but offers little guide to the effective imposition of punishment. The Russians are both more realistic and more just than our "hard-peace" advocates and our "soft-peace" Soviet haters. They make it quite clear that they are going to permit no one to escape who was directly involved in any atrocities committed against their people or who played an important part in the rise of Nazism. Beyond that their aim appears to be to sponsor the growth of a healthy Germany from which the virus of fascism has been completely eliminated. We could do worse than follow their principles. Perhaps that is what Justice Jackson intends doing if he has his way on the international tribunal. Perhaps that is the policy underlying President Truman's directives on Germany, so far kept secret. (We support Mr. Stone's demand in this week's *Nation* that they be published.) Certainly we should waste no more time in letting both the Nazis and some of our politicians at home and abroad know that in this war we are playing for keeps.

## The French Case

JUDGED by established standards of international behavior, General Charles de Gaulle has made an unanswerable case for France's position in the Levant. It is true, as he says, that under the terms of the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon, and specifically under the terms of the agreement signed in 1941 by himself and Sir Oliver Lyttleton, France is responsible for keeping order in those countries. It is true, too, that French recognition of Lebanese and Syrian independence was conditioned, specifically and in writing, on the negotiation of treaties defining the "reciprocal relations" of those countries and France, a fact the British several times formally acknowledged. It is further true, though General de Gaulle does not directly make the charge, that the British in the Levant supported if they did not instigate the so-called "revolt" in 1943, and forced General Catroux to change his policy at the point of an open ultimatum—deliberately humiliating the French before the entire Arab world. Not only this. The British compounded their offense by censoring the news from Lebanon and Syria so as to make it appear, particularly in America, that General de Gaulle had gone back on his agreements and intended to prevent the Levantine states from enjoying the independence promised them.

It is just as well to keep these facts in the back of one's head while reading the current stories coming out of the Middle East. General de Gaulle is quite within his rights in stressing them since today, as in 1943, the British are presenting the French to the entire world as brutal oppressors of helpless people.

And the Administration in Washington is giving London its full support.

Now none of this is intended to suggest that France is without fault in its dealings with the Levant. It seems, unless the British have again managed to twist the reports out of all semblance to truth, that the French military have



been inexcusably violent and brutal in suppressing the recent disorders, particularly in Damascus. It is also questionable whether new French troops, even to the modest total of 500 and even as replacements, should have been sent into the Levant while the treaty negotiations were still going on. This looked like intimidation whether it was so intended or not. And beyond all these minor items of method lies the basic question whether "special interests" of particular nations can continue to be guarded by treaty provisions—in other words, whether the familiar imperialist techniques will still be effective, particularly in the Middle East where nationalist feelings are backed by the ambitions of local politicians and the more and more aggressive Arab League.

But one can say all this without losing sight of the special animus behind Britain's intervention. The British have from the start done everything possible to oust French influence from the Middle East. To this end they have been willing to play with the fire of Arab nationalism and Moslem fanaticism. They are doing so today. Indeed it is hard to see how they can risk so many pious protestations in behalf of independence for the Syrians. For south of Syria lie Palestine and Transjordan, both tightly held by Britain under a mandate backed by substantial armed forces which have not hesitated to act on the first sign of resistance by Jew or Arab. On the southeast lies Iraq, bound to Britain by a treaty similar to the one France seeks with the Levantine republics and, in addition, occupied since the rebellion of 1941 by British troops. Next to Transjordan is Egypt, also tied to Britain by a treaty which provides naval bases and garrisons at strategic points. Indeed, the more one studies the political map of the Middle East the less noble and disinterested appears Britain's intervention on behalf of the Levantines against the French. Put more plainly, the British in the Levant sound like hypocrites and smell of oil. We warmly support General de Gaulle's suggestion that the whole problem of the Arab states be thoroughly canvassed by the Big Five. Such an inquiry would turn up fascinating facts about the techniques of economic and political imperialism as practiced by all the great powers at the close of this war to end exploitation and tyranny.

## The Threat of Deflation

THE extent of accumulated savings in the hands of lower-income groups will be a crucial question in forthcoming Congressional and administrative battles over reconversion. It will certainly be prominent in discussions of President Truman's message to Congress asking wider unemployment-compensation coverage during the reconversion period and an increase in maximum benefits to \$25 a week for twenty-six weeks. Though no comprehensive survey has yet been made in the field of war savings, it may be useful at this time to bring together whatever figures are available.

The closest approach to an authoritative study was made by the OPA some time ago. This analysis covered 1941 and 1942. It dealt with "consumer units," that is, single individuals or families, depending on the circumstances in each case. The OPA found that 66.4 per cent of all consumer units had incomes of \$2,500 a year or less, and that this group accounted for only 11.6 per cent of all savings. That this is still roughly true was indicated by the Department of Commerce survey of current business last September, which said, "There is reason to believe that a relatively high share of cash savings is in the hands of the numerically smaller higher-income groups. . . . For this reason accumulated savings cannot be counted upon as a major determinant of the level of economic activity in the transition period."

Similar conclusions are indicated by Richard A. Lester's "Providing for Unemployed Workers in the Transition," a study published by the Committee for Economic Development. Lester reports that "at least a quarter, and probably a third of the wage-earners' families in this country had by 1944 accumulated little if any savings in spendable form. Such families were for the most part in the lower-income levels . . . the ones most likely to experience severe unemployment in the post-war period." Conversely Lester finds that

"the bulk of the war-time savings by workers has occurred in families with an income above \$3,000 a year," families "less likely to experience an extended period of unemployment."

These figures support the President's plea that decent employment benefits "would serve as a bulwark against post-war deflation. By assuring workers of a definite income for a definite period of time Congress will help materially to prevent a sharp decline in consumer expenditures, which might otherwise result in a downward spiral of consumption and production." The maximum of twenty-six weeks at \$25 a week for workers "with dependents" is little enough for this purpose but would be an improvement over the sixteen-week maximum now in force in one-third of the states and the \$15 to \$18 a week which is the maximum payment available in most of them. The President's proposal also contrasts favorably with the \$20 a week for twenty-six weeks which is the maximum suggested by the Committee for Economic Development.

Mr. Truman's message indicates that he intends to carry on Mr. Roosevelt's domestic economic policies. It invites a real battle in Congress. Many men there speak for interests blind enough to prefer a sharp deflation after the war, in which they can beat down the wages of labor and weaken the trade unions. That this means lowered purchasing power and a smaller domestic market seems to be beyond their ken. We hope not only that progressive labor and farm organizations will support the President's program but that he will also be able to muster some strength among thoughtful business men. A substantial rise in the American standard of living is essential to the health and prosperity of an economic system whose productive capacity has been vastly expanded by the war. Any measures which will help maintain wages and with them the standard of living during the reconversion period are to the benefit of capital as well as labor. Both would suffer from a post-war deflation.

## Truman and the State Department

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 3

THREE recent events indicate that President Truman does not see eye to eye with the State Department. The first was the sending of Mr. Davies to London and of Mr. Hopkins to Moscow. Both men are poison ivy to the State Department crowd, and their mission, as did similar ones under Mr. Roosevelt, constituted a serious reflection on it. They implied that in critical situations Mr. Truman, like Mr. Roosevelt before him, feels that he can rely neither on the ambassadors in those two key capitals nor on officials of the department. The situations referred to were created in part by the department's own stupid diplomacy, which has antagonized Moscow while giving a blank check to London. The State Department is fully capable of creating trouble but not of correcting it.

The second event was Mr. Stettinius's radio address from San Francisco after a hurried trip to the White House for consultation. This address, as the New York *Herald Tribune* pointed out, constituted "a formal and almost point-by-point reversal of course on all those issues of policy concerning which Mr. Stettinius's pilotage has been most severely criticized."

The third was the release by the White House tonight of a letter from War Mobilization Director Vinson to Senator Wagner strongly indorsing the full-employment bill. The letter and the circumstances of its publication indicate that Mr. Truman as President intends to continue the fight he began as Senator, in the Murray-Truman report last December, for a full-employment economy after the war. This is in sharp contrast to the persistent opposition of the State



Secretary Stettinius

Department and the American delegation at San Francisco to the inclusion either of the "right to work" or "full employment" in the new United Nations Charter.

Mr. Stettinius is reported to have come to Washington in great alarm and to have left chastened. Obviously one of the issues on which he was put on the carpet was Argentina. He assured his radio audience last Monday night that our vote for its admission "did not constitute a

blanket indorsement of the policies of the Argentine government," but that on the contrary "with many of these policies both the government and the people of the United States have no sympathy." Arnaldo Cortesi's sensational report to the *New York Times* on Friday added to Mr. Stettinius's discomfiture. That afternoon, following an off-the-record conference with Latin American journalists, Mr. Truman took the unusual step of instructing a secretary to inform the press that when asked his views on the Argentine situation, he had replied, "I am not very happy about it."

Mr. Truman will find himself increasingly unhappy in this and other situations so long as he delays the essential task of naming a new Secretary of State and reorganizing the State Department. The dominant clique is as pro-Perón as it is pro-Franco. While Mr. Stettinius unhappily asserted that we would expect Argentina to fulfil the democratic pledges it made at Chapultepec, "seasoned Foreign Service officers" told the *Washington Post* "that this country has solemnly pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of any Latin American country." The department's real attitude was revealed when Nelson Rockefeller told a group of Congressmen privately that Argentina was our best "bulwark against Bolshevism" in this hemisphere. The danger in this Goebbels-like line is indicated by two news items. One is an Allied labor-news dispatch from Montevideo which summarizes a book, "German Capital in Argentina," newly published in Montevideo by Luis Victor Sommi. Sommi charges that German trusts continue to control some two hundred corporations in Argentina. The other is the piece of apologetics on Argentina which leaked out of the American delegation in San Francisco to Russell Porter and was printed in yesterday's *New York Times*. Among other evidences of Argentina's helpfulness, Porter cited its "announced intention to liquidate any Axis firms not actually producing for the Allies' war effort." This is curious, and would seem to provide Axis firms with an interesting loophole through which to avoid seizure and continue profitably in business. Is it possible that we or the British are giving war contracts to Axis companies in Argentina? Could be.

The Argentine question is not the only one on which Mr. Stettinius's expressions of regret and statement of pious generalities are less than convincing. His discussion of the trusteeship issue is inaccurate. His declaration that "freedom from want encompasses the right to work" may imply a change of heart on full employment or can be a formula for keeping it out of the charter on the ground that it is already implied by the Four Freedoms. Mr. Stettinius had hardly finished saying that "we must mediate" between the other great powers "when their interests conflict among themselves" before the State Department handed Great Britain another blank check in the Syria-Lebanon dispute. The unwillingness of either the United States or Great Britain to make any real concession to colonial aspirations on trusteeship makes our joint indignation over French demands for bases and other rights in Syria-Lebanon the rankest kind of hypocrisy. I would neither disparage just Arab grievances nor defend French colonial policy, but this whole affair has a strong smell of oil imperialism and of an Anglo-American attempt to muscle into a French sphere of influence.

Mr. Davies is said to have been instructed to tell the Foreign Office that Mr. Truman intends to carry on Mr. Roosevelt's policy, that is, presumably, the policy of playing a middle role between Moscow and London. Mr. Stettinius paid lip service to the same conception in his radio speech. But the actuality is that of an Anglo-American alliance with the leadership in London. This has a firm foundation in the system of combined boards, which have always been Anglo-American or Anglo-American-Canadian, and which continue to operate in raw materials, shipping, production, and other fields. There is Anglo-American military coordination through SHAEF, which some British sources would like to continue in the occupation of Germany and in the diplomatic sphere at San Francisco and elsewhere in the world; there is consistent Anglo-American teamwork, whether against De Gaulle, Moscow, or Tito. That is hardly the way to further the big-power "solidarity" of which Mr. Stettinius spoke.

A crucial test is coming in Germany, now that a co-ordinated control body is at last being set up. Mr. Truman has signed excellent directives on reparations, the occupation of the Reich, and war crimes—directives which could be the basis for eliminating both the war-making potential and the trouble-making personnel of the German state. But the influence of the War Department and of the British has succeeded in preventing the publication of these directives. Their disclosure would inform the American and British public on our plans for the future of Germany and provide correspondents abroad with a means of checking the actual policies being applied by our military-control authorities. Private information here and stories seeping into the papers indicate that the military are moving in the direction of rebuilding German industry. This, as I reported some weeks ago, accords with the views of key State Department officials obsessed with the idea that a strong Germany is needed as a bulwark against you-know-what, and a similar idea seems to be favored in British Tory and financial circles. If there were a really joint policy on occupation, our military and diplomatic authorities would find it more difficult quietly to circumvent the Truman directives, and they may therefore do their best to continue separate administrations with separate policies.

Mr. Truman will have to decide whether he intends to run the State Department or to be run by it. The inside crowd is adept at doing things its own way while giving the appearance of carrying out orders. The longer it stays in office the more dearly it may cost us. As for Mr. Stettinius, he represents a special problem because he stands next in line for the Presidency. He is a genuinely nice person who intends no harm and harbors no sinister designs. Had Mr. Roosevelt lived, he would have been the willing instrument of the President's policies. But Mr. Stettinius's limitations of knowl-

edge and capacity were appallingly obvious at San Francisco and created considerable amazement among other delegations. He doesn't have what it takes to be Secretary of State, and if anything happened to Mr. Truman it would be a calamity to have Mr. Stettinius become President. This opinion was shared privately by the overwhelming majority of newsmen and delegates at San Francisco. Mr. Truman owes it to himself and the country to replace him as soon as possible, and to give us that long overdue State Department housecleaning.

## The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

LESS than a month after the unconditional surrender of Germany, the pattern of the final phases of the war against Japan is becoming more and more clear. That war, spread over a vast four-thousand-mile arc in the Pacific, up through the jungles and peninsulas of Southeast Asia, and across the great, disjointed land front in China, has always seemed an uncoordinated jumble of tactical actions: a leap to an island, a jungle offensive, a retreat through mountains, an endless series of air raids on difficult targets. But now, with the closing of the fronts to comparatively lesser distances, and with the increased tempo of blows which are hurting the enemy badly, the strategic pattern emerges. President Truman's message last week on the extent and character of our war effort in the Pacific spells doom for the Japanese.

As they did against Germany, the Allies are moving in upon Japan from several directions. The spearpoint of their advance, and also the spearpoint of America's great industrial and military power, is at present imbedded in the restricted area of Okinawa, where the fighting is at its bloodiest. There is a further extension of that American power over the key cities of Japan, making itself felt in high-explosive and incendiary bombs. Away to the south, in the Southeast Asia Command, Allied ground, sea, and air forces are wearing away the enemy's strength and holdings in Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, Thailand. This region has now apparently been cut off from Japan by the Chinese offensive through Nanning toward the South China Sea. Chinese offensives on other sectors of the great land front are hastening the Japanese retreat to the coast and into the north; and behind all this, in Japan's rear, Russian offensive power is evidently being gathered to reinforce the two Red Banner armies of the Far East which are already poised around the rim of Manchuria. So the steel trap closes.

Causal relationships in this enormous encirclement-and-annihilation strategy are most apparent in the western Pacific; and it is deeply significant that this region is the closest to Japan and the one from which the most damage is now being done to Japan. The island conquests of the past year—Saipan, Tinian, Guam, Iwo—are paying dividends at Okinawa and over Tokyo. From the bases in the Marianas

thousands of troops and tons of supplies are carried to Okinawa's beaches, made safe en route by air patrols from the same bases; and from the same bases again, Superfortresses fly out on the mightiest demolition attacks in history, burning whole cities, destroying thousands of tiny sub-assembly workshops in the houses of war workers, and sending Japanese armament industry underground at an ever-increasing pace.

None of this is accomplished without cost. Okinawa continues to be bitter and bloody, marked by desperate hand-to-hand fighting in a muddy and restricted area where free movement, the sweeping maneuver of tank regiments and infantry brigades, is evidently almost impossible. Naha and Shuri will be remembered as terrible and expensive victories, won in the final analysis only by men who went in on foot carrying rifles, grenades, and flame-throwers against a fiercely resisting enemy who continues to learn the more effective employment of artillery and mortar fire, and who continues also not only to defend every position until the last man is dead but to counter-attack aggressively and cleverly.

Life at Okinawa has been more dangerous off shore than it has been on the island. In the first weeks of the battle more sailors were killed in the waters around Okinawa than soldiers and marines in the land fighting. For the first time in the Pacific the fleet has been operating over a long period within easy reach of enemy land-based aircraft which were not previously neutralized. In a less exposed situation during the Philippines landings, the fleet suffered heavily; now, with suicide planes coming down regularly from the home islands, damage and loss of life have reached their highest point to date. An immediate result was seen in the saga of the brave carrier Franklin, which had to steam extra thousands of miles to Brooklyn for repairs because West Coast shipyards had neither space nor personnel for the job. The navy's urgent request last week for 15,000 additional shipyard workers on the Coast is sufficient indication of how acute this problem has become; and as the fleet moves in even closer to the home islands, the need will become greater.

B-29 losses have risen at the same time, another index of

the rising fury of the Pacific war as it draws toward a climax. The aerial defense of Tokyo has improved markedly, to the point where nineteen of the big bombers were shot down in one attack last week. If the anti-aircraft barrage and the attacks of fighters were intense enough to produce that result, they were probably heavy enough to damage twice as many more Superfortresses to the point where they were unable to make the long, wearisome flight home again; and men who are forced to ditch in that broad sea cannot often be saved.

So it seems safe, though unpleasant, to say that the cost to Allied men and material will increase in direct proportion as we approach Japan's inner fortress.

That is just where the Japanese now seem to be headed. They withdrew from Nanning, key spot on the Manchuria-Singapore land route, without a fight. They are reportedly moving out of Wenchow, Swatow, and other east-coast ports in large numbers, leaving suicide garrisons behind them in the south to delay Chinese occupation and any American landings. There is a growing conviction in Chungking and at Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force headquarters that this is a real withdrawal, based on the enemy's conviction that he cannot hold Southeast Asia in the face of the successful British offensive in Burma, the complete cutting by Allied planes and submarines of the sea lane between Japan and Indonesia, and the comparative resurgence of Chinese strength at such places as Nanning and Foochow. One interesting development in this theater last week was the heavy bombing by R. A. F. planes of the Kra Isthmus, the narrow neck connecting Lower Burma and Malaya, which would seem to presage a British invasion of Malaya beginning at the isthmus and moving down toward Singapore and the Netherlands East Indies.

The Japanese know they cannot hold this region, and they may have decided to cut their losses, face the inevitable, and retire to their inner fortress for a last-ditch stand—again inviting comparison with the last year of German resistance. The Japanese may now mass between the Yangtze and the Amur, and hole up in the triangular inner defense zone comprising the home islands, Manchuria, and North China. This is a zone of great strength, and reducing it will be a bloody business. But there is no hope of survival for the Japanese if they choose to defend it to the end; we must therefore be prepared for many peace feelers and concerted efforts on their part to split the Allies so that they can escape with a negotiated peace.

#### NOTICE TO READERS

*Since the paper restrictions went into effect in 1942 the circulation of The Nation has risen by almost 50 per cent. In order to stay within our paper quota we have had to make a drastic reduction in our newsstand distribution. Now, in order that new subscriptions may be filled and a further cut on the newsstands prevented, The Nation will appear in 24- instead of 32-page issues every alternate week throughout the summer months. The Nation of June 16 will be 24 pages.*

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE BILL TO ENFORCE the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, as amended and improved by the conference committee, was adopted by the Senate on Wednesday of last week, and by the House on the following Friday. The Senate has done nothing else of importance.—*June 2, 1870.*

CONNECTICUT has at last undertaken to amend her laws by giving women the absolute control of their own property; and the "married woman's property" bill has also got through the House of Commons in England, so that if the cause of woman's suffrage does not prosper, the cause of justice to women certainly does. Mrs. [Harriet Beecher] Stowe has written to the *Woman's Journal* warning the friends of the suffrage against meddling with marriage and divorce, of which they are, justly or unjustly, accused by the public.—*June 9, 1870.*

DOUBTLESS IN ALL THE WORLD there is no man of letters whose death could cause so widespread and sincere a grief, and a grief that was in very many hearts so profound, as that caused by the death of Mr. Dickens on Thursday last. Not only wherever the English race exists—in the British Islands, in India, at the Antipodes, and round the world again to America, where he has given happiness to millions of readers—but also in almost every country, of whatever race, within the limits of civilization, the creations of his pen have for many years been familiar figures, and have attracted to him the strong liking as well as the high admiration of innumerable men and women and children. Every great author has multitudes of friends whom he has never seen and will never see, but there can none be named, of any tongue, who might not be taken away and leave behind him regret for his loss in fewer households than have been saddened, the world over, by the death of this most beloved of story-tellers.—*June 16, 1870.*

THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT is the effort to settle a great social contest. The one thing very apparent in it is the profound dissatisfaction of the laboring classes with their present condition—a dissatisfaction entirely apart from the question of what wages men should earn in a special trade—a dissatisfaction entirely novel in the history of labor contests in the United States. It is a dissatisfaction such as, in a greater degree of intensity, has before now convulsed the social fabric of older nations.—*June 23, 1870.*

"CONTRIBUTIONS to the Theory of Natural Selection: A Series of Essays," by Alfred Russel Wallace. . . . Nothing shows more clearly the pure spirit which characterizes the general intercourse of scientific men than this work of Mr. Wallace. . . . He says: "I have felt all my life, and I still feel, the most sincere satisfaction that Mr. Darwin had been at work long before me, and that it was not left for me to attempt to write 'The Origin of Species.' I have long since measured my own strength, and know well that it would be quite unequal to the task."—*June 30, 1870.*

# The New World Court

BY BARTLEY C. CRUM

[Mr. Crum was consultant for the American delegation at San Francisco and a leader in the fight for a new World Court. He is vice-president of the National Lawyers' Guild.]

San Francisco, May 30

WE MUST be realistic about the United Nations Security Organization. It is not a world state. It is not an organization to which any human being owes primary allegiance as against his country. It is at present an association of allied nations which have just concluded one desperate war and have determined to maintain their co-operation in peace in order that they may avoid another. The new World Court fits into the framework of the security organization and recognizes the fundamental purposes of that organization. In drafting a statute creating the new court the main goal of the conference was to obtain for it the confidence of the nations of the world. This goal, in my opinion, was attained.

The firm decision to reject the old Permanent Court of International Justice and to set up a new court had of course other consequences. For one thing, it was a rebuff to Franco Spain. It gives us hope that Franco Spain will be excluded from any part in the United Nations organization. After the admission of Argentina rumors were prevalent here that the next step would be to admit Franco. Many were fearful that our government, having suffered a spectacular loss of moral leadership through the Argentina affair, would lose all capacity for climbing out of the groove it was in, and that the groove would become a tunnel leading inexorably to the full admission of fascist Spain, to a new attempt to form a *cordon sanitaire* around the Soviet Union, in short, to the old merry-go-round. Argentina was the great gaffe of the conference. But it also scared a great many people who needed to be scared. The telegrams of protest from all over the nation against the action of our government will considerably increase the earnings of the Western Union.

Various states were members of the old Permanent Court which are not members of the United Nations. Chapter VII of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, however, declares (1) that members of the organization (defined elsewhere in the proposals as "peace-loving states") would be *ipso facto* members of the court, and (2) that states not members of the United Nations are not to be permitted to become members of the new court until they have met conditions which shall "be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council." The question whether the statute of the present Permanent Court should be retained hinged on the question whether former enemy and neutral states not as yet permitted to join the United Nations were to retain their membership in the World Court.

The view of Judge Manley O. Hudson, the present American representative on the World Court, is that the war has not disturbed the right of a state to be a member in good stand-

ing of the World Court. In his book "International Tribunals" Judge Hudson says: "... nor has any state ceased to be a party as a consequence of its participation in the present war. Neither the protocol of signature nor the court's statute creates any special obligations which could be suspended by war, and the history of the Hague Convention on Pacific Settlement, which continued in force during and after the war of 1914, without any specific act of revival, furnishes a precedent for saying that those instruments have not been suspended." Judge Hudson's conclusion is that "in so far as they exist, fifty-one states continue to be parties to the protocol of signature to which the court's statute is annexed."

There was, then, a cleavage of view which required a basic decision by those who were to draft the statute for the new court. To some extent the question of the degree to which the present statute should be modified resembled the problems faced at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, when the Founding Fathers came together to amend the Articles of Confederation. Their decision, like that of our own delegation at San Francisco, was that it was better to substitute an entirely new structure for the old than to attempt to work out thoroughgoing amendments. The Founding Fathers too wished to create confidence in a new governmental organization and to avoid prejudicing the new organization by maintaining governmental bodies which had not gained the respect of the people.

If the old World Court had been taken over by the new United Nations structure, it would have been comparatively simple to oust Germany and Japan but extremely difficult to find a formula which would exclude Franco. This point was not mentioned in the discussions, but it was nevertheless one of the factors which determined the settlement.

There was an extremely respectable body of opinion in favor of the retention of the old court. From December of last year to March of this year the American Bar Association staged twenty-five regional conferences in the United States and Canada under its own auspices and those of the Canadian Bar Association. Claiming unanimity of legal opinion—which is and was far from established—the *Journal of the American Bar Association* for April, 1945, came out in unequivocal support of "the continuance of the present Court of International Justice as the principal judicial branch of the new international organization." This attempt to force the world of today into the mold of an outmoded yesterday has met signal defeat here in San Francisco, a defeat which will, in my opinion, be confirmed next week in the final plenary sessions of the United Nations Conference.

In spite of pressure from the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Bar Association, the American delegation will support and the conference will accept the proposition that we need a new World Court. It will be a court which may reasonably and properly take over all that was valuable in the old World Court. At the same time it

will be entirely freed from the shackles of the past. Commendation for the result should go to Senator Tom Connally, Commander Harold Stassen, and the National Lawyers' Guild.

It showed no lack of respect for the record of the present World Court to suggest that the international adjudication which the world will find necessary in the post-war years can be facilitated by a more efficient statute. The World Court has handed down only thirty-two judgments and twenty-six advisory opinions since 1922. Yet in the same period some fifty thousand justiciable international cases were decided by temporary tribunals, arbitration commissions, and other bodies. A court for the United Nations should be readily available for the settlement of such cases. It would, of course, be as impracticable to take all international cases to the Court of International Justice as it would be to take all federal cases to the Supreme Court of the United States. Still, the new court must be, and will be, continuously available for the solution of the thousands of cases which arise each year involving problems of international law.

The victory on the court issue justifies no great self-congratulations on the part of those who won it. Perhaps it is only a skirmish won in the long fight for international justice and a code of morals which will lift all mankind from the jungle of fascist power politics. At least, though, we may hope that the new World Court can reach a level where justice, decency, and democracy will determine the relations of nation to nation, of man to man.

The fact is that the old World Court was simply the vermi-

form appendix of an unsupported organization—the League of Nations. Naturally it failed. The decrees of this new organization will be enforced by the Security Council. The power of the Security Council is based on the policy of unanimity of action by the major powers—stated another way, the veto power.

As Commander Stassen has said again and again to the consultants, it is basic in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals that the Security Council and not the court has the responsibility to settle disputes endangering peace. Reference to the court is only one way of settling such disputes. If the Security Council continues strong and, above all, unified, the new court will inevitably come to interpret social and economic law just as our own Supreme Court has done.

We should note that the new court may, at the discretion of the conference, take over from the Hague Tribunal whatever is valid and worth while in its precedents and formulas but may reject all those safeguards and defenses which reduced that court to something close to impotence during the past twenty-five years. The rulings of the new World Court for the next three or four decades may well reflect the practicality of primitive law enforcement, but they will at least be free from the dead hand of the past.

As I see it, the decision to create a new World Court rather than to revive a moribund old World Court is one of the more significant victories of the conference. It proves that the delegates are convinced that the world growing out of World War II must be quite different from all previous concepts.

## Hotel Behind the Lines

BY KAY BOYLE

I STOOD at the window of the hotel room and looked out across the stone balcony's balustrade, and beyond it across the square to where the river flowed, as clear and unbroken as peace itself, and marvelously impervious to demolition. A long way below, a dozen or more people stood waiting on the stones of the Arno's beach, faceless and sexless and scarcely human from the window's height, but more like the black, explicit letters of a caption saying: "Italian workers in blasted Florence waiting on the bank of the Arno to be ferried home at night." The rowboat for which they waited had no oars, but a cable had been strung across from the beach of shingle to the other bank, above which the cypresses stood, and the boatman's hands on the cable wove back and forth, back and forth, delivering the people who crossed with him into the brilliance of the sunset, and then weaving back across the shining surface of the water to the shingled beach again.

The front must be up there ahead, lost in the misty, bluish folds of the Apennines, but I did not believe in it yet. The roar of the airplane's motors had ceased in my ears just a little while before, and I believed now only in this pool of evening quiet that lay, unquivering, in the violent landscape

of war. The front must be up there, with men I knew fighting on it; but here there was no echo, no whisper on the water. Outside there was the cable, strung, a delicate vein, through the stillness, and the boatman's hands on it drawing the people home. In the room, on the table behind me, were the daffodils Mario had sent, with a card saying to telephone him as soon as I got in. *In a moment I will call him, I thought; in just a moment, when I've stopped looking at Italy. I will call him, and see him tonight, and get the shape and the taste of things from him. He'll have grown up since 1937—he'll be twenty-three-or-four, and as free man and a poet he has somehow managed to survive.*

And then the telephone rang quickly on the little table by the bed and I went to it, and lifted the mouthpiece and receiver up.

"This is Colonel Saret," said the Englishman's voice from the other end of the wire. "Stranger to you, I'm afraid. I just bumped into your name on the hotel list downstairs—"

"Oh, yes," I said, and there was silence for a moment.

"Once had a cousin from Dublin by the same name," said the Englishman's voice. "Occurred to me perhaps some member of the family. I thought I'd simply ask."

The family, my part of it, I said, left Ireland three gen-

erations back. I added that there wasn't much to say for it as a name, and the Englishman laughed.

"There was always Robert," he said. "Wintered here, you'll remember, studying the works of Galileo. I think it was 1642."

"They had a weakness for Italy," I said. "There was John, the Earl of Cork and Orrery. But probably we're none of us related."

"Oh, doubtless not," said Colonel Sarett. "Right you are. You'll forgive me for calling, won't you? I'm just down from the front for fifteen hours, covered with muck and grime." It might have been that he brushed at his blouse a little as he said it. "Awfully decent of you to have talked to me at all," he said.

After I had put the telephone down, I felt the singularly rebuking silence in the room. *You could have gone downstairs, sat five minutes at the bar with him, asked him what part of England he came from, not mentioned Greece, but spoken of the look of London ten days ago, and of England's inarticulated courage. You could have done it for five minutes between the time of arriving here and having dinner with Mario. You could have done it for the sake of the muck and the grime and the fifteen hours he has of absolution.* I stood looking out again over the roofs, and I thought of Eden in the House of Commons crying out like a petulant woman to the questions the Labor members put to him, but I laid the thought of that aside. There had been other Englishmen; there had been the quick, good words of the Air Marshal saying to me two weeks ago at lunch, "If the time has come when the common people of the world have found a party that can speak effectively for them, then, for God's sake, let the rest of us rid ourselves of our outdated prejudices—" and then the telephone rang sharply again.

"Damned cheek, I'm quite aware," said Colonel Sarett's voice, "but I've waited a decent interval, and I still want to say it. I want to ask you if you'd indulge in a spot of pity and come down and have a drink with me?"

I said I would. I told him I was in uniform; and in the lobby downstairs there was nothing but the military—the young, the middle-aged, the Americans, the British, the Scotch, the military without relief.

"It won't be easy to find you," I said.

"You'll know me at once," said Colonel Sarett from five flights below. "My hair is going thin—you know, receding from the temples. I'm definitely battle-worn, and there are bags under my eyes."

I said I would put a daffodil in the front of my blouse.

"You mean there are actually flowers blooming?" asked Colonel Sarett. I said there were lots of daffodils—cartloads of them in the streets. "Good God, flowers—flowers blooming in all this mud!" said Colonel Sarett. "I got in half an hour ago. I haven't had time to look around. . . ."

The lobby of the hotel was marble-paved and built tall and dark for Italian summers. It was not made for the military at all. Yet here was the sharp, nervous weariness of men on pass drawn taut as a wire from pillar to pillar, and the nameless hunger, the nameless thirst of tired men and lonely men sunk in the split leather of the armchairs, or pacing back and forth on the marble flags, or grouped in nothing as absolute as hope by the revolving doors. But the man

who stood quite alone, and a little nervous, by the central pillar, was watching over the heads of the others who passed him. He was watching the stairway that opened, fanwise, into the crowded place.

He was tall and rather slender, with a high, solid, broad chest—a man of forty-five it might be, standing there with the light, smooth hair receding from the peak of it on his forehead, and a clipped mustache on his lip. In spite of the wash of weariness across his face, his eyes were quick and sharp, and when he saw the daffodil, he came forward, pulling a little uneasily at his cuffs. He had not spoken of the campaign ribbons, the decorations, but they all were there.

"I say, this is sporting of you," he said at once. He must have washed his hands while he waited, for when he shook mine, the palm of it was fresh still. "We can have incredibly bad liquor in there, if you don't mind," he said, and he jerked his chin toward the door of the bar. We went in through the archway, past the uniforms standing, the uniforms seated, the great, featureless, khaki-clad army gathered in simulated ease, which turned its eyes to the sight of a woman coming, even though the look of the women loved and the women wanted had ebbed from the realm of possibility a long time back. We sat down on the only two seats that were left on the cracked, dark leather against the wainscoting. "You don't quite believe it at first—I mean, for the first few hours down from the front, you never quite believe you've got here," he said, and as he ordered the drinks of synthetic fruit juice and Italian gin, his eyes were on me carefully. "You're just beginning to get the feel of it when you have to turn around and go back again. This isn't a complaint," he added quickly, and there was the relentless military eye turned inward in self-interpellation as unflinchingly as it would have censored anyone else.

"Fifteen hours isn't much time," I said, and the drinks came then, and we lifted the short, thick-bottomed glasses, and Colonel Sarett said:

"Cheers." The taste of the drink was bad, and he ran his tongue in quick repugnance along his lip. His face was short-nosed and neat, with none of the soft betrayals of indulgence in it; the mouth was stubborn, exact, tenacious, above the cleft chin. "I could, of course, stay down longer," he said, and his eyes moved quickly to me again. "Twenty-four, thirty-six hours, you know. But I can't bring myself to it. Vanity, possibly. Probably nothing more admirable than that. But I have to get back," he said.

"You mean, the war is being won, and you're here—you're out of it for fifteen hours?" I asked, and he turned his glass in his fingers a moment.

"Lost causes," he said. "Damn it, they get under your skin." He looked up; his eyes, with the drink beginning to fuse in them, were brighter and less weary under his lightish brows. "I remember watching the planes go out over Maidenhead in the evenings—1940 that was," he said. "Old crates scarcely able to make the hop and drop their load. And even if they did get over—Norway and stuff—God knows how many managed to make it back. Isn't the smoke awfully thick in here?" he said.

"After the mountains, it's like that. It always is," I said. "You come down, and rooms seem smaller, and ceilings lower, and you can't breathe the air."

"It's true," said Colonel Sarett, and he ordered the second drinks. "That summer I'd watch them going out at night," he went on saying, "and I'd listen for them to come back at dawn. I was convalescing from a wound I got in the Dunkerque show, and I'd lie there listening for them. When they'd begin to straggle back, I'd start counting the sound of their motors, and they'd be coughing their hearts out as they came. No recent models, no modern gear, just crates that spring and summer, but they kept on going over, and coming back when they could come back—coming back with their tail rudders out, and their landing-gear gone, just to say that they hadn't cracked up in a foreign field—for God's sake, how did I get on to this?" said Colonel Sarett. "This isn't small talk, but I swear I've forgotten how it goes. I ought to be talking about your eyes, or the way you smile, but I've forgotten how to begin. I could tell you that the reason I telephoned the second time to your room was because of the sound of your voice, and that would be true. Or I could tell you that the sound of any woman's voice heard here is like a pain in the heart—not a sharp pain, but a really beastly, nagging pain, provided you have time for that kind of pain," he said. "Perhaps better to tell you about the mountain goats up there in the hills, just born you know, right in the middle of war, sticky as lilac buds. Rupert Brooke was awkward as hell with images—foreign fields and lilacs and all the rot. But still in 1940 those planes kept going out," he said, his stubborn voice jerking back to it again. "Theirs was the lost cause then, absolutely lost, there wasn't a chance. But we had faith in them. We had to, because there wasn't anything else, and, by God, they won—"

It was when the second drinks came that he began to say other things, looking straight down into the evil-tasting and evil-smelling liquor as if the revelation of all that he believed lay there. He said, speaking quickly, that he had his own army, the men of it his own men, his people, who bore their arms in personal loyalty. He had trained these men, he said, and he had armed them, and up there in the Apennines they were fighting their own individual and dogged war.

"Eighteen thousand of them," he said, and as he spoke the fire kindled slowly in his face, and the actual flesh of Lawrence of Arabia's legend seemed to come in its pride and passion to the table and take its place with us there. "They've fought their way up from southern Italy, because they want to be up there, they want to be in the show. They've kept the supply road through the snows open all winter, done it against all the odds the elements had to offer," he said, and his eyes were on me in unflinching estimate. "Two hundred and fifty more came up the pass yesterday, the survivors of a brigade of seven hundred operating in the northern Apennines," he said, "asking to sign up with me—tough, hard men who know there's a job of work to do, and who'll do it." He had been a soldier a long time, and there was nothing of forbearance in him, and the appraisals he made were perhaps nothing more than the soldier's assessment of what functioned adequately and what did not. "I'm talking about the Italians," he said. "Italian partisans."

He said he had begged, borrowed, lied, and stolen to get

their paraphernalia for them. He had got them dark blue ski suits from American stock; he had got them shoes, signing chits for them that he had no authority to sign. He had kept them covered, and fed, and armed, and fighting up there all winter. As he talked, he took his drink quickly down. In a minute, he said, in a minute he'd have a hot bath and a change of clothes, but it was not this that mattered. What mattered was that the others, the eighteen thousand of them, were up there in the dark of the mountains without him, wearing the uniform and the shoes of no regulation army, keeping the road clear of landslides, and enemy destruction, and high mountain snow.

He was saying these things at the little table in the smoke-filled crowded bar when the American major walked in and paused beneath the arch for a moment. There he stood, looking, in something not nearly young enough or lost enough for loneliness, for the sight of anyone he knew. When he saw Colonel Sarett's face, the relief came swiftly across the broad, square expanse of his own and lingered, the lines grew easy about his mouth, and he made his way through the uniforms toward us. Then he halted beside the Colonel, and he nodded to me, and he leaned over and stretched his arm across the Colonel's chair.

"I was thinking about you today, Colonel. A matter come up that put me in mind of you," he said. The voice was Middle Western, the features rugged, with wrinkles drawn deep across his heavy brow.

"I say, sit down with us," said the Colonel, coming abruptly back from the front. "This is Miller, Major Miller," he said to me. "A countryman of yours. An agricultural chap from the AMG."

"Call it plain farming. That's what it is," said the Major, and he said, "Pleased t' meet-ya, ma'am," and he sat down. He had narrow, bright, black eyes, and his ears were big, and the hair sprang black and curly and lively on his head. "Ran a farm journal back in Oklahoma. Doing something like it here," he said.

"The Major's draining the marshes out, getting flood walls rebuilt from Marina di Pisa down," said Colonel Sarett, and he raised his hand and snapped his fingers for the drinks.

"The Colonel here's mustering an army of his own," said the Major. His mouth was wide, and when he smiled, the wrinkles scarred deep and crescent-shaped in the flesh of his cheeks. "He speaks the lingo, and they listen to him as if they liked it, the Italians do," said the Major, and he sat there, the jagged crescents of the smile in his face. "I've run into a couple of Englishmen who don't like it quite so well," he said.

"All Lombard Street to a China orange," said the Colonel, "but they'll take it. You can't dispense with a country's population, somehow, not even a liberated country's."

"Floods raising Cain all over the place," Major Miller said, and when he thought of the floods he stopped smiling. "You get floods, and no sewer systems, and then the epidemics get going. Our medics are up there shooting the people full of inoculations." The Italian barman brought the drinks and set them on the table, and the Major raised his glass in his broad, clean hand and said, "Here's looking at you, ma'am," and he took a drink of it. "Jiminy

crickets, that's lousy booze! I'm sure you're of the same opinion about it, ma'am," he said politely over his glass.

"There's a lot of future in it, my man," said Colonel Sarett. "It's keeping us here talking together. I think we might have another," he said.

"We'll drink it to Colonel Sarett's army," I said, and the Major stopped smiling abruptly again, and the crescents were blanked out of his cheeks.

"I was coming to Colonel Sarett's army," he said, and he looked at the Colonel. "I heard about thirty thousand Italian soldiers we're holding as prisoners of war. I just heard about them today," he said. "Question come up about disposing of them—thirty thousand of them that we took prisoner when we come in, and by the law of Acquisition, Retention, and Confusion, they're POW's still. Now maybe we'll conscript them into battle, and again maybe we won't," the flat Middle Western voice went on, and the bright black eyes watched Colonel Sarett in sanguine belief. "But if you put in a claim for them, I'll bet they're as good as yours," he said.

The Colonel hesitated a moment, took a swallow of the synthetic juice and gin, and put his glass down. "There's no way of knowing what their politics might be," he said.

"There's nothing to keep you from making Englishmen, or Americans, or even Russians out of them. Nothing on earth," said the Major.

"Thirty thousand," the Colonel said, musing on it. "I wouldn't know where to begin. I wouldn't know what to do with a lot of blokes who don't know by this time which way the wind is blowing. They wouldn't fit in with my blokes up there."

"Colonel, it could very well be that you're just not giving them a break," said the Major, and he shook his head.

"They've had twenty-five years of not acting like themselves, the Italians have, ma'am," he said in explanation, "and now they got to start learning how. You got to help them to get everything new, right from the inside out. It's like draining the marshes first and getting the crops in afterward. You can't do it quick, so you do it slow. And in the end you get it right," he said.

He lifted his glass to drink, but Colonel Sarett spoke almost sharply across the table, and the Major put his glass down again.

"You've forgotten one thing," said Colonel Sarett. "The whole blooming lot of them in this country weren't in it, not by a long shot, Major." He chewed quickly, savagely, at his upper lip a moment, and then the vehemence died from his face. "Thirty thousand POW's," he said, musing on it again. Thirty thousand Italians out of prison, his men to clothe, to feed, to arm, to cherish. "Thirty thousand of them," he said, and the thought of them was alive now, moving up the mountain with him. "By Gad, who should I talk to about it?" he said, and the light of it was shining in his eye.

I remembered Mario then, and I got up from the table, and I gave my hand to Colonel Sarett.

"I have to telephone," I said. "I am having dinner with a man called Mario."

"Blast Mario," said Colonel Sarett, and he got up quickly from his chair. He stood there, tall and straight, his thumbs hooked in his leather belt, his mouth twitching under his clipped mustache. "If I had a bath and a shave and that sort of thing—made a decent job of myself—would you dine with me instead of him?" he said.

*[The second part of Miss Boyle's story will appear next week.]*

## Power Is the Banker

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

BACK in 1918 three residents of the little town of Ephrata, Washington—Rufus Woods, publisher of the *Wenatchee World*, William M. Clapp, an attorney, and James O'Sullivan, a small contractor—decided that a great dam should be built at Grand Coulee. They had no funds, detailed information, or backing, but they were sure they had a great idea. The idea was given to the world in the *Wenatchee World* on July 18, 1918, under a banner headline. When a resident read the story, he remarked, "Baron Munchausen, thou art a piker compared with Rufus Woods!"

"And yet there it is—Grand Coulee Dam, 'the biggest thing ever built.'" Former Senator C. C. Dill, who convinced President Roosevelt of the feasibility of the dam after the Great Engineer had vetoed the idea, likes to think that Roosevelt was guided by destiny when, during the depression, he announced, "We'll build that dam!" To the fathers of Grand Coulee the present war was won in the Pacific Northwest. And it must be confessed they have an impressive case.

During the fiscal year 1944 the five aluminum-reduction

plants in the Northwest produced 600,000,000 pounds of aluminum, approximately one-third of the nation's output. Part of this aluminum took final form in 30,000 airplanes, again almost one-third of the nation's production. In the same period the shipyards in the Northwest produced one-sixth of the nation's merchant-marine tonnage. Equally important for the war effort was the region's output of magnesium, calcium carbide, and ferro-silicon. Behind this prodigious production was the 1,350,000 kilowatts of power generated at Grand Coulee and Bonneville. Obviously the big dam did have something to do with winning the war.

With the exception of the Yangtze, the Columbia River is the greatest potential source of hydroelectric power in the world. The flow of the river is rapid and continuous; no stand-by steam plants are necessary. Fed by vast glaciers in Canada, the flow of the river actually increases in late summer when that of some of its competing systems has greatly diminished. The power of the Columbia is certainly one of the most valuable and durable assets of the nation.

The crucial question today is who is to control the distribution and utilization of the staggering power potential of the Columbia River system. At the present time Grand Coulee and Bonneville generate 1,350,000 kilowatts of power at the lowest wholesale rate in America—\$17.50 per kilowatt-year. With the construction of the additional dams planned, this output will be increased by more than 1,000,000 kilowatts, and the Northwest will then have more hydroelectric power than was produced in the rest of the United States before the war. Whoever controls this power can dictate the economic and industrial future of this great section.

Since the completion of the Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams the private power companies in the Northwest have largely abandoned their quarter-century fight to prevent the development of Columbia River power. What they are fighting for today is the special privilege of purchasing power "at the bus bar," that is, at the dam sites. They would probably not oppose the construction of even more dams on the river, if they were granted this privilege. They are quite willing for the government to produce the power if they can control its distribution. If they should win out, the social potential of Grand Coulee, Bonneville, and the other dams which the government intends to construct on the Columbia would be largely neutralized. As a result of the war the situation in the Northwest is such that they believe they can attain their objective.

Since the availability of Grand Coulee and Bonneville power coincided with the expansion of the defense program, the problem of utilizing this power, the problem of markets, was temporarily solved. Today almost 90 per cent of the power distributed by the Bonneville Power Administration goes directly or indirectly to war industries in the region. Once the war is over, it will be necessary to find other markets. Of 1,300,000 kilowatts of power now being distributed by the Bonneville Power Administration to some eighty customers throughout the region, more than 750,000 kilowatts are subject to cancellation in the immediate post-war period. The cancellation of these contracts will mean that the \$24,000,000 of annual revenue now being collected by the BPA will be reduced by \$13,000,000. If new markets cannot be found, the private utility companies will contend that the government is "spilling millions of dollars of power over the dams." At the same time they will wave before the eyes of every Congressman photostats of the handsome checks they are willing—and even anxious—to pay for this power. They will want, of course, long-term contracts. In order to confront the BPA with this dilemma, the private utilities are now trying to capture existing markets.

How far they have already gone may be illustrated by a brief account of their dealings with the Vera irrigation district on the outskirts of Spokane. The farms in this district are small. Most of the owners are part-time farmers—teachers, clerks, and industrial workers employed in Spokane. The district's contract for power with the Washington Water Power Company expired in December, 1944. When the company failed to meet the rate offered by the Bonneville Power Administration, the district signed up for Bonneville power. The Bonneville rate is about 57 per cent less than the rate offered by the private utility, and when the power is available, the consumers to whom the district distributes the

power will benefit from a 30 per cent net reduction. Under the regulations of the WPB, however, the Bonneville Power Administration cannot obtain priorities for materials to build a substation and connecting lines to the district, although its existing lines are only a short distance away.

Faced with Bonneville competition, the private utility offered every inducement to the district to sign a five-year contract, but since the rate offered failed to meet the Bonneville rate, the district refused. The private utility then notified the district that it would not provide power during the interval that Bonneville was unable to serve the district. In effect, this was a threat of death to a prosperous farming community. Finally local public-health officials intervened to protect the district, and the company backed down.

That cheap Bonneville power will be attractive to municipally operated systems in the Northwest is illustrated by the experience of McMinnville, Oregon, a town of some four thousand people, the center of a prosperous farming community. McMinnville has one of the oldest municipal power systems in Oregon. Since 1924, by using diesel engines, it has been able to produce power more cheaply than it could buy it from the private utilities. It was compelled, however, to set aside 24 cents out of every revenue dollar for new equipment and repairs. When it obtains Bonneville power, the city will not only be relieved of this necessity but will be able to effect a 40 per cent reduction in rates to commercial and a 20 per cent reduction to residential consumers.

For a number of reasons the Bonneville Power Administration is not in a position to organize the municipal markets. Legally it can sell power only to large industrial consumers and public distributing agencies. To meet war demands, a power pool has been formed of all the available power, private and public, in the Northwest. With most of its power being distributed to industrial plants or, under the pool arrangement, to private utilities, Bonneville cannot undertake an immediate campaign for municipal contracts. During the war it is placing no ceiling on the resale rates charged by private utilities, but after the war it will insist on such ceilings. The moment this is done, the power fight will really get under way. The Northwest will then see considerable activity in the promotion of public distributing systems—at the end of 1943 Bonneville had only fifty-two "public-agency" contracts. But this is a slow process under the most favorable circumstances, and it will be bitterly opposed, at every step, by the private utilities. If the Bonneville Power Administration were reorganized along the lines of the TVA, it could buy out the private systems, lock, stock, and barrel. At present it lacks authority to take over existing generating, transmission, and distributing systems.

Other markets exist, however, and can unquestionably be developed. The Northwest has long suffered from a lack of fuel. The development of space heating would find a large market and would greatly stimulate the service industries. Irrigation pumping, the use of electricity to generate steam for industrial processes, railroad electrification, the increased use of electricity in manufacturing and service industries, and the great possibilities of power on the farm, all promise to provide expanding markets. But the prompt and full development of these markets presupposes the existence of an agency equipped with more than the marketing function

which is the only one that has been assigned to the BPA.

A rapid development of these markets must be forced, not only to prevent the waste of public power, but to stimulate industrial expansion in the Northwest. The vast supply of cheap government power must be used dynamically, as the key to unlock the resources of the area. Power can be made to pay the bill for improved navigation, for reclamation, for the stimulation of new industries (through pilot-plant operations), for the exploitation of mineral resources. The development of 1,029,000 acres of irrigable land in the Columbia Basin would have involved a prohibitive expense if the full costs properly allocated to irrigation had been actually imposed upon the land. With the exception of \$1,000,000 charged off to navigation, however, power is expected to pay three-fourths of the cost of the entire project. In an undeveloped region like the Northwest "power is the banker." But if power is to be used in this manner, it must be controlled by an agency with authority commensurate to the task, such an agency, for example, as that proposed in Senator Hugh Mitchell's bill (Senate Bill No. 460) to create a Columbia Valley Authority.

Since they know that their fight to buy power at the dam sites will be lost if the Bonneville Power Administration is merged in a Columbia Valley Authority, the private utilities can be relied on to make every effort to prevent the establishment of a regional authority. If they succeed they stand a chance of winning the power struggle in the Northwest. For if the BPA is unable to develop new markets rapidly enough to offset the post-war contract cancellations, the bids of the private utilities can be made to appear very attractive to a reactionary Congress.

In support of their "economy argument" the private utility companies will contend that since the rates they charge for power are subject to regulation, it is really immaterial who distributes the power. There are many fallacies in this argument, but it will suffice here to point out that, given their present stock structure and bonded indebtedness, even the most efficiently operated private utilities cannot pass on to the public the benefits arising from an abundance of cheap public power. Nor are cheap rates the only issue. In a region like the Northwest the way in which power is used is probably as important as the rates charged: if properly used, power will act as a magnet to attract a healthy distribution of population and industry. The private utilities will also contend, of course, that lower government rates merely reflect the fact that government agencies enjoy tax exemption. But if the Bonneville Power Administration enjoys tax exemption, the concerns which its power has attracted to the Northwest do not. One site in the Spokane area on which an aluminum plant has been built paid only \$42.05 in taxes in 1943; in 1944, with the plant installed, it paid \$88,435.21.

The case for the immediate establishment of a regional authority in the Columbia Valley is so compelling that no special anxiety over the fate of the proposal would be justified if two important federal agencies had not surreptitiously aligned themselves with the utilities. In a final article, I shall attempt to explain something of the background of this curious and rather shocking misalliance.

[This is the second of three articles on the development of the Columbia River and the need for a CVA.]

## In the Wind

QUEBEC HAS 65 seats out of a total of 245 in the Canadian Parliament, and has nominated 294 candidates for the federal election on June 11; 69 of them are Independent, 58 Liberal, 42 Social Credit, 35 Bloc Populaire, 29 Progressive Conservative, 28 Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, 6 Independent Liberal, 5 Independent Progressive Conservative, 3 Independent Conservative, 2 Independent Bloc Populaire, and 1 each listed as Farmer, National Front, Electors' Candidate, Liberal Independent, Independent Labor, Labor, Anti-Conscriptionist-Liberal, and Anti-Conscriptionist.

**HOLLYWOOD NOTE:** The Beverly Hills Chamber of Commerce and Civic Association is listed as a sponsor of the Mayor's Community Council on Anti-Racial Discrimination. But a committee of the Chamber, headed by Harold Lloyd, has sent the following letter to residents of Beverly Hills: "This is to inform you that the original deed restrictions which covered your Beverly Hills residential property expired in 1940. Our committee has been formed to renew the original restrictions. This action is necessary to safeguard property values and guarantee the exclusive character of your neighborhood." Recipients of the letter were asked to sign a document stating that they desired lands within the city to be owned and occupied exclusively by persons of the "white or Caucasian race."

**IN REPLY TO A PROTEST** by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the publishers of "Roget's Thesaurus" have agreed to "clean up" the lists of synonyms for the words "Negro" and "Jew."

**ROGER BABSON** offers this contribution to economic thought in a statement issued by the National Research Bureau: "Unemployment is a spiritual and educational problem rather than an economic. Congress cannot prevent unemployment. The churches and school committees of each community will determine the unemployment situation."

**MONTGOMERY WARD** shareholders have no cause to complain about army management. In the first quarter of this year the mail-order house made profits of \$4,767,955 after taxes, compared with \$3,430,324 in the first quarter of 1944—85 cents per common share against 59 cents.

**LEGISLATIVE MEMO:** The United States Chamber of Commerce has suggested to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue, now considering revision of corporate taxes, that the excess-profits tax be eliminated after December 31, 1945. "Should the end of the war with Japan not be in sight at that time," says the Chamber's May 21 bulletin, "Congress could continue this levy by a simple resolution, if the need for continuation could be proved."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay \$1 for each item accepted.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Good Nazis, Bad Germans

BY MAX HIRSCHBERG

*[Mr. Hirschberg practiced law in Munich from 1911 to 1933, after 1919 specializing in political cases against Nazis and other enemies of the republic. He acted as trial lawyer against Hitler, Röhm, and many other Nazis. In February, 1920, Mr. Hirschberg contributed an article to The Nation. It dealt with the activities of extreme nationalist groups in Munich immediately after the end of the First World War.]*

WE WERE bold antagonists in the war with the Nazis, but we are uncertain conquerors now that victory has been won. Despite many excellent measures taken by General Eisenhower, over-all Anglo-American policy toward defeated Germany has thus far lacked basic principles, decisiveness, and direction. As a result we are rapidly losing the confidence of the democratic masses everywhere. They no longer trust Great Britain because of Churchill's disastrous policies in Greece and Italy. And if we persist in our present stand they will soon turn to the Soviet Union for leadership and support.

It has been no particular honor to us that high Nazis fled before the Red Army to find secure arrest in our lines. It indicates rather a belief in American disingenuousness in contrast with Russia's hard realism toward the top German criminals. General Eisenhower reprimanded the American officers who greeted Hermann Göring with the "courtesy befitting his military rank." But the incident is unfortunately symptomatic of the spirit of fraternization with which many American officers have treated defeated Nazi generals regardless of their war crimes. Our attitude seems almost calculated to give encouragement to the German military leaders to get on with their preparations for a new attempt at world domination.

The German war lords have never lacked gullible accomplices to help them along their road to success. Did not Ebert, premier of the republic in the closing days of the last war, make a secret pact with von Hindenburg in November, 1918, to destroy the German revolution? (A private telephone wire connecting the headquarters of the General Staff at the front with the Reich Chancellery was installed in furtherance of their joint purpose—a fact which was brought to light in 1925 during my cross-examination of General Gröner, Ludendorff's successor, in the course of the famous trial in which the army accused the civilian government of a stab in the back.) Did not the respectable German industrialists Kirdorf, Vögelers, Thyssen, Krupp, von Borsig, and Aust back Hitler with their millions when, in the late twenties and early thirties he found the going hard? Thyssen and Krupp are now in our safe and comfortable keeping. Did not the financial genius and eminently respectable economist, Hjalmar Schacht, provide Hitler with his techniques of "legal" robbery that turned out to be so useful for Germany and so expensive for us? Schacht is also in our hands, merci-

fully saved from the Russians. Did not the elegant Franz von Papen, on January 4, 1933, come to the home of the banker Schröder in Cologne and deliver to Hitler the person of the senile Hindenburg and the keys of the German republic? Von Papen, too, is our guest.

Lenience toward such obvious war criminals as Krupp, Thyssen, Schacht, and the others would be a fatal error. Without wholesale confiscation of the huge sums deposited by these men in Fascist and neutral countries, it will be impossible to prevent Germany's speedy rearmament. Herr Krupp has already smilingly declared that, with the help of a few loans, he could within a few months rebuild his factories—for producing peace-time goods, of course. All this is reminiscent of the cheerful admission by a top Nazi in 1944 that after World War I, while the Inter-Allied Commission was fruitlessly searching for hidden war implements in one room of I. G. Farben, poison gas was being manufactured in the next room. Our treatment of war criminals leads one to fear that responsible persons are hoping to employ German cartel magnates, with whom some leading American industrialists have had close and friendly contacts for years, as experts and advisers in reorganizing German industry. This is the point at which national interest will come into sharp conflict with the international solidarity of big business. The smallest compromise, even the acceptance of "technical" advice from German industrialists, will have disastrous consequences.

It is a pity that the industrialists, who will form the most dangerous element in the post-war period, do not come under the War Department's "iron-fist regulations." In deciding what to do with them we must recognize that Russia will accept no compromise. We shall have to choose between collaboration with our enemies and cooperation with our friends and allies.

All American public and private loans should be subject to approval by the United States government. It must not be forgotten that American bankers invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Germany as soon as Hindenburg became President in 1925. To the politically uninformed, the venerable old man represented order and stability. Actually he was the front behind which Germany rearmed and resumed its chauvinistic policy of conquest.

Even the War Department regulations, excellent on the whole, have one dangerous feature. They abolish the executive, but only place under control the judiciary of Nazi Germany. American officials, however, many of whom have a limited knowledge of German, will not be able to control the processes of German justice effectively. The judiciary was the Weimar Republic's most corrupt organ, wilfully contributing to its destruction. With the same loyalty German judges

served first the Emperor, then the Weimar Republic, and finally the Nazis. Now they are all confirmed anti-Nazis offering their services to the Allies. There were not even a dozen German judges with sufficient conscience or pride to resign when Hitler completed the prostitution of the judiciary. No democracy can survive if its judges condemn democrats and acquit fascists. Yet that is precisely what the Weimar Republic's courts did as soon as they recognized the weakness of the democratic government. Perhaps the most fatal breach of law was committed by Judge Neithardt of the Bavarian Supreme Court in April, 1924. After Hitler was convicted of high treason for his beer-hall putsch of November 9, 1923, Judge Neithardt sentenced him to five years of honorable confinement in Landesberg Fortress (where he wrote "Mein Kampf") and then six months later released him on parole. Article 9 of the Law for the Defense of the Republic contained the compulsory regulation that a foreigner convicted of high treason must be expelled from Reich territory for life. At that time Hitler was not a German citizen. Neithardt wilfully broke the law and failed to expel the Austrian agitator. Had Hitler been forced to leave the country in 1924, he would never have been able to rebuild his shattered movement.

All German judges who served under Hitler should be dismissed without pensions. Later on some of them, carefully chosen and sifted, might be used in the administration of civil law. But criminal law, especially where it applies to political cases, must be the exclusive domain of the army of occupation's military courts. It will, for example, be extremely important to prohibit the payment of pensions to German generals so that they will not be subsidized to conspire for the next war but will be forced to seek civilian occupations. But the present Nazi Supreme Court judges would certainly declare such a ruling invalid. Given the chance, they will do everything in their power to weaken and inhibit every action taken by the Allies, just as the German courts did during the "prosecution" of war criminals after the First World War.

The Weimar Republic failed primarily because of the weakness, cowardice, and militaristic chauvinism of its leadership, which never recognized that in a period of revolutionary change only militant democracy can survive. It recognized only one foe, the German Communists. Even as late as September, 1932, when Hitler got two million fewer votes in the election than he had before, and was financially bankrupt, a dozen courageous and determined officials could have ended his movement. But the Republic's leaders capitulated without a struggle when, on July 20, 1932, von Papen executed his coup d'état against the Prussian government. Severing, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, declared he would yield only to force. And at the appointed hour force appeared in the person of the chief of police accompanied by a single policeman. Severing thereupon yielded, calmly walking out of his office and to his apartment. Shortly before this incident, the Prussian Premier, Otto Braun, who from his place of exile in Switzerland has offered to collaborate with the Allies, had taken a leave of absence "because of illness." One might expect these gravediggers of the Republic to realize that they are finished; unfortunately they refuse to admit their failure and even present their credentials as future leaders and office holders. Reich Chancellor Brüning, for example, was one of the weakest ministers of the Weimar

Republic. He and Kaas, another prominent figure in the Center Party, and the man chiefly responsible for the quick conclusion of the Concordat of 1933, are being sponsored by the Vatican as candidates for leadership in the new Germany. Kaas has been unofficial adviser at the Vatican since 1933. All these men were in favor of Germany's secret rearmament, of the "Black Reichswehr," and many of them helped finance it. They are all rabidly opposed to that peaceful collaboration with Soviet Russia which is the prerequisite of world peace. Men who lacked the courage and strength to defend the Weimar Republic can hardly be expected to salvage any measure of democracy from the rubble of Nazism.

Whom, then, shall we select for civil administration; how shall we find reliable persons? We must avoid the type of error committed by the A. M. G. when it appointed von Seisser, a high-ranking reactionary Bavarian officer to the post of chief of police in Munich. Von Seisser was one of Hitler's men in the 1923 Munich putsch; with von Kahr and Lossow he shook hands with Hitler to seal their agreement. A few hours later he lost his nerve and betrayed the whole plot.

Only proved anti-fascists should be used for civil administration. Workers who have spent the past years in concentration camps may be less prepossessing than Messrs. Schacht and Krupp, but they are more trustworthy. We might, in this respect, take a leaf from the book of the Norwegians, who with full approval of their government in exile have just filled all important posts with underground fighters released from concentration camps and prisons.

It is not too difficult to find militant anti-fascists. In the United States today there is at least one proved anti-Nazi from every town and district in Germany. Hearings should be held by an existing government agency—no new agency need be created—at which these men could testify. They could supply information for a first list of reliable Germans. This could be sent to the A. M. G. for checking and possible changes. A second list of reliable anti-Nazis exists in the registers of concentration camps.

These are a few basic principles for administering Germany. Their adoption would make the complete destruction of Nazism possible and would create a climate in which Germany could prepare for democracy—instead of war.

## Report on Argentina

ON JUNE 1 the New York Times published a sensational report on conditions in Argentina. It was sensational because it was written by Arnaldo Cortesi, the Times's very conservative correspondent in Buenos Aires and because Mr. Cortesi was unable to get the facts through the Argentine censorship and so sent the story out "by channels other than the normal ones." But there was nothing new in the article itself. It merely confirmed information that has appeared at frequent intervals in *The Nation* during the past fourteen months. On March 3 we published *Torture in Argentina* by John W. White, a detailed account of the Gestapo methods used in Argentina's prisons. It was subtitled *A Document for the Mexico Conference*, and copies were sent by air mail to every American delegate at the Chapultepec meeting. These

delegates cannot claim that they acted out of ignorance when they accepted the formula which led to Argentina's inclusion in the San Francisco conference. They were fully aware of internal conditions in that country. And they had been warned in more general terms by President Roosevelt and Cordell Hull. Both had condemned the Farrell-Perón regime in words that were later to be used by Mr. Molotov when he argued against Argentina's admission to the conference.

Since Mr. Hull's opinions have generally carried great weight, it was especially amazing that the State Department should have reversed its position so drastically in such a short space of time: after rejecting all proposals to allow Argentina to attend the Chapultepec conference, it actually sponsored at that conference and at San Francisco the inclusion of Argentina in the new international organization.

"The time has come to say," writes Mr. Cortesi, "that things have happened in Buenos Aires recently that exceed anything that this correspondent can remember in his seventeen years' experience in Fascist Italy." Yet Secretary of State Stettinius made a most dramatic appeal at a plenary session of the United Nations conference for the immediate acceptance of this regime. It was as though the very success of the conference demanded that Argentina be admitted without even the brief delay requested by Mr. Molotov. The promises of reform made by the Argentine dictator were solemnly repeated, and the conference and the world were, in effect, asked to believe that the charges made by democratic groups in and out of Argentina were no longer valid. Mr. Cortesi's story in the *New York Times* demolishes that pretense and leaves the State Department and its Latin American colleagues exposed to the indignation of the anti-fascist world.

When the history of the Western democracies during the period of 1933-45 is written, one of the most difficult facts to explain will be the effort of the United States to restore to Argentina the prestige and the position of leadership it had lost as a result of its pro-Axis stand during the war.

## *New Hope for India*

BY UMA SHANKAR

THE political situation in India, frozen since August, 1942, is becoming fluid; recent developments indicate an early end to the existing deadlock. Lord Wavell's protracted visit to London, unprecedented for a Viceroy during his term of office, is the most hopeful indication that a change is in the offing. It is expected that the British in the near future will release all political prisoners; form a provisional National Government at New Delhi, within the present constitution, composed entirely of Indians drawn from the major political parties; and restore the provincial autonomy which has been in abeyance in most provinces since the war.

Obstacles that, according to the British, stood in the way of the formation of a National Government in India, no longer exist. The Japanese armies are now in full retreat from Burma. After his release last year, Gandhi, the strongest proponent of the August resolution, declared that he would not support civil disobedience during the war. The British government has tacitly admitted that members of the Congress

Party do not constitute a threat to the war effort. Sir Francis Mudie, Home member in the government of India responsible for political prisoners, recently declared that 90 per cent of the prisoners, mostly Congress members, had been released without any disorders resulting.

During the past six months the Congress and the Moslem League have shown signs of a rapprochement. In the Central Legislative Assembly the two parties combined to defeat the present government on all major issues. Bulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, deputy leader of the Moslem League, are reported to have agreed to form a National Government within the framework of the present constitution. The terms of the agreement were communicated by Mr. Desai to the Viceroy just before the latter left for London. Its basis was that a coalition government should be formed in which the Congress and the Moslem League would each have 40 per cent representation, the remaining 20 per cent to be divided among other Indian groups. The agreement also called for the restoration of provincial autonomy and the release of all political prisoners.

When he spoke at the Frontier Political Conference in Peshawar on April 21, Mr. Desai said: "It is true that there are now proposals before His Majesty's Government [in London] for the formation of an interim government at the Center [federal government]. . . . It is time that India assumed responsibility at the Center, even with restricted powers, so that we may find true representatives at the peace conference." Proof that the Congress Party has changed its policy since 1942 is found in the fact that a Congress Ministry has been formed in the Northwest Frontier Province. Since 1939 there had been no Congress Ministry in India.

Lord Wavell's journey to London, which has raised India's hopes, cannot have been undertaken with any expectation of repeating the Cripps fiasco and increasing existing bitterness. Official quarters say that Wavell is determined to get Cabinet action on India. He was followed to London by Sir Francis Mudie, which is significant because a necessary preliminary to the formation of a National Government in India is the release of the remaining Congress members, including Nehru. Sir Claude Auchinleck, commander-in-chief in India, has also been summoned to London. He is known to have liberal views and is reported to have no objection to serving under an Indian Defense Minister—British refusal to allow an Indian Defense Minister was one of the points which caused the Congress Party to reject the Cripps offer. Finally, the Government of India's constitutional expert, the Reforms Commissioner, is also in London. These important officials can hardly have left their posts at this time merely to celebrate V-E Day in London.

England's approaching General Election is another factor of considerable importance. Churchill and the Conservative Party have long been criticized in London for their policy in India. Editorials in the influential London *Times* on March 10 and 20 advocating a change in India are evidence that British public opinion demands it. It would be greatly to the advantage of the Conservative Party to face the electorate as favoring a more liberal policy in India; and the party usually knows where its advantage lies. An end to the long stalemate in India appears to be not far off.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## PARIS REGAINED

BY CYRIL CONNOLLY

### II

THE triumph of the literary movement of the resistance in France was in its refusal to hate. Of all the anti-fascist movements the French, I think, rose to the greatest height of humanism, as exemplified in the exquisite moderation of "Le Silence de la Mer," or of Eluard's "Liberté." Never have such warm and poetical lovers of life been so thoughtfully willing to throw it away. It is difficult for us in a country which has fought the Germans but not been occupied by them to appreciate the intolerable conditions under which the resistance labored. One must first of all imagine every petty war-time restriction under which we have chafed as being imposed not by our own government but by our conquerors, with a curfew and a continuous parade of enemy uniforms thrown in. One must then add on four years of propaganda, propaganda diabolically directed against our weaker spots, our masochism, our childhood father fears—"you have all been bad, bad, bad, you have been intolerably insolent, and now God has punished you; Hitler has punished you; Pétain, Laval, and Darnand have punished you. You have hurt them all terribly. They were all so proud of you. So punishment. No more jam, no butter, no picnics. Work! Work! Work! Work, Fatherland, and Family! And if you all work very, very hard you will be forgiven—because God, Hitler, Pétain, etc., are not really hard-hearted. They are pretty decent really—only you've hurt them so. Look how nice they are to the good children, to Bergéry, Morand, to your policeman, your mayor, the good people in the big house. And they know what's best for you. In their will is your peace."

Frenchmen have told me how utterly demoralizing was this continuous propaganda. As Eluard wrote of the traitors who made it:

Ils nous ont vanté nos bourreaux  
Ils nous ont détaillé le mal  
Ils n'ont rien dit innocemment . . .

Floods of anonymous denunciations kept pouring in to the Gestapo; all that is vilest in smug, bourgeois, middle-aged opportunism, fearful of discomfort or distress, went veering round to the Marshal; all that was lowest in angry boorish youth dressed up in the black uniforms, copied from the S. S., of the *milices populaires*. A friend of mine, one of the most kind and charming people that I know, described to me his feelings on going out into the woods of Cap d'Antibes where he was staying and discovering *Mort aux juifs* plastered upon every tree. He said that it was like suddenly finding that one had a loathsome disease, that he learned to shun his friends, never to speak to one unless they first spoke to him, that he divided them into those who cut him and those whose welcome was over-effusive, as if they were determined to show they were not afraid of infection. One day he woke up to find every single newspaper in the country carrying in huge headlines a denunciation of his family,

which was held responsible for the war and for every evil consequence which his country was undergoing!

And having imagined all this treachery and corruption, one must then try to imagine the life of those who fought against it. The betrayals, the tortures, the separations, the executions and suicides, the denunciations of the resisters by their own people, who resented the harsher conditions which German retaliation imposed on them, the terrible uncertainties and disappointments which befall the weak who rise against the stronger. I wonder, for instance, if many people know that Inspector Boni, the chief of the French Gestapo torturers of the Rue de Lauriston, who was recently executed, specialized in impersonating British airmen. He would call at a farm in R. A. F. uniform, beg for shelter, and if favorably received, ask if he could hide his pocket transmitter in the barn. Then he would go off and return with the Gestapo. Such is the background against which the resistance worked, and it is to be wondered that once they had learned to watch their friends die in agony and to carry their own death with them in a capsule as their most precious possession, any of them could even contemplate literature as an end in itself and not merely as a means for bringing people back to the truth.

Eluard expresses this conflict in a recent poem, "Critique de la poésie," where the deaths of Lorca, the old symbolist Saint-Pol-Roux, and the young Decour, founder of the Editions de Minuit and the clandestine *Lettres Françaises*, peal like a funeral bell through the lovely golden sensuality of his usual image-glowing poetry:

### CRITIQUE DE LA POÉSIE

Le feu réveille la forêt  
Les troncs les cœurs les mains les feuilles  
Le bonheur en un seul bouquet  
Confus léger fondant sucré  
C'est toute une forêt d'amis  
Qui s'assemble aux fontaines vertes  
Du bon soleil du bois flambant

García Lorca ■ été mis à mort

Maison d'une seule parole  
Et des lèvres unies pour vivre  
Un tout petit enfant sans larmes  
Dans ses prunelles d'eau perdue  
La lumière de l'avenir  
Goutte à goutte elle comble l'homme  
Jusqu'aux paupières transparentes

Saint-Pol-Roux ■ été mis à mort  
Sa fille a été suppliciée

Ville glacée d'angles semblables  
Ou je rêve de fruits en fleur  
Du ciel entier et de la terre  
Comme à de vierges découvertes  
Dans un jeu qui n'en finit pas  
Pierres fanées murs sans écho  
Je vous évite d'un sourire

Decour ■ été mis à mort.

The resistance now belongs to the past, and is already becoming a legend. The resisters are slowly losing their voice in the government and may or may not lose their influence with the people. The trials of collaborationist writers and editors, however, have taken the place of the resistance as the second act in the public drama. They are No. 1 topic in Paris, and when I was there came before food (No. 2), fuel (No. 3), and Jean Genet's "Notre Dame des Fleurs" (a bad fourth). These trials arouse the most violent controversy, which revolves round the sentence passed and the culpability of the victims. The right tend to deplore the death sentences, the left to demand them. Mauriac, through his column in the *Figaro*, has consistently pleaded for their remission. From the psychological point of view, there is something ambivalent in all discussions of collaboration, purges, etc., and however justified each individual sentence may be, one comes to feel that the role of the English—to whom these provocations have not applied—is to urge leniency. It is not that these writers are guiltless, but that it is doubtful whether they are as guilty as many industrialists who have not been dealt with, or as many informers who have escaped. The world is full of hate, and in France, a country which has had an undeclared civil war, it is seething. Those who have the right to hate and do not choose to exercise it can do enormous good. In the words of Audisio, written in a German prison, "J'ai haï Les Allemands de toute la force de mon être. Je veux que le témoignage sincère en demeure, et malgré moi s'il le faut . . . et si je pleure, Allemands, sachez-le bien, c'est que vous m'avez amené jusque là et que je *veuille* le dire; c'est que vous ayez, dans la haine stérile, enfoncé des milliers et des milliers d'hommes de bonne volonté."

Justice will be done to those who have betrayed, tortured, and informed against their fellows. We must try to militate against the operation of envy, revenge, intolerance, and spite causing the death of those who have merely held the wrong opinions.

[To be continued]

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

PLAINVILLE, U. S. A." by James West—both names are pseudonyms—is a detailed study of a "backward" rural town in the southern Midwest (Columbia, \$2.75). It is "addressed to anthropologists, social scientists, and general readers interested in rural people." But I think almost any general reader will soon discover that Plainville is his own more or less antediluvian home town. For the fact is that most of us, whatever our birth certificates say, were born and raised there, and Plainville still figures in our behavior.

In this light Mr. West's cool scientific treatise becomes as personal as one's family history. As such it is fascinating, irritating, and often dull. It is dull because we are constantly finding that we already knew what he has to tell us; it is fascinating because he makes us aware of what we knew and thus renders our knowledge usable; it is irritating because, quite impersonally, he exposes us to ourselves, and in the bargain shows us that in certain minimal but very important respects we are no different from millions of other people. Self-knowledge is always irritating, and I still re-

member how angry I was when I discovered that Margaret was a common name.

Mr. West lived in Plainville for more than a year. He learned its history and on the basis of countless interviews made a careful record of its values, conventions, and attitudes. Plainville is still relatively isolated, but it has felt, registered, and remembered, perhaps all the more vividly for being on the periphery, the vast changes of the past hundred years.

The principal lessons to be derived from this record are the persistence with which Plainvillers have carried over into each new situation the set of values generated by earlier ones, their failure to coordinate or even sort out their by now large and various collections of attitudes, their slow acceptance of new attitudes, which, once accepted, will in turn never be discarded, and the extent to which they evade their dilemma by means of the simple device of talking one way and acting another. The Plainviller today is a bundle of contradictory attitudes of many vintages held together by a web of rationalization which protects him from himself as well as from his neighbors. Which suggests that if hypocrisy has had a peculiarly lurid growth in America, it may be in part because Americans have been subjected to so many drastic changes in so short a period of time. The mask, as Constance Rourke says in "American Humor," was a "portable heirloom handed down by the pioneer," to whom it had been highly useful, both as weapon and defense. "In a primitive world crowded with pitfalls the unchanging, unaverted countenance had been a safeguard, preventing revelations of surprise, anger, or dismay. The mask had otherwise become habitual among the older Puritans. . . . Governor Bradford had encouraged its use on a considerable scale, urging certain gay spirits to enjoy themselves in secret, if they must be convivial. No doubt the mask would prove useful in a country where the Puritan was still a power and the risks of pioneering by no means over. The Yankee retained it." So have we all, though it has gone through many mutations and now deceives no one except, on occasion and not too satisfactorily, the wearer himself. I don't mean to imply that hypocrisy is not an ancient human device in use everywhere. Still, I think the Hays code may be called a peculiarly American masquerade.

The basic ingredients, social and psychological, of the Plainville man are of course European. To these was added the complex of attitudes generated by a seemingly limitless frontier and the opportunity for economic and physical independence. The end of the frontier, the Industrial Revolution, the age of specialization, and a money economy imposed other values. And when the money frontier ended and the Industrial Revolution ran into the cul-de-sac of "overproduction," of poverty in the midst of plenty, the people of Plainville were confronted with another change—alleviation, regulation, and reform carried on by government. Plainvillers have hardly begun to catch up.

No one will be surprised to learn that it is the pioneer attitudes which were most thoroughly assimilated and which still give Plainville its particular bent as well as its flavor. If you can imagine Daniel Boone driving an automobile at sixty miles an hour on a federal highway and complaining because "the gub'ment" interferes with his affairs, you will

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*Photograph by Germaine Kanova*

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get some idea of the study in the uneven development of human beings which Plainville presents.

Take the question of class divisions. In Plainville Mr. West was told in a delightful burst of protesting too much: "We're all just one plain old class of common average working people here." What he actually found of course was a class differentiation so rigid and so thoroughly accepted that he was able to make a very neat chart of it.

Looked at coldly, Plainville's attitudes, in most cases dual attitudes, toward sex, money, reform, education, religion, its stubborn benightedness and cultural poverty, are depressing. They are also infuriating because one's heart has long since become involved, and one can look at Plainvillers no more coldly than one might contemplate flesh-and-blood relatives at a family reunion.

So one cleaves, as Plainvillers do, to their good qualities: their resistance to regimentation, their belief—more honored perhaps in the breach than in the observance but none the less doggedly held—in equality and independence, their skepticism, their determination not to be taken in.

The trouble is that it is all too easy to get sentimental about Plainville or to laugh it away—that enables us to feel superior, to disown Plainville and evade responsibility. As Mr. West says, the problem of Plainville is the problem of America. Specifically, it is the problem of growing up. We tend to rationalize and romanticize our adolescence; we even admire it as if it were a first crocus instead of a festering lily. Most fiction, radio programs, and movies pander to this tendency when they are not designed by adolescents for adolescents. Even our best and most serious writers are as likely as not to be afflicted with an appalling immaturity. As for our political behavior, it is one long and painful study in development arrested at half a dozen levels.

Assuredly the problem of Plainville is the problem of America. The solution, if one dares to be glib, lies in education, but of a sort so delicate and comprehensive, yet so committed to the proposition that education is in the end a matter of lifting oneself by one's own bootstraps, that the word becomes far too small for the process. Mr. West offers no specifications, but he has at least given us unsentimental data on the problem itself.

PLAINVILLE, of course, has its saving grace—in the recurrent miracle of the individual who transcends the limitations

and demonstrates the possibilities of the Plainville man. George W. Norris was one of these. I shall discuss his autobiography next week.

## The Community of Europe

EUROPE FREE AND UNITED. By Albert Guérard. Stanford University Press. \$2.50.

THERE will be One World. There are at present two worlds. Their conflict, looming as the theme of World War III, can hardly be mediated unless we call into existence a third entity between Russia and the West. Its name is Europe.

On the substance and outlook of Europe Albert Guérard has written the finest and wisest book at hand. A Parisian by birth, frankly avowing his sublimated affection for the old country while sharing with unsuspectable warmth the ideals and interests of America, whose denizen and citizen he has been for nearly forty years, Guérard is the paragon of all the hyphenated. His patriotism, straddling the seas, can be described with the European words of Mazzini, "I love my country because I love all countries," or with the American words of Walt Whitman, which he ritually quotes, "O America, because I build for mankind, I build for you."

A tender bias toward France—as attractive to sentimental contemplation as it is largely inoffensive for ultimate purposes—persists below the sublimation of nationalism. Thus Guérard is not quite sure that an Arab federation would be desirable—a perplexity conditioned perhaps by anxiety for the structural firmness of French Africa. He is only "tempted," in a footnote, to add Alsace-Lorraine to the territories which have been so fiercely fought for—Macedonia, the Banat, the Sudetenland, Upper Silesia, Transylvania—and which "could be detached and made self-governing at first under federal supervision." We might like it better if he did succumb to the temptation. In general we sense overstatement in his assertions of a compact and monolithic allegiance throughout continental France and its imperial holdings. These flaws, comparatively slight, do not spoil the fabric.

The test is in Guérard's attitude toward Germany. Needless to say, there is in him not even an infinitesimal quantum of leniency toward Nazi Germany or toward any other manifestation of fascism. But neither does he show the slightest hesitation in proclaiming that a renovated Germany must in due course be reintegrated with equal status in the community of Europe. The chances that the Germans may emerge once more as the most numerous "race" in his Europe are well known to Guérard. They do not deter him; "for France," he writes, "is a smiling land, a generous spirit, and a rich tradition; it never was a race." Indeed, "Germany, the overlord, must disappear"—even though not that overlord alone: "the spirit of overlordship, the hateful Big Four delusion, must be eradicated everywhere in the world"—but "the result will not be to enslave Germany. . . . That immense power . . . will be turned to the service of the European Nation and of all mankind."

Guérard's "plan for a United Europe, a people's Europe, turns all boundary disputes into minor matters." It is a seamless garment, woven in one piece throughout. To the lazy critic, ready to mumble "Utopia," he submits a whole system

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of technical proposals that should leave no doubt about his Utopia's being the stuff reality is made on. In the political field he is radical enough to demand, as soon as possible, a European Constituent Assembly elected through secret and universal suffrage by constituencies whose boundaries should neither necessarily follow nor necessarily oppose national lines. In the social field Guérard, who is far left of center, thinks that "a high degree of socialism" is "the most efficient way of reducing to order the incredible chaos created by the Nazis." Yet he remains open-minded as regards a remoter future: "I envision the Europe of tomorrow as neither committed to socialism nor afraid of socialism." The peoples of Europe are at variance in religious creeds. Harmony will be achieved by rigorous freedom of worship, threatening no indignity and extending no privilege to any confession. The peoples of Europe are locked up each one in its own particular language. Intercommunication will be secured by an auxiliary language to be taught in all schools from the Curzon Line to the Straits of Gibraltar and from Norway to Crete. It will be the official tongue of all federal offices and agencies. It will easily gain spontaneous currency in commercial and scientific exchanges as well.

Here, more strikingly than anywhere else, Guérard rises above the pride and prejudice of many a precursor. He does not so much as mention in this context Julien Benda, who—memorable though he remains for having forged first the vital phrase *La Nation Européenne*—succumbed to the temptation of urging French as the federal language of Europe. French, according to Guérard, may obtain a transitional pre-eminence beside English in the brief phase preceding the constitution of Europe. A constituted Europe must adopt a language as uncolored as possible by sectional primacy. "Europe Free and United" commemorates Volapük; it pays its respects to Esperanto; it has no use for Basic English. Guérard's choice for Europe, and subsequently for the world, is—and has been long since—Peano's Interlingua or *Latino sine flexione*, Latin with no inflections, and no syntax either, a lithe and yet solid architecture of all Latin roots, and of those alone, that are at home also in the English dictionary, an instrument of expression synthetic and natural alike, with meanings promptly transparent to a much vaster number of people than any other language, natural or synthetic, has won or can hope to win.

Thus, Guérard's Europe, a fairer sister of such older children of desire as toyed, or still toy, with clerical or near-fascist legacies—besides being thoroughly free also of hostility to Russia and of anti-British exclusiveness—stands before our eyes, articulated in her essential organs and functions and even endowed with a speech as noble in its pedigree as it is functionally adequate to the technological age. We might stop in front of her and call with Gospel words in that very speech: *Europa, veni foris*. Europe, come forth.

She would not budge, however. We have made her motionless—for a while.

Lin Yutang, as quoted by Guérard, asked once: "To prevent European unity is one of our unconfessed war aims?" At any rate we have behaved as if it were.

Anglo-American policy has made whatever areas of Europe it could act upon into a vacuum intended to become an experimental laboratory for the resurrection of defunct worlds

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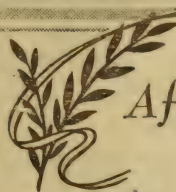
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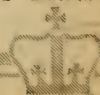
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G. A. BORGESE

### CONTRIBUTORS

KAY BOYLE is a well-known novelist and writer of short stories. Among her books are "Avalanche," "Armistice Diary," and "The Crazy Hunter."

UMA SHANKAR is the pseudonym of an Indian journalist now in the United States.

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# Films

JAMES  
AGEE

WHEN a good man gets a real chance in Hollywood it is not only news; the least one can do is salute those who, aware of the gamble, gave him the money and the chance and protected him in it. So, with pleasure, I salute David Loew and Robert Hakim, thanks to whom Jean Renoir has made "The Southerner," his own adaptation of George Sessions Perry's "Hold Autumn in Your Hand." "The Southerner" is an attempt to tell the story of a year in the life of a family of cotton tenant farmers. Though its people are exceedingly poor, this is not a political or social "exposure" of the tenant system, nor does it pay any attention to class or racial friction. It tries simply to be a poetic, realistic chronicle of a farm year's hope, work, need, anxiety, pride, love, disaster, and reward—a chronicle chiefly of soil, seasons, and weather, the only other dramatic conflict being furnished by a pathologically unkind neighbor. About 60 per cent of the film was made on location—in California not Texas; most of the time the rest is so well done that you can't tell the difference. Physically, exclusive of the players, it is one of the most sensitive and beautiful American-made pictures I have seen. There is a solemnly eager, smoky, foggy 'possum hunt which may have been studio-faked for all I know; it gets perfectly the mournful, hungry mysteriousness of a Southern country winter. There is an equally good small-town street; I have seldom, in a movie, seen the corner of a brick building look at once so lonely and so highly charged with sadness and fear.

Yet warmly as I respect the picture's whole desire and the many good things about it, I saw it with as much regret as pleasure. The heart of this kind of living is work, and the picture should have made the work as immediate to the watcher as to the worker in all its methods, meanings, and emotions. It offers instead, mere token shots of work; and in these, too often, the clothes aren't even sweated. Just as unfortunate and more constantly disappointing, most of the players are wrong, anywhere from a little bit to a whole world wide of the mark. I don't so much mind that the dialect is very much thinned out, or even that it lacks uniformity. The thinning, to the point of general intelligibility, is a convention I would accept, though I'd put my money on handling it straight. The lack of uniformity, though far less

defensible, I would accept if only the people were right in other respects—which in that case would be unlikely. But most of the people were screeching, unbearably wrong. They didn't walk right, stand right, eat right, sound right, or look right, and, as bad or worse, behind the work of each it was clear that the basic understanding and the basic emotional and mental—or merely human—attitude were wrong, to the point of unintentional insult.

To cast and realize such a film correctly would be, I must grant, one of the hardest conceivable jobs; but when has that stopped being an artist's responsibility? The one person in the film who for all his minor mistakes is basically right, in everything from cheekbones and eyes to posture to spiritual attitude, is Zachary Scott; he was born in Texas. J. Carroll Naish is no Texan, but he is such an observant, disciplined, and clear-spirited actor that he comes close to making up the difference. I have no desire to go into unkind detail about other players such as Beulah Bondi, Betty Field, Percy Kilbride, Blanche Yurka, Norman Lloyd, and two dreadfully miscalculated children, but I'll have to a little, to make my point at all clear. Percy Kilbride is a wonderful player of certain rural types, but it is hard to imagine him much south of Connecticut or much west of the Hudson. Betty Field clearly and deeply cares for the kind of regional exactness I too care for; but her efforts to disguise the fact that she is an intelligent, sincere young artist who feels sympathy and respect for a farmer's wife are as embarrassing as mine would be if I tried to play Jeeter Lester. Beulah Bondi, an actress I generally admire, demonstrates merely how massively misguided, and how swarmed with unconscious patronage, the whole attitude of the theater has always been toward peasants. I don't want to go on. I am afraid that in my objection to this kind of inaccuracy there are streaks of parochial pedantry and snobbery. But mainly, so far as I know, my objection comes out of a respect for people. If you are going to try to show real people, in a real place, I think that you have to know how their posture and speech and facial structure can alter even within the width of one county; that you have to communicate the exact beauty of those minute particulars without their ever becoming more pointed to the audience than to the people portrayed, and without a single false tone; that if you don't, you are in grave danger of unconscious patronage, you don't see or appreciate or understand your subjects as well as you think you do, you stand likely

therefore to be swamped by your mere affection or respect, and so perhaps should give up the whole idea.

# Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

THE exhibition "A Problem for Critics," now running at 67 Gallery (through June), is pointed up by Howard Putzel's catalogue note, which singles out and attempts to define a recent and most important tendency in American avant-garde painting. It is illustrated somewhat inconsistently by a show composed of works by artists as disparate as Masson, Miró, Arp, Hofmann, Pollock, Picasso, Gottlieb, Gorky, Matta, Rothko, Tamayo, Pousette-Dart, Krassner, and Seliger. Mr. Putzel ventures to call the trend a "new metamorphism" whose "real forerunners were Arp and Miró." (James Johnson Sweeney, in the spring *Partisan Review*, refers to it as "an expressionist direction.") There is no question that Mr. Putzel has hold of something here. Until recently abstract painting in this country and elsewhere was governed by the structural or formal or "physical" pre-occupations that are supposed to exhaust the intentions of cubism and its inheritors. Now there has come a swing back toward "poetry" and "imagination," the signs of which are the return of elements of representation, smudged contour lines, and the third dimension. Images, no longer locked to the surface in flat profile, reappear against indeterminate, atmospheric depths. Exhibited emotions give the spectator something to hang his interest on.

Aware of the dominant direction of art since the mid-nineteenth century—which, compelled by the social, psychological, and philosophical necessities of our late bourgeois age, takes painting farther and farther from illusion—one is liable to pronounce Mr. Putzel's new "ism" a step backward. But the judgment of taste does not quite agree. The aridity of orthodox abstract art—the fault belongs to the practitioners rather than to the mode—has of late been such that relief from almost any quarter seems welcome. Yet a great danger is involved in this new quasi-literary turn.

For one thing, I disagree with Mr. Putzel that the inspiration of the new tendency came from Arp and Miró—both of whom, despite their desire to restore "poetry" to modern painting, continue the flattening-out, abstracting,

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"purifying" process of cubism. And their influence, moreover, was strong in abstract painting long before the new turn came. No, that owes its impulse to surrealist "biomorphism." Whereas the cubists and post-cubists, including Arp and Miró, had either ended with the inanimate still life or made the animate inanimate by reducing it to pure silhouette, "biomorphism," restoring the third dimension, gave the elements of abstract painting the look of organic substances.

There is nothing aesthetically wrong in this *per se*, but it does at this moment entail a certain return to the human-all-too-human, too obvious emotion, and academic subterfuges. The novelty and apparent importance of his subject tend to keep the artist from realizing the conventionality of his methods. Instead of exploring the means of his art in order to produce his subject matter, he will hunt about for new "ideas" under which to cover up the failure to develop his means. These new "ideas" may make a sensation for a day, but they shortly begin to look woefully faded.

Many of the painters at 67 Gallery do not really belong to the new trend. Most of those who do have succumbed to its dangers. One or two, however, have accepted just enough of surrealist cross-fertilization to free themselves from the strangling personal influence of the cubist and post-cubist masters. Yet they have not abandoned the direction these masters charted. They advance their art by painterly means without relaxing the concentration and high impassiveness of true modern style.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

SOME of the musicologists' books have been bad; others—like Dr. Curt Sachs's "World History of the Dance" and "History of Musical Instruments"—have been remote from the general public's interest (but anyone who does happen to be interested in the music of India should look up an article by Wasantha Wana Singh in the November 1941 issue of *Listen*, in which there is a paragraph on Dr. Sachs's errors on the subject).

On the other hand Dorian's "History of Music in Performance" (Norton; \$4) deals with a problem which every musician and music-lover is concerned with constantly—the problem of the

correct realization of a piece of music in living sound from the written directions of the composer's score. These directions derive their meaning from the style of performance of the composer's period; we are not sure of their precise meaning even in the scores of the past 150 years which write out every sound that is to be produced and prescribe in increasing detail the manner of its production; and our uncertainty increases as we go back in time to scores which employ forms of shorthand that no longer have any meaning for us. In order, then, to produce today the sound of an eighteenth-century keyboard work in its own day it has been necessary to find out what its notation of ornaments and indications of tempo meant to an eighteenth-century performer, what they referred to in the style of performance he was familiar with, what sounds they told him to produce and how they told him to produce them. This is one of the things which the musicologists are busy with; one of those which they point to as evidence of the value of their science; one, certainly, which has the possibility of usefulness to the general public that some of their other activities have not.

But this possibility is only partly realized in Dorian's book. There are things in it like Frescobaldi's preface to the published edition of his Toccatas for organ that are illuminating; but there are even more things like the hullabaloo of historical information about the sarabande or the chaconne or the minuet, which we are told will establish the correct manner of their performance, but after which I knew no more about their performance than I had known before. Nor could I get any precise notions from the discussion of ornaments; and though a friend claimed to have got something from it by working hard over it, I think he really got it from his additional reading of Dolmetsch.

However I did get amusement from a couple of musico-political details in this work of pure scholarship: a photograph—the only one of its kind in the book—of Ormandy with Toscanini, intended to reinforce the impression Ormandy attempts to create in his foreword with things like his reference to "Toscanini and those of us who subscribe to the principles of interpretative loyalty" (that is, fidelity to the written score).

Of the books the musicologists have given us, only one that is of interest and value to the general public is first-rate: the Harvard Dictionary of Music (Harvard University Press; \$6), by Dr. Willi Apel, with a few articles by other

scholars. It is concerned only with music, not with musicians; and the articles I have dipped into here and there I have found to be excellent. One reader I know was irritated by the bibliographies that referred him to obscure and inaccessible European periodicals, most of them German. And I encountered one extremely bad article—the one on music criticism by Dr. Hugo Leichtentritt.

It is not so much its ideas about the task of criticism and what this requires in the critic that I am concerned with. For I should expect a German pedant and the author of "Music, History, and Ideas" to think that Calvocoressi's schematization of criticism, which distinguishes in it the critic's "predispositions," his "direct data," and his "indirect data," offers a practical method of operation for the critic, whose task is consciously "to separate these considerations and . . . to avoid undue prevalence of the personal 'predisposition' over the

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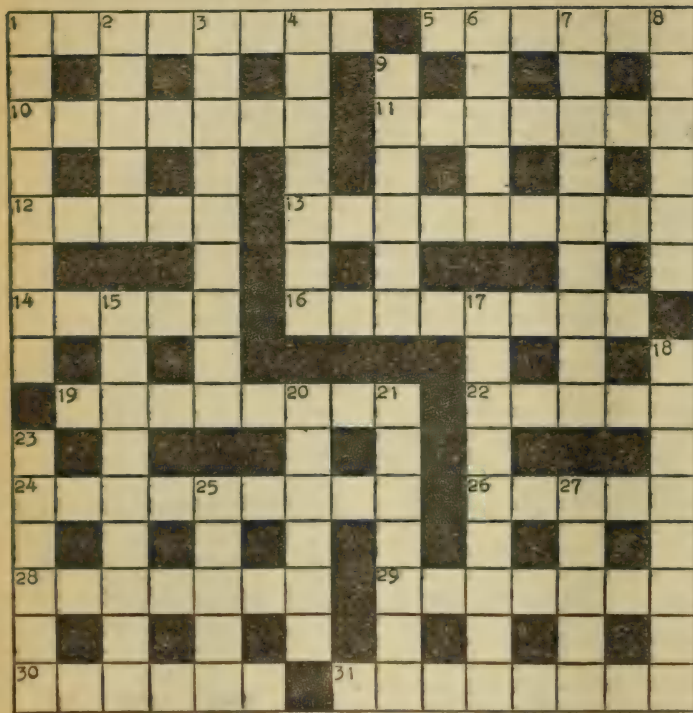
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 119

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 A bit touched in respect of the gentry
- 5 His ghost is more famous than he himself!
- 10 Do the walls again, back and forth
- 11 In Hollywood parlance, a repeated routine
- 12 Girl whose make-up upsets the males
- 13 Caught in the middle of the act, the Press is distinctly dispirited
- 14 "Thus Raleigh, thus immortal Sidney shone (illustrious names!) in great -----'s days"
- 16 A Jacobite defeat
- 19 Haircuts that reveal the shape of feminine heads
- 22 The clergy's portion
- 24 Gets eager (anag.)
- 26 You may also know this goose as the Great Northern Diver
- 28 Where the Grand National is run
- 29 Dried up and drank to the health of
- 30 Worthless
- 31 The old Vikings, no doubt (two words, 3 and 5)

## DOWN

- 1 A worker in wood
- 2 Drive back
- 3 The fairy shoemaker of Ireland
- 4 British chieft the Romans called Caractacus
- 6 Forbidden fruit

- 7 Dormant, but the aroma remains to the end
- 8 Carry too far
- 9 Drive forward
- 15 She was placed on the altar in a rash vow by her father. A tragedy noted by Euripides and Goethe
- 17 Where light baggage might find it most tormenting (three words, 2, 3 and 4)
- 18 Islands where he adopts Mormonism
- 20 Foliage departs
- 21 "This royal throne of kings, this -----d isle"
- 23 Not on the level
- 25 A change of heart
- 27 Bandmen are required to keep one eye on the score and the other on this

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 118

ACROSS:—1 JUDAH; 6 MUSED; 9 ORATORY; 10 RUN IN; 11 SWAIN; 12 EPICURE; 16 REHASH; 19 ALSACE; 22 STILL LIFE; 23 MISS; 24 ACRE; 25 UPON; 26 ACTS; 27 MICA; 29 IRIS; 30 GREENSAND; 33 UNSEAL; 35 TOECAP; 38 CARLIST; 41 CLUCK; 42 AARON; 43 ELEANOR; 44 PEWITT; 46 YOUTH.

DOWN:—1 JUROR; 2 DINAH; 3 HONEST; 4 CADI; 5 TOLU; 6 MYSELF; 7 SCALA; 8 DANTE; 13 PHILOMELA; 14 COLD; 15 RAINCOATS; 17 ELISION; 18 ASSUAGE; 20 SEASIDE; 21 CORSICA; 23 ANIL; 31 RACKET; 32 NOTARY; 33 UNCAP; 34 SQUAW; 36 CORFU; 37 PUNCH; 39 RUED; 40 IONA.

factual 'data,' " and who in this way can "advance music criticism from the level of a hit-or-miss reaction of individuals to the rank of a real science."

What I find shocking is the sloppy, shoddy job of scholarship that is evident in the mere factual material of the article. The first section postpones journalistic criticism of performances to deal with criticism of music in books. But mention of Schumann's discussions of music sends Leichtentritt off on the tangent of other composers who were critics—among them Berlioz. Having mentioned him here, Leichtentritt does not mention him where he belongs—in the second section on musical journalism, where, ignoring the brilliant writing Berlioz did in the *Journal des Débats* from 1835 to 1863, Leichtentritt says: "Eduard Hanslick, who wrote from 1864 for the *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), may justly be called the father of musical journalism, if only for the reason [italics mine—B. H. H.] that, in his one-sided attitude against Wagner and for Brahms, he introduced into music criticism an element of personal aggressiveness and prejudice which, unfortunately, was imitated by a number of later critics."

Paralleling Leichtentritt's omission of Berlioz is his omission of the most brilliant of German musical journalists, the poet Heine. And when he deals with England he mentions Ernest Newman, because Newman happens to be "best known internationally," but not Bernard Shaw, one of the greatest of all music critics, whom it would have taken some effort to know about, and not even the most distinguished English critic of recent years, W. J. Turner. As for the United States, it has had "a galaxy of eminent critics who have done honor to the profession"; and first comes a list of the older generation, concerning which I will express my doubt that the judgment that Krehbiel did honor to his profession was based on any investigation into what that American Hanslick wrote. And then a list of those who "at present" are "with others . . . the best known and most esteemed critics": Downes, Oscar Thompson, Virgil Thomson, Chotzinoff, Perkins, and Leonard Liebbling—a list which includes one man who gave up his job four years ago, and fails to distinguish the men who are worthy of esteem from those who are not.

"But then," a friend remarked, "consider the reviews the book would have got if it had had a good article on criticism."

# THE *Nation*

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Managing Editor

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Washington Editor

L. F. STONE

Literary Editor

MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors: KEITH HUTCHISON • MAXWELL S. STEWART

ROBERT BENDINER [On leave with the army]

Editor Political War Section

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Assistant Editor

J. MITCHELL MORSE

Music Critic

B. H. HAGGIN

Drama Critic

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## *The Shape of Things*

CERTAIN LESSONS ARE TO BE LEARNED FROM THE seven-day veto crisis at San Francisco, so happily ended by Stalin's agreement to permit freedom of hearing and discussion before the Security Council. In the first place, as *The Nation* pointed out last week, it is quite clear that Russia wants the conference to succeed and intends to remain within the new security organization. Russia may be stubborn, and lack diplomatic tact, and resort exasperatingly to unilateral action when cooperation would be to everybody's advantage, but Russia knows as well as any nation the cost of armed isolation. There may be forces in Russia, just as there are in this country, pressing in that direction, but they are not centered in the Kremlin. In the second place, as a number of intelligent editorial writers have said, one reason for Russia's reluctance to permit free discussion of any matter brought to the attention of the Security Council was the clear possibility that it might be used to raise such old and settled issues as the independence of the Baltic states. Senator Vandenberg has suggested as much. Russia has not yet got rid of its deep mistrust of outside anti-Soviet forces; some of our irresponsible leaders and writers have done little to improve matters. In the third place, the resolution of the veto crisis shows that Russia respects a firm stand when it is convinced the intentions of its opponents are honest. The position of the powers small and large which fight for free discussion could not, in general, be interpreted as anti-Soviet: it was definitely in behalf of the rights of lesser nations, which Russia previously had championed. After the word of the agreement reached the conference, one of the Soviet delegates remarked: "If a point is proved to us and we see and feel that it is based on good will and justified desires, we agree to it." There's still much to learn in the United Nations school of international relations, but the first semester has seen great strides made.

★

ACCEPTANCE OF THE BRETTON WOODS PACTS by an overwhelming, bi-partisan vote in the House is the most encouraging step that Congress has yet taken in the direction of world cooperation. Powerful interests, including a large segment of the banking world, have fought bitterly against the stabilization fund provided for in the agreements. Yet in the showdown the undoubted desire of the American people for better world relations prevailed. Even the Republicans, who do not readily respond to popular pressure, supported the Bretton Woods agreements 138 to 18. And a few hours after the vote Governor Dewey, who is not insensitive to the drift of the political winds, came out in a belated

indorsement of the pacts. Coming as it did a few hours before the breaking of the veto deadlock at San Francisco, the House's action should contribute substantially toward the creation of a better atmosphere for international collaboration than has existed since the early days of the United Nations Conference. Its constructive significance is counterbalanced, however, by the fact that the trade-agreements program is encountering heavy weather in the Senate. The Finance Committee, in a report favoring extension of the reciprocal trade agreements, has wiped out—by a one-vote margin—the meaning of its act by blue-penciling the section of the bill which permits the President to cut tariff rates 50 per cent below present levels. Senator George promises to try to restore the provision when the bill goes to the floor. Unless he succeeds, the heart of the measure will have been cut out. Power to negotiate lower tariffs on a reciprocal basis is quite as important as the Bretton Woods agreements.

\*

**THE APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY** to succeed Brigadier General Hines as head of the Veterans' Administration is good news for the returning service men. General Bradley has had a conspicuously brilliant record in the war. His elevation to the rank of commander of the Twelfth Army Group some months prior to the landings on D-Day came after distinguished service in Tunisia and Sicily. The fact that General Bradley is considered one of the two or three best field generals in the Allied armies is evidence of his ability as an organizer and administrator. What is just as important, his unflinching concern for the men in the ranks has earned him the title of "the doughboy's general." President Truman could hardly have made a better choice. Apparently, regardless of the findings of the Rankin committee now investigating charges against the Veterans' Administration, General Bradley is being given full powers if not injunctions to clean house. The courteous dismissal of General Hines, who has held the post for twenty-two years, must be read alongside of the President's assurance that the Veterans' Administration would be streamlined and modernized to meet the needs of the veterans of this war. This statement, coupled with the Bradley appointment, is the best answer that could be given to Rankin's attempts to discredit witnesses before his committee.

\*

**WE AGREE WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN THAT THE** salaries of members of Congress are too low, but we do not agree that this is the time to boost them from \$10,000 to "perhaps \$15,000 to \$25,000 a year." A straight increase, as the President pointed out, would be more honest and direct than the "annual expense account" of \$2,500 which the members of the House had voted themselves. But neither is justified as long as the war is going on and other wage and salaried workers are tied to the Little Steel formula. Wayne Morse, as a former member of the War Labor Board, was naturally aware of the implications of the House vote. He said that Congress had struck a serious blow against the stabilization program and that Mr. Truman, while disapproving of the method used, had condoned it. Senator Morse is right. Certainly the Congress should set an example in self-restraint to a country already restive under war-time

wage restrictions and not claim for itself advantages which are denied the rest of the population. And certainly the President should not talk about doubling Congressmen's pay on the very day he forbids any change in the Little Steel formula. We suggest a compromise for the duration: let the President veto the expense-account bill and recommend a straight increase of 15 per cent plus other adjustments available to factory hands and white-collar workers—though we don't know about merit increases! That ought to satisfy our legislators at least until V-J Day.

\*

**CONTINUED JAPANESE RETIREMENT IN SEVERAL** areas in China has made it clear that the enemy is giving up a substantial portion of his holdings in order to strengthen his position for the inevitable American landings. The full extent of the withdrawal is not yet known. The corridor to Indo-China, which was never wide enough to provide protection against American bombings, has already been abandoned. Withdrawals have also been reported along the coast north of Foochow and west of Hongkong. Since the Chinese have no first-line troops in any of these areas and are prevented from sending them there by the Japanese corridor to Hongkong, it is clear that these retreats are of a strategic rather than a tactical nature. It may be assumed that the enemy will dispose his forces in such a way as to protect the few ports—notably Shanghai, Hongkong, and Tsingtao—seizure of which would afford ready access to the interior. The virtual completion of the Okinawa campaign makes the Japanese position in the Shanghai area particularly vulnerable. An American landing near the mouth of the Yangtze would not only open the way to the richest and most populous part of China but would bottle up huge Japanese forces in the Nanking-Hankow area, leaving them but a single railway as an unreliable communication line. Japanese efforts to create effective defenses in this area must be seriously hampered by the panic which the capture of Okinawa has created in the homeland. Leading commanders and picked troops are being withdrawn to the home islands. With its navy virtually eliminated and its air force reduced to a maximum of 4,000 combat planes, Japan has been forced to concentrate its efforts on elaborate defensive fortifications. Germany's experiences with "impregnable defenses" was hardly such as to give our remaining enemy much comfort.

\*

**ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING STORIES LATELY** told about our greatest novelist, Thomas Mann, appeared last week in a column by Marquis W. Childs. In 1933, soon after Hitler came to power, Mr. Childs made a pilgrimage to Lübeck, Dr. Mann's birthplace. He talked to a group of young people, sons and daughters of the leading citizens, and he told them he wanted to visit Thomas Mann's old home and the house which had been the setting for "Buddenbrooks." This request produced some embarrassment. It was plain that the young men and women were sympathetic to the very new New Order, but local pride, and perhaps even that national pride so flamboyantly proclaimed by the Führer, outweighed their fascist scruples. So they explained carefully that they disapproved of their famous

fellow-townsmen's political views, and then led Marquis Childs on his pilgrimage, talking freely about the history of the Mann family, so closely woven into that of Lübeck. How much of the deep conflict that plunged the German people into the nightmare of terror and war and final destruction is summed up in that little incident! No one understands that inner conflict better than Thomas Mann. No one can do more than he, now that the battle of arms is over, to make the Germans themselves understand the meaning of what has happened to them. For the moral and psychological bases of human behavior have been the subject of his life's thought and he has appreciated more completely than any of his contemporaries the subtle processes of disintegration that lead toward individual and social collapse. Dr. Mann is seventy now, and his birthday, just past, will be celebrated on the twenty-fifth of this month at a dinner Nation Associates is holding at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. We are thankful for the presence of Thomas Mann in America, proud to claim him as a citizen, delighted to have the opportunity to honor him on his birthday. And most of all, we are glad to know that his new country will be able to turn to him for counsel and help in its difficult dealings with the country of his birth. His great novel about Joseph is finished; but much work lies ahead of Thomas Mann.

✱

TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS, the following note was inclosed in the pay envelopes of all the employees of Lyman's Limited, Montreal, one of Canada's largest wholesale drug firms. J. H. Andrews is the president of the company.

#### INTER-OFFICE MEMO

To: ALL EMPLOYEES From: J. H. ANDREWS

Monday, June 11, is Election Day. If you have a vote it is your duty as a citizen to exercise same. Vote for the party you are in favor of. BUT VOTE.

Some of you may have listened to the recent propaganda in favor of the C. C. F. Party. I have made a study of this party for the past five years. My findings are that should the C. C. F. win this election, Canada will face the same perils as did Germany under the National Socialist Party that installed Hitler to power. The C. C. F. program is to merge the railroads, banks, insurance companies, etc. I ask you the simple question—Do you know of any business successfully run by a school teacher? The C. C. F. members who will, if elected, govern this country, are made up of college professors, school teachers, and idealists. I have documentary evidence on file covering every important member of the C. C. F. Party, which is open for your inspection at any time. You may vote C. C. F. against my advice as this is your privilege. I cannot, however, accept the responsibility of maintaining employment for you and the other members of our organization for any length of time under a C. C. F. controlled government. I want you to take time to read the inclosed booklet, "The Road to Serfdom," which appeared in the April issue of *Reader's Digest*. This article was written by an internationally known economist. Canada faces the same problems under the C. C. F. as Central Europe faced during the rise of fascism. The fundamental truths brought to light in this booklet should convince you that Canada needs no C. C. F. or Socialist government.

## Save the FEPC!

UNLESS decisive pressure is brought to bear upon Congress during the next few weeks in support of the President's appeal, the Fair Employment Practices Committee will pass out of existence on June 30. It will cease to exist just at the moment when reconversion will create the gravest danger of wholesale employment discrimination against Negro war workers. This critical situation has arisen as a result of a typical underhanded maneuver by Representative Rankin and his diehard Southern tory associates. Having overruled President Roosevelt's request for a \$599,000 grant for the 1945-46 fiscal year, the House Appropriations Committee has withheld all funds for the agency on the ground that there is a bill before Congress to establish the FEPC on a permanent basis. And the appropriation measure is to be brought before the House under a rule that would make it possible for Rankin, by raising a point of order, to block any motion to provide for the FEPC. He has served notice that he will do this.

Meanwhile Rankin has seen to it that the bill for a permanent FEPC is bottled up in the Rules Committee, where it has been held for weeks. The bill continues to be kept there despite President Truman's vigorous appeal that it be brought up for action because of the urgency of the reconversion problem. In view of Mr. Truman's close association with many of the Southern Democrats who have been leading the fight against the bill, many observers doubted that he would take the lead in pushing the measure. The President not only demonstrated real political courage in defying the White Supremacy bloc, but showed once more his capacity for striking at the root of an issue when he declared that "discrimination in the matter of employment . . . because of race, creed, or color is not only un-American in nature but will lead eventually to industrial strife and unrest."

As a result of the President's leadership the Rules Committee may yet be compelled to report out the measure. If the committee continues to sabotage it, it may still be forced out on the floor by petition. This, however, can be achieved only if the voters back home begin to flood their Congressmen with messages requesting prompt action. If the bill is brought to a vote in the House, most observers believe that it can be passed.

In the Senate the situation is equally difficult, if less complicated. A bill similar to the House measure has been reported out of committee and is expected to be taken up within the next week. But the opposition has served warning that it will resort to a filibuster if necessary to prevent the bill from being passed. The chances of favorable action before June 30 are slight. Here, too, the one hope that a permanent FEPC may be set up in time for the reconversion period lies in intensive pressure from the voters. It is also possible for the Senate to force restoration of funds for the FEPC in the current war-agencies appropriation bill and thus repair the damage wrought by legislative trickery in the House. The outcome of this struggle will go a long way toward deciding whether we shall have less or more racial conflict in the post-war years.

## Occupation of Germany

WITH General Eisenhower's visit to Berlin the joint occupation of Germany has begun, at least symbolically. The control commission provided for in the Yalta agreement has been set up. It has not started to function, however, and we have yet to learn whether common policies of occupation will be followed by the four occupying powers. The control commission will presumably seek to establish as many common policies as possible, but no power is committed to any in advance. Every measure—economic, political, or cultural—favored by one of the occupying powers may be presented to the control commission for consideration.

A careful analysis of our problem in Europe and of our relations with Russia must make it apparent that it is in our interest, and the interest of world peace, to have as complete agreement as possible in the occupation of Germany. Serious differences between Russia and the West might easily lead to a permanent partition of the nation. There are some who advocate such a partition, who think that it would help to destroy the German peril. But no one could maintain that it would ease the tensions between Russia and the Western Allies. A Chinese wall erected across Germany would increase the danger of a policy applied by one of the great powers being interpreted as a strategic threat by another. Such a division might even result in the secret arming of each remnant of Germany, provided a basic accord between Russia and the West is not reached.

Though the Russians seem more reluctant than the British and Americans to establish a common policy in Germany, the apparent inclination of the Western governments to press for a common policy should not be interpreted as anti-Russian. That inclination is, in fact, strongest among those American officials who look upon cooperation with Russia as the keystone of our post-war political strategy. They realize that the best chance of permanent agreement with Russia lies in the creation of an economically healthy Europe, which must include a militarily impotent but economically functioning Germany. The greatest danger to future peace with Russia would arise from the continuance of an economic desert and a political vacuum in the center of Europe. This would tempt the major victorious nations to compete for control of this great central area, to the detriment of the unity of the continent and to the peril of any permanent accord among them.

There is a more immediate reason why we should desire and strive for a common occupation of Germany. It would eliminate difficulties arising from certain disadvantages which exist in the areas controlled by the Western nations in comparison with the Russian zone. That zone has a cereal surplus; the western areas have a cereal deficit. The

Russian zone has the undestroyed Silesian industrial areas; the west has the rubble heaps of the Rhine and the Ruhr industries. If Germany is not administered as an economic and political unit, starvation may sweep its western half this winter. This possibility is the more ominous because we are legally prohibited from sending food or relief to Germany, while the Russians, who will certainly take their share out of Germany, are quite willing to send goods and materials into the conquered country for pump-priming purposes.

Furthermore, certain divergences of policy between the Western Allies and the Russians have already appeared which should be eliminated as fast as possible through a common program. The Russians are clearly inclined to kill Nazis more expeditiously and to fraternize with anti-Nazis more readily than are the British and Americans. They will do the first because they are less cumbered by the multitudinous legal problems revealed in Justice Jackson's report to the President. They will do the second because from the beginning they have been more interested than we in discriminating between Nazis and anti-Nazis. Even now the Russians are arranging games and dances with approved German groups and offering special food rations to known anti-Nazi leaders, while our army is still bound and embarrassed by the non-fraternization rule, originally imposed for security reasons. A common policy with the Russians might also eliminate some of the industrial bigwigs which our army has been importing into Germany to run industry.

The situation, in brief, is that the Russians are wrong in their reluctance to establish a common policy and generally right in their own policies. We are right in wanting a common program but usually wrong in the specific policies established in our zone. There is thus a double reason for desiring a genuinely common occupation of Germany.

## The Fight for S 380

THE drive for full-employment legislation is gaining momentum, and the first order of business on the domestic front for every labor and liberal organization is to get behind S 380, the Full Employment bill. That the Truman Administration intends to make the bill one of its major objectives was indicated by the release by the White House of the letter from War Mobilization Director Fred M. Vinson to Senator Robert F. Wagner giving unqualified indorsement to S 380. To have won the support of this right-of-center Kentucky Democrat was a substantial political victory, for Vinson's approval will make it easier to muster recruits in the Southern and conservative wing of the party. The President's own position was made amply clear in the Murray-Truman report on full employment last December, when he was still the senior Senator from Missouri, and it is obvious that his succession to the White House has in no way changed his opinion on this fundamental issue.

Judge Vinson deserves the highest commendation for lending his aid to the bill. His letter should make it impossible to draw the usual red herrings across the path of the fight for full employment. While affirming the necessity for

### COMING IN THE NATION

BULGARIA—FROM INSIDE

By Constantine Poulos

*For the past three months Mr. Poulos has been the only American or British correspondent in Bulgaria.*

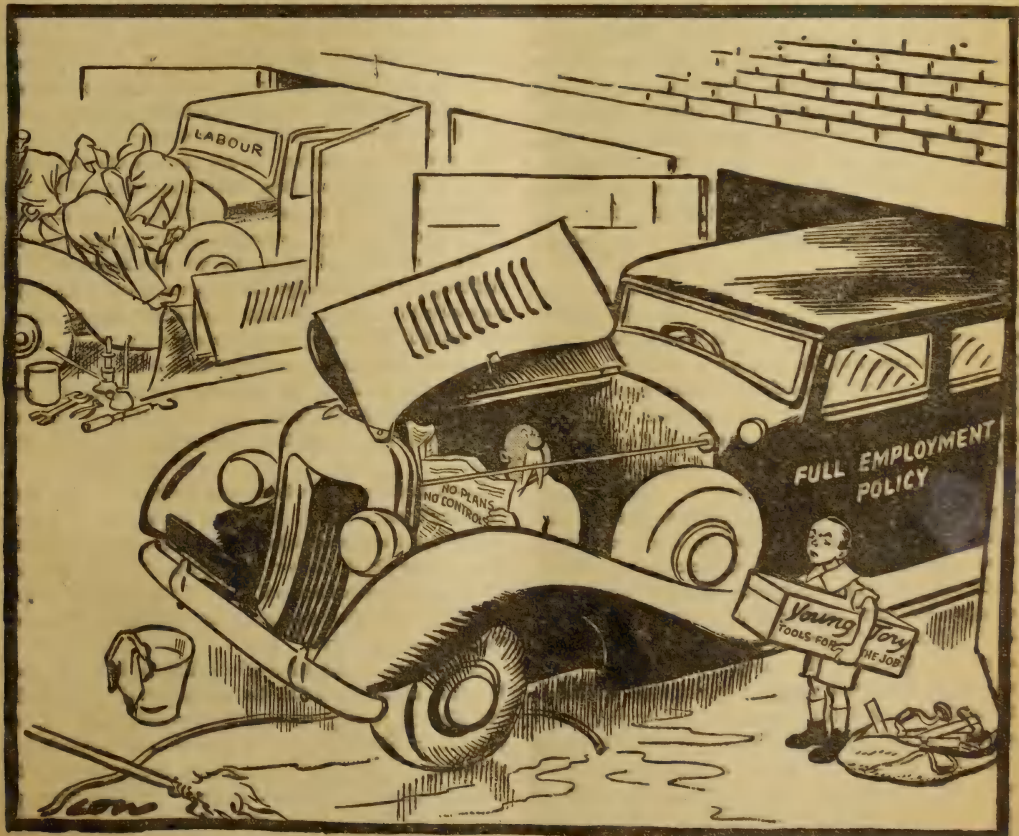
maintaining free enterprise, Judge Vinson goes to the heart of the problem by declaring: "History shows us that business, labor, and agriculture cannot in themselves assure the maintenance of high levels of production and employment. The government . . . must assume this responsibility and take measures broad enough to meet the issues." A distinguished retail business man, Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, has lent his aid to the bill in another letter to Senator Wagner, which may help to combat the theory put forward—oddly enough—by Senator Taft that full employment can be obtained only under socialism. Needless to say, Taft does not regard this as an argument for socialism but only as an argument against full-employment legislation. While Taft purports to trace the full-employment idea to Section 118 of the Soviet constitution, Ruml says the new bill is "not based on, nor does it owe its origin to, any foreign ideologies, but is an American conception."

The Full Employment bill envisages a new type of supplementary national budget, aimed to insure sufficient purchasing power to make possible the operation of business at full capacity. A graphic attempt to spell out what this would actually mean in terms of private and federal expenditure has been made by the labor-policy committee of the National Planning Association. In a pamphlet study prepared for it by

Dr. John H. G. Pierson of the United States Department of Labor the committee has sketched a national budget calling for a post-war national income of \$154,500,000,000, supported by \$25,600,000,000 in private-investment expenditures and aggregate governmental spending of \$30,400,000,000 a year. Consumer expenditures would be lifted to \$129,000,000 a year. The report also proposes the annual public investment of \$5,000,000,000 in housing, regional development, and social services. So-called compensatory spending by government would be kept to a minimum.

Perhaps the most interesting report of all in this field is embodied in the letter which Secretary of Commerce Wallace has sent to Senator Wagner. This letter provides a vivid statistical picture of the business man's stake in a full-employment economy. After analyzing the huge business losses of the early thirties, Secretary Wallace urges that "when a business depression gets under way or threatens, we do not complacently permit mass unemployment and business bankruptcy when we have the financial resources to prevent these developments and when we have vast need for public improvements."

This is what S 380 intends to do. It would provide a statement of policy and a flexible framework of legislative action and consultation within which full employment could become a realizable goal.



ENGINE? WHAT ENGINE?

# Arrest of "the Six"

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 11

THERE are signs of considerable official unhappiness here over the arrest of the editors of *Amerasia*, two State Department aides, a young naval officer, and Mark Julius Gayn, a free-lance writer on Far Eastern affairs. Through friendly channels the news was spread this weekend that neither the Department of Justice nor the FBI was enthusiastic about this assignment, and that they acted on orders from above. It is implied that the "above" is the White House. I cannot vouch for the authenticity of this information, but I can for the reliability of the source. The fact that this story was put in circulation is significant, and indicates that law-enforcement officials are queasy about the whole affair. This queasiness is not at all difficult to understand.

The headlines have been very clear, perhaps too clear for the comfort of certain editors: "FBI Nabs Six as Spies," "War Secret Leaks Widespread." But the actual charges as disclosed to the press corps publicly and in off-the-record conferences are very vague; vague enough, for different reasons, to worry both Department of Justice lawyers and Washington correspondents. For although these arrests were made under certain provisions of the Espionage Act of 1917, it has not been alleged that the persons arrested were spies or that they had revealed military secrets or that they were engaged in anything other than the favorite Washington pastime of letting "confidential" information leak out. If this is a crime, all but a hopelessly inefficient minority of Washington's officials and newspapermen ought to be put in jail.

Fortunately it would be very difficult to put them there under the Espionage Act of 1917, which is far from being the equivalent of an Official Secrets Act. The United States has no Official Secrets Act. The only law under which action can be taken for disclosing confidential information is the Espionage Act. But the 1917 act is a law against espionage, not against gossip, and the provision under which these arrests were made refers to the unlawful disclosure of documents "relating to the national defense." It is difficult to imagine this being stretched by a court to cover memoranda discussing the Chinese political situation, much less transcripts of Japanese radio broadcasts and the other miscellaneous stuff, including even newspaper clippings, which circulate in government offices here stamped "restricted," "confidential," "secret," or "top secret," depending on the whim of the official who wields the stamp.

The best exposé of this case is to be found in the transcripts—available at the State Department—of the press conferences held on and off the record to explain the arrests and their purpose. I recommend a reading of these transcripts to members of Congress who are interested. If anyone thinks I exaggerate when I refer to whimsicality in classifying official documents I suggest he reads the question and answer

at Friday's press conference on the leak of confidential documents from the State Department to Ernest K. Lindley and Edward Weintal for their article in *Harper's* for last December. Acting Secretary Grew was asked, in view of the action taken against the six, whether "any investigation was instituted last December to determine the sources of Lindley's and Weintal's information."

This was, in a sense, a foolish question, since there was one difference between the article in *Harper's* and the articles in *Amerasia*. The former was defending State Department policy toward Franco, while the latter were criticizing recent State Department policy toward China. The department's top officials are constantly "leaking" to their friends, as the writings of Lindley, Arthur Krock, David Lawrence, Frank Kent, and others bear witness. The department objects only when there are leaks to its critics. Grew explained, in reply to the question about the Lindley-Weintal article, that top officials of the department have authority at any time to declassify, on their own judgment, information from "top secret"—the highest, hush-hush—to open information. He would not answer a question as to how far down this right to declassify extended, but it seems obvious that if documents marked "top secret" can be so easily declassified, many of them must contain nothing that is genuinely related to security, unless it be the security of the State Department from criticism.

Respective of whether the six arrested are innocent or guilty of something or other, State Department officials have said enough and done enough to indicate their purpose in this prosecution. They have exposed some people of decent and honorable record to a cruel and deadly smear in the rightist press in a campaign the purposes of which are (1) to stop leaks to critics of the State Department, (2) to frighten and get rid of younger officials who disagree with the new policy of giving the Kuomintang a blank check against the Chinese Communists, (3) to foment a red scare that must hurt relations with the Soviet Union, and (4) to prepare the public mind for a conditional "unconditional surrender" of Japan.

There is no reason whatever to believe that this is the President's policy, but it is the policy of the reactionary clique in the department headed by Grew. Some of these men in the years before Pearl Harbor were gulled by the "we-must-save-China-from-communism" line of the Japanese and are themselves spreading the same old line again. The consequences may be serious.

A reflection of this kind of thinking is found in Frank Kent's column *A Way Out for Japan*, published last Friday. Mr. Kent is an able, conservative journalist with excellent contacts in Washington. It is difficult to believe that he would have written as he did on so serious a subject unless he had authority in responsible sources for the views put forward. Mr. Kent said that if the Japanese surrendered they might be able to keep Korea and Formosa. He indicated that

he thought we would go easy on Japanese industry. He warned that if the Japanese did not surrender soon, the Russians would be coming into the war, that this would mean a drastic peace for Japan, that the Soviet Union would take Manchuria, and that this would lead to the communization of China. He clearly implied that in this respect the United States and its enemy, Japan, had a common interest against our ally, the Soviet Union. This is the kind of hobgoblin stuff that the Japanese used to hand the American embassy in Tokyo before the war. The State Department seems to be giving it out now.

I believe that the arrest of the six will prove to have been a very rash move on the part of the State Department and the FBI, and that in this case progressive forces have an unusual opportunity to expose and to purge the reactionary clique which continues to dominate the department and the Foreign Service. This is a chance to take the indictment of that clique out of the realm of abstract discussion in the complex field of foreign affairs. If the department drops this case or fails to prove the charges in court, it will stand convicted of a hysterical attack upon its critics in an attempt to prepare the way for a drastic change in our foreign policy. That change can only be brought about in the atmosphere of a red scare so intense as to overcome the lesson taught the American people at Pearl Harbor.

I don't think Grew and Holmes and Dooman and their collaborators of the Scripps-Howard and the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press will succeed in this plan. To play power politics in the Far East as they propose to play it would cost many American lives. It would cost American lives to encourage the Kuomintang to take more time off from the Japanese war to crush the Chinese reds. It would cost American lives to discourage the Soviet Union from entering the Far Eastern war as our ally. And it would cost American lives in another generation or two if we let the old red bogey deter us from so decisively defeating Japan and so completely transforming Japanese society as to make the rebirth of imperialism there impossible.

In the meantime FBI men have been moving into every department suspected of "leaks" critical of the new trends in official policy toward the Far East. The embassy at Chungking is being purged of men hostile to the anti-Yenan and soft-peace policy. There is good reason to believe that the Kuomintang secret service is cooperating in both Chungking and Washington by providing dossiers on American civilian and military officials suspected of "dangerous thoughts" on Far Eastern policy. I am told in Congressional circles that the Chinese embassy took a hand in the attempt to smear one reputable American official recently with the Civil Service Commission here; the intervention of a Republican Senator forced the commission to lay off. This dangerous drift in Far Eastern policy can only be stopped by the vigorous intervention of the White House and by public pressure on the White House for a shake-up in the Department of State and a full airing of the case against "the six."

The same crowd in Washington that appeased the Japanese before are out to save them now from full defeat, and for much the same reason—the old bulwark-against-you-know-what line.

## AMG Plans for Japan

*[The letter from which the following excerpts were taken was not intended for publication, but it is so pertinent to the subject discussed by I. F. Stone that we are printing it with the author's permission. His identity must obviously be concealed.]*

DEAR SIRS: Being among the officers training for the military government of Japan, I have read the comments of your columnist "Pacifcus" on the Far East with considerable interest. I write now in particular reference to the article in which Eugene Dooman of the State Department was mentioned in a rather disparaging manner. Several of us here who have met and heard Mr. Dooman are in full accord with the opinion of Pacifcus. Incidentally, I wonder if you have noticed the allusions to Dooman in James R. Young's book, "Behind the Rising Sun." These give adequate substantiation to the view you published.

Some of us here have become increasingly aware of the subtle trend our training has been taking. It is much too shortsighted, too exclusively interested in military expediency, and seems extremely one-sided about political matters. For instance, we are told time and again that the Zaibatsu [an opposition group of large industrialists] will be our sincere friends, that they have always opposed the military, and that we as military governors will find it expedient to control the Japanese economy through them. Such men as Kurt Bloch and Dooman have presented that point of view quite strongly. Frankly, I do not go along with them and I have many reasons for not doing so. To work through the Zaibatsu and intrust them with power would be to fall right into a trap being carefully constructed and baited for us. If we do fall, another Pacific war is entirely conceivable—not a cheerful thought! The Zaibatsu have given financial support to the various militaristic organizations. As an indication of the close cooperation between the Zaibatsu and military groups, there is the fact that just prior to the 1936 mutiny of the young army officers, the members of the larger Zaibatsu families were warned to leave Tokyo.

The suggestion of the Institute of Pacific Relations that the leading industrialists of Japan should be considered war criminals has not been officially mentioned to us. In fact, none of the findings of the Institute's Hot Springs conference have been officially discussed. Why? Because they suggested that we turn to certain liberal groups in Japan for political leadership? To judge by what we are told, all the Zaibatsu are anti-militaristic and more or less pro-American and always have been.

Incidentally, you might be interested in this statement made by Mr. Dooman at the school. He was asked what would be the attitude of the United States should the Communists threaten to take power in Japan. His reply was in effect that we would use methods similar to those employed by the British in Greece. I am not an advocate of communism for this country, far from it. However, it might be that some of the men under Okana, the leader of the Japanese Communists outside Japan, would prove invaluable in the move to give birth to a liberal Japan. In any event I fail to see good reason for the United States to meddle.

# Hotel Behind the Lines

BY KAY BOYLE

II

WE HAD dinner in the mess-hall, meat and carrots and white American bread, and red Italian wine—the Colonel, the Major, and I. It was the Major who had the jeep waiting at nine in the hotel's moonlit square, and he said goodby to us there. Colonel Sarett, with his cheeks shaven clean and his fresh clothes on, followed me in over the jeep's side and sat down beside me on the boards of the back seat. The doors and the sideflaps were buttoned on, for the night was cool, and our coats were belted around us. The address I gave the corporal at the wheel was not Mario's address; it was the name of the street and the villa where Mario would be.

"He said he would be there with his friend, the newspaperman, tonight," I said to Colonel Sarett, and the jeep took the corner of the square and jerked into the narrow street. "A man called Valdarno," I said. "They can tell me exactly how things are in Italy."

"Who the devil would Mario be?" said the Colonel.

Mario's mother was English, and his father had been Italian; I had known them in Florence eight years ago, I said. There had been an older brother then, a boy called Michele, who had played the mandolin and sung. He was nineteen when I knew him, and very beautiful—a good swimmer, a good runner—and he had gone to boarding-school in England and liked it there.

"What school did he go to?" asked the Colonel in spite of himself.

"That has nothing to do with it," I said in impatience.

"Very well," said the Colonel as we rode, and he drew the skirts of his overcoat around him. "I merely wanted to know."

"They live up on the hill, in the same house still, Mario told me when I telephoned tonight," I said, and I could see it clearly. There were almond and mimosa and olive trees growing fresh on the slope below it, and two little stone-walled terraces baked hard by the sun, with the shade of the cypresses marked sharp and conical, as dark as if drawn in ink, upon the terraces' pure white. "It was in the autumn, early October, of 1937, and the English mother set off for a day or two in Rome. And Michele came to the door, and he was angry, he was in a rage. His mother wrote me all this afterward," I said. "He called out after his mother as she left not to forget to bring him back some tennis shoes from Rome. 'For the damned Fascist relay races—I have to have them for the relay races,' was what he said."

"The night of the day she left, Mario came down into Florence for a concert," I said, "and he left Michele alone in the house. And then he did it."

"He did what?" asked Colonel Sarett, and his voice was a little shocked, as though he knew exactly what was to come.

"He shot himself. He killed himself," I said. "Mario came home from the concert, and there was a letter on the table,

with Michele's cameo ring lying on it. The letter just said that he had had trouble finding the gun, and after he'd found it, it was so rusty that he didn't know if it would work. But it did work."

We were out of the city now, and the jeep was moving tentatively along what was no longer street but road, as if feeling its way across the temporary planks of the bridges, and between the moon-blanching walls. Then it came to a stop before a gate.

The house lay close to the road beyond the garden wall, bright white and palace-like under the moon, the substance of it seemingly too lambent for stone. Colonel Sarett rang the bell, and as we waited the trees stood close around us, motionless, fragrant, and mysteriously leafed.

"In another month the nightingales will be singing," Colonel Sarett said. He had taken his cap off, and the moonlight lay in a sharp, metallic blade across his lightish hair. "The presence of a thought," he said in a low voice, "is like the presence of a woman we love. Schopenhauer and the moonlight making me eloquent again," he added in quick apology. Then the door opened, and I saw it was Mario, eight years older, standing hesitant in the dimly lit hall.

"I hope it wasn't too difficult to find the villa," Mario said, and he closed the door behind us. Inside it was colder than it had been outside in the evening air. Mario said that Valdarno was upstairs waiting; he said that if it had not been for the state of Valdarno's health, and the lack of transportation, they would have saved me the trip out and come in to the hotel themselves. "But there are no buses, and no way of getting from one place to another," he said, "and Valdarno is not well."

Mario seemed a shy man, and at first you believed that he was shy, this delicate, slightly stooping figure with the wealth of black hair on his Latin head. You believed it until he began to speak, with his large, dark, fearless eyes on you, and then you knew that it was something more admirable than timidity which marked his bearing and the features of his face.

"Valdarno was imprisoned, you know, because of the articles he wrote," he said, and he lowered his voice a little as we started up the stairs. "A friend has lent this place to Valdarno and his wife," he said. "When Florence was liberated, Valdarno was set free, but he was penniless and he had no house in which to live." At the top of the first cold, echoing flight, he turned to the door on the right of the hall, and laid his hand on the iron latch. "He is extremely eager to meet you," he said before he opened it, and his voice was low. "We want to know what is happening in other countries—in France, America," Mario said, and he turned his head and smiled at us, a quick, gentle, half-apologetic smile.

Valdarno sat alone in the room, seated by a table on which the lamp was lighted and shone dimly, and his wild black eyes were fixed upon the door. When we entered, he stood up, trembling a little, his chest concave behind the façade

of the gray tweed jacket, and he shook our hands and spoke our names.

"Sit down, sit down, please," he said. He spoke in English to us, turning in agitation and uncertainty from empty chair to chair. "My wife, unfortunately, is not here. She works at the telephone company at night. Here is a chair, Signora," he said, and he leaned to it, and drew it forward in his trembling hands. "And for the officer—for the Colonel," he murmured, and he was turning like a swift, dark animal from side to side. There was a fine, black, silky mustache under his long, narrow nose, and his lips were thin-skinned and of a red so precarious that it seemed the blood might spring from them if he spoke his words too loud. "For the officer, the large chair here—"

"Please be seated, Signor Valdarno," Colonel Sarett said, and suddenly, at these words, the flurry of movement ceased in the room. Valdarno, his eyes fixed as if in fright on the Colonel, sat slowly down in his chair. Colonel Sarett undid the belt of his trench-coat, unbuttoned it without haste, and drew his arms from the sleeves. "I ask you please to forgive my coming here, Signor Valdarno," he said, and he spoke Italian to him, speaking it softly, and quickly, and well. He was leaning forward as he talked, his elbows on his knees, his fingers interlaced, as if in this bowed position he somehow discounted the breadth and the depth of his own chest as he faced Valdarno, and the display of ribbon on it. "I'm down for a few hours from the front," he said, "and I wish you would go on talking exactly as if I were not here. I came because I wished to be with the Signora, and because it is good to be with men who are not in uniform for a little while."

He had made his explanation, he had offered his apology, and I wondered a moment; and then, as Mario began speaking again, the thing became clear. Not to Valdarno, and not to Mario, and not to himself was Colonel Sarett merely a man come in from the moonlight to sit and hear them talk of their country, or their country's shame, or to speak of their country's future. He was not a man come casually, briefly in of an evening as any visitor might have come. He was something else, and he did not like the role he had been given. He was the Army, he was the British Army; he wore its uniform, he wore its honors pinned on his breast, and nothing could take the look of it away. To them, and even to himself sitting there in the badly lighted, the unheated room, he was the Army with its ear to the ground for the subterranean whispers; the Army with its machine-guns leveled; the Army prepared to wipe out the weak and the hungry and the desperate as they came.

"We can talk of nothing but Roatta's escape," Mario was saying, quietly, evenly, as if with intention. "We can think of nothing else just now—I suppose because of the symbol it offers, the play within the play. The proceedings of Roatta's trial would have stripped the story of all but its essential drama and made it simple enough for everyone to have understood. The story, I mean," he said quietly, "of the criminal policies which ravaged this country for more than twenty years and brought her to disaster. We could have enacted in that trial—the courtroom as stage, the people of the world as spectators, and all the players perfectly cast—the history of our shame and our atonement."

"It's been a match set to tinder, that rotter getting out,"

said Colonel Sarett. "Demonstrations in Rome, students marching in protest—" *The kind of conflagration*, said the silence when he had ceased to speak, *that we British have extinguished with such generous mercy*; and as his voice broke off, the Colonel chewed nervously at his mustache an instant.

"Our government," Mario went on saying, "has created the climate for evasion. The accomplices in Roatta's flight are men who are still in high places, and who feared the revelations he would make—"

And Hush, said the furtive silence in Valdarno's face, *bush, bush now, Mario. These things are true, they are all true, but before the British uniform they cannot be said*. And Colonel Sarett sat, leaning forward, his fingers interlaced, his eyes on Mario.

"The farce we are enacting here in Italy—the farce, instead of serious, responsible theater," Mario was saying, "the monstrous farce of purging ourselves clean! Do you know how many public figures southern Italy has executed?" he said, and he looked at us, half-smiling. "One, precisely one," he said, and he lifted the forefinger of his right hand. "Free Italy has executed one man of all those accused of specific crimes committed at a specific time. At his trial Roatta, former Italian Chief of Staff, head of the Military Intelligence Office, one of the most iniquitous and murderous organizations in the world, Lieutenant General Roatta testified that he had organized two Fascist brigades called the Black Arrows and the Blue Arrows to support Franco, but declared that he himself was neither Fascist nor anti-Fascist but an Italian general who obeyed his government whatever its color might be. He said that he had once helped many Polish soldiers and more than five thousand Jews who were wanted by the Nazis. Do you see how they are going to try to save their skins?" said Mario. "Now if our slate is to be sponged clean," he said, and his clear, dark, sober eyes were on me, "then one must begin at the top and wash down the slate, as we did when we were school children. Thus, we should begin with the King—only, of course, that is absolutely unheard of. Too many Englishmen like our King—they are really devoted to our King. So, obviously, we cannot begin at all."

Hush, said the unspoken anguish in Valdarno's face. *Do not bare yourself like this before him. Do not betray us all into his hands*. "And the King," Mario went on, "recognizing himself in private as the perfect representation of our public treason and shame, hastily retired, hoping that if he got out of sight quickly enough the Italian people would not have the time to get a really good look at what he was. He decided, our little King, he decided very quaintly and humanly that it would be very silly indeed to execute himself, and probably quite unnecessary," Mario said, and then, abruptly, he ceased speaking, and the humor was gone, and only the bitterness was left to pull at the corners of his young mouth. *To execute himself*, said the silence; *to execute himself*, and Mario sat motionless, and he stared straight at the floor. And it might have been that the figure of Michele lay there on the boards, in the little lake of blood as he had found him eight years before—lay there, eternally nineteen, eternally silent, the voice no longer impatiently asking, for tennis shoes for the Fascist relay races, and the pistol lying near his hand.

"You know, here in Italy a great many good and brave

people have died," Mario said. "They died," he said, "and their lives and their deaths have become the words of a kind of vocabulary of violence for us, and now there is no other vocabulary that men of honor can use—"

And *Hush, do not say it so loudly*, said Valdarno's eyes as they moved in trepidation from Mario's to the Colonel's face. *We have come through prison, starvation, through torture for it. Do not give it all away to him now, do not lay your heart in his hand.*

"We speak the same language," Colonel Sarett said, and because of the modest sound of petition in what he said, it might have been he who wore the thin-soled, ancient shoes and the shabby coat. *Allow me*, he did not add, *to address you not as a unit, but as a man. Overlook the khaki and tin and the record*, his humility asked of them, but he did not say the words aloud.

"And yet one would scarcely say that it was English," said Mario bitterly. "Roatta's escape was a match set to tinder, as you said—Fascist riots in prison, buses turned over and burned. The police have been denying ever since the alleged mass escapes from the Soriano del Cimino and the Vierbo prison, and when a situation comes to the point of denials, it means that something is about to happen. It will have to happen—it will have to happen in spite of the English and because of the English, in order to save Italy from the fate of Greece—"

*Hush, for God's sake, keep quiet*, said Valdarno's agitated silence, and he turned one more look of desperation on Mario. Then he leaned toward me and spoke a few low, hurried words across the light. "And France?" he said. "In France how is the *épuration* going?"

I said there were trials, sentences passed, executions every week: prefects, mayors, journalists—the little men. The big men in France had not yet been touched—the industrialists were still to be taken into custody. And as I spoke, Valdarno watched the shape of the words on my lips and shaped them in silence with his own; watching eagerly, harking, waiting for the small, faint sound of promise or hope that might be in them, as a famished man might wait at a table for what crumbs of sustenance might fall.

"Puysegur has been condemned to death," I said. "Stéphane Lauzanne has been given twenty years' hard labor. General Pinsard escaped capital punishment. No one quite knows why. Two of Mandel's murderers are to be executed—"

It was like a bar of music begun, the notes struck separately, precisely, but not completed, and as I ceased speaking, the rest of the tune hung curiously unplayed between us on the air. They ask for purity, the young men of Europe, I thought; they ask for the *épuration* of their countries and their souls.

Valdarno leaned one emaciated arm in the gray tweed jacket on the table beneath the light, and his long, fleshless fingers tapped quickly, nervously on the wood.

"Signora, we are not like the French," he said in a low voice, looking as if in entreaty at me. "We are less spirited, humbler, and we have been cripples for a quarter of a century now. We have been very ill," he said, and his bright red lips were trembling with intensity. "We still are not quite able to get up from bed and make our way across the room to the window where we know the light and air must be,

Signora," he said, "we are just beginning to get well again, we are just learning now to get our pride back, but we are still unsteady when we try to stand alone. We need you, you Americans. Do not leave us yet. We need you until we can learn to do the mere physical things, like eating and drinking, for ourselves again. Signora," he said, and the wounds were there, unhealed still, the avowal of their pain marked in his eyes. "Do not leave us, you Americans. Do not leave us for a little while—"

"Blast it, there's no need to ask favors of any of us," Colonel Sarett cried out, and he jumped up from his chair. "The number of patriots fighting the Germans in northern Italy is twice that of the Italian regular army troops." He turned back and forth, impatient now with inaction, back and forth across the floor. "I tell you I've got an army up there on the front, an army that is fighting, damn it, bearing arms and fighting. We have camps set up where we're reclothing, re-equipping them as fast as they come. I'm talking of Italians, Italian partisans," he cried out. "They've established their own airfields at Cuneo and Pinerolo—behind the enemy lines. That's a resistance movement for you. More than two hundred and fifty thousand of them dead, resisting—"

"My sister and brother died with them," Valdarno said, and his pale hand on the table trembled, and the lamp's light shone dimly on his bloodless nails.

"Look here, Signor," said Colonel Sarett, and his voice was quieter now. He sat down on the chair again before Valdarno, leaning forward, the singular fire and vision in his eye. "There's a question on the boards now about a batch of Italian POW's interned down south. I want to get them, give them a battlefield, make men out of them," he said.

"What kind of men?" asked Valdarno, and his black, desperate eyes were halted as if in fear on the Colonel.

"Men," said the Colonel impatiently. "Men taking their part in this bloody show. Thirty thousand of them," he said, and he leaned forward, watching Valdarno eagerly. "I'm going to try through channels to get hold of them, fit them out, march them up here into the mountains with me—"

"And when the war is finished," said Mario's bitter voice; "when the north of Italy is liberated and they and the other free men come marching down on Rome to protest our decadent government, will British machine-guns be turned on them as they were turned on the people of Greece?"

"If they turn their blasted machine-guns on the partisans," said Colonel Sarett, and he had got to his feet again, "then they'll turn them on me as well, for I'll be marching with them. Out of thirty thousand," he went back to it as he paced in the room, "we can count on a third of them at least being rebels, and that leaves two-thirds of them fools, but rebels are far more eloquent than fools, and they'll do the job, a smashing job," he said.

"What job?" asked Valdarno, and his voice was cautious, and his eye was on the Colonel warily.

"The job of saving a country, blast it. This country, Italy," the Colonel cried out, and when I looked at Valdarno, I saw that the thing had happened to him: he had dropped his head forward on his hand, and the tears were running down his face.

[The first part of Miss Boyle's story was printed in last week's issue.]

# Why Germany Lost

BY MAJOR H. A. DEWEERD

IT IS still too early to derive more than first impressions from the German military collapse. Yet the defeat and disintegration of what was once the strongest army in the world provoke speculation as to the causes of its ignominious and disorderly end. British and American troops have fought the German army for a number of years, and certain tentative conclusions may be drawn from their experience. Our joint operations leading to the German defeat in the west will go down in history as among the greatest military achievements of all time. Yet, in the nature of things, we could not have succeeded without the magnificent accomplishments of our Russian allies. From 1941 to 1945 the Red Army battled against the main military forces of the European Axis. In nearly four years of sanguinary fighting, to use the words of Churchill, "it tore the guts out of the German army." We shall do well to remember these things in any discussion of the Anglo-American triumph in the west.

The basic causes for the German defeat were alike in the east and the west. A strategy of over-extension arising from the political dynamism of the Nazi movement and the vagaries of the Führer's leadership progressively reduced the strength of the German military position from June, 1941, on. Before the attack on Russia Germany was in an unassailable military position on the European continent and had to all intents and purposes won the Second World War. Under no conceivable circumstances could Britain alone defeat both Germany and Italy. Yet Hitler had no program or equipment for crossing the twenty-mile tank trap of the Channel. When Britain continued the war and Hitler blundered into a life-and-death struggle against Russia, the basic unity of Germany's strategic doctrine was shattered. Heretofore the Reich had aimed at the military annihilation of its enemies. After June 21, 1941, it followed a divided strategic plan—of annihilation, against Russia; of attrition, against Britain.

Hitler's mad gamble which plunged Germany in 1941 into war with the two strongest industrial and military powers in the world, Soviet Russia and the United States of America, sealed the doom of Germany. Sober German military leaders had repeatedly warned against such madness. Writing of the German defeat in 1918, General Hans von Seeckt, creator of the Reichswehr, pointed to "the graves of countless thousands of German soldiers far from home which stood as solemn witnesses against those who [in 1914-18] had attempted to raise German might beyond human limits and had ended by destroying the very foundations of Germany's strength." Ludendorff staked the future of the German Empire on the chance that the mighty military potential of the United States could be kept from the battlefields of Europe by a relatively simple mechanical device—the U-boat. Hitler, after all his boasting about avoiding the mistakes of 1917-18, repeated this fatal error in 1941.

In the political field the Nazi concept of a "New Order" underlay the effort first to conquer and then to hold the whole

continent of Europe from North Cape to Crete and from the Volga to the Pyrenees. A leadership less concerned with ideological ends would have been freer to admit occasional failures and to trim its program. But the Nazis had to keep on expanding or admit that the mainspring of their revolution had run down.

From the military standpoint the program of Nazi expansion seemed to offer certain immediate if temporary advantages. It appeared possible in 1941-43 for Germany to pillage all of Europe's resources and dragoon its people into forced labor. To the Nazi mind this promised to offset Russian and American superiority in the field of military production. In addition, it was attractive as the most colossal program of outright robbery in the world's history.

In the realm of human relationships the Nazis' arrogance and cruelty contributed to the temporary nature of their control over Europe. In three years of triumphant dealing with conquered peoples and with their own allies the Germans did not make a single trustworthy friend. In the end every ally turned its arms against the Third Reich. Not a single subject people was won over. The Nazi record is one of psychological stupidity, savagery, and bad faith unequalled in the annals of war. Nations have seldom been defeated in the past without winning the sympathy of outside peoples, as in the case of France in 1871 and 1940. Germany's downfall in 1945 was the occasion of rejoicing everywhere—except in Tokyo.

In 1941 Germany possessed the strongest single armed force in the world. Its armored divisions, tactical air force, and infantry divisions were so superior to any western army that the German people's conviction of its invincibility was shared by a good many military commentators and critics outside the Reich. In defeating Poland and France the Third Reich had triumphed over two nations possessing armies of the 1918 vintage. In doing so it revealed the pattern of its war effort and showed the world what was necessary in order to defeat it. Britain, Russia, and the United States actually learned more from the defeat of Poland and France than Germany did, for the latter did not alter its war pattern or appreciably increase the scale of its war effort until 1943. Then it was too late. By that time Germany had lost so much ground in relation to the developing war effort and technique of the United Nations that it was never able to attain a status of equality in the air or on the ground.

In the realm of military leadership the supreme mistake made by Hitler in attacking Russia was to assume that the methods and equipment which won against weak opponents in the limited-area warfare in the west would be sufficient to destroy the Soviet Union in a war of great spaces. A second major mistake was made by Hitler when, in the face of his repulse before Moscow in December, 1941, and the terrible winter of 1941-42, he thought that he could still win the war against Russia in the next campaign with the same weapons

and methods that had failed in 1941. Like the military leaders of 1914-18, whose narrow professionalism he had often ridiculed, Hitler called for more men and more weapons but not for new ideas, new war methods, or a revolutionary intensification of the national war effort. An often overlooked but most important fact about the German defeat is that the Third Reich went down to disaster from 1941 to 1945 *without making really sweeping changes in its war methods or equipment*. Buzz-bombs and jet aircraft turned out to be mere window trimming in the undertaker's parlor. Germany was never able to raise the level of its war effort to a point where it met the approximate needs of the situation.

Perhaps one deterrent to a future revival of authoritarian regimes in Europe will be the gradually increasing consternation with which the war-weary and defeated Germans will learn the truth about the incompetence of their vaunted leaders. It was an incompetence whose evil effects could not be offset by the fanatical bravery of German troops, the ox-like tenacity of bomb-harassed civilians, or the admitted brilliance of the German minor military leadership.

When Hitler relieved Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch and assumed personal command as *Feldherr* of the Third Reich on December 21, 1941, the evils of military dilettantism were extended from the strategic to the tactical level. In the face of the Red Army's winter counter-offensive, Hitler tossed out of the window time-tested German military doctrines and introduced a military novelty which proved characteristic of all German campaigns after that time. He adopted a policy of allowing German units to be encircled and cut off by Russian troops and of ordering them to fight on until relieved. He may have received his first inspiration from the Russians, whose encircled or by-passed units fought on till they made contact with partisan forces. This new tactic was given the awkward name of *sich einigeln*—to "hedgehog oneself in"—by Hitler himself. Later the term *Einkesselung* came to be used. In terms of battlefield events, the tactic meant that a large German force at Kholm under General Scherer and the entire German Second Corps at Valdai under General Brockdorff were ordered to *kesseln* themselves in during the winter of 1941-42 and wait for a German relief offensive in the spring. As fate would have it, Hitler's first attempt to put this plan in practice was a partial success. The hedgehogs at Kholm and Valdai, in the north, were relieved in the spring of 1942, although at heavy cost. Strategically the experiment was not worth the effort because the only major German offensive in 1942 took place on the southern front toward Stalingrad. From the standpoint of national morale and prestige the tactic paid temporary dividends, but these led to fatal repetitions of the experiment. Kholm and Valdai were followed by *Kessels* at Stalingrad, the Kuban bridgehead, the Channel ports, Crete, Norway, and the Ruhr.

In the end we witnessed the ridiculous military spectacle of German forces resisting at such distant points as Crete and Jersey while the German homeland was being overrun by Russian and Allied forces. Whole armies were sacrificed to defend areas unessential to the main military effectiveness of the Reich. Amateur strategy could not, even by the wildest torture of the imagination, conjure up a situation more at variance with sound conduct or principles of war. The *Götterdämmerung* of death and destruction deliberately inflicted

upon the German homeland by the Nazis through these methods is meaningful only in ideological terms. From a military standpoint it was madness.

History will undoubtedly show that the Nazi regime, which prided itself on speed in getting things done, lost the war by the slowness with which it responded to the changed military situation after 1942. The Nazi high command did not in fact begin the total mobilization of German manpower or industry until after the Stalingrad disaster of 1943. The order of battle of the German army from that time on shows many signs of hasty improvisation and reveals a frantic effort to turn non-Germans into Wehrmacht and S. S. troops. Preoccupation with Nazi Party interests led to favoritism in handling Waffen S. S. units as compared to the regular Wehrmacht. Thus the basic unity of the German war machine was undermined just as it met its first really great tests.

Germany's gross underestimation of the war production and military efficiency of the United Nations is revealed in every phase of the war from 1943 on. The Luftwaffe program in particular showed that the German high command failed to anticipate the speed at which the Allied air forces were to develop. Proof of this is seen in the retention of obsolescent plane types in the German service up to the last and the attempt to integrate these ancient crates into a program which also included super-fast jet planes. Jet planes, V-bombs, and rockets were no substitute for real air power.

We used to hear a good deal of ill-advised talk about the Luftwaffe as the ideal air force. While the German armies were conquering Poland and France, it was fashionable for air-power writers to base their pleas for a separate air force on the fact that the Luftwaffe was such an arm; since the Germans were winning, we should imitate it. At the risk of being repetitious it may be helpful to emphasize once more that the Luftwaffe was essentially a *tactical* air force and was organized and operated as such. When it was opposed by qualitatively superior Allied *tactical and strategic* air forces, it was doomed. It could protect neither German industry nor its own bases from destructive attack. The eventual defeat of Germany in the west was foreshadowed in June, 1944, when the Luftwaffe could not provide enough reconnaissance to warn the German high command where the invasion of France would take place. The long lines of Allied transports and landing craft crowding the narrow seas between Britain and the Cotentin Peninsula on June 5-6, 1944, provided a target beyond a bomber-force commander's wildest dreams. Yet these ships went about their business almost without interference from the German air force.

As they were too late in mobilizing their man-power and industry, the Nazis were too late in putting underground enough key aircraft plants properly to defend the Reich or to allow their armies to fight a war of movement on approximately equal terms with the Western allies. They were too late in preparing the Atlantic Wall, despite all the efforts of the German Propaganda Ministry to publicize it as an impenetrable barrier. When we landed on the Cotentin Peninsula, the beach obstacles were not completed, batteries earmarked for this area were not all mounted, and the defenses were in such limited depth that once the beaches were passed, terrain features provided the only defensible lines.

In any analysis of the causes of the German defeat some mention should be made of the really marvelous aptitude of the Nazi regime for thinking up military gadgets, trick weapons, and for relying on them to produce a decision when only orthodox military measures could bring success. Besides contributing in a very great way to their ultimate defeat by using up German resources that could ill be spared, this program provided almost endless opportunities for certain military critics to hold forth harmlessly on the alleged backwardness of American military equipment.

This gadget-making program—this military get-rich-quick legerdemain—produced an astonishing array of mechanical doodle-bugs, flying bombs, piggy-back aircraft, and stratosphere whizz-bangs, but it did not avert the German defeat. It was often very painful and in some cases made matters militarily awkward for the Allies, but it could not tip the scales in favor of the Nazis in 1944-45. In saying this I do not imply that long-range rocket weapons may not profoundly affect the nature of war in the future but simply point out what every military student knows—namely, that few if any weapons produce decisive results in their experimental phases.

Once the Allied armies were firmly ashore on the European continent the real battle in the west began. Because the German high command could not envisage the engineering resources and skill which enabled us to land and supply advancing armies over open beaches, and because in the face of our air supremacy it could not move its men and machines with a speed equal to ours, it could not fight on equal terms once we were landed. When the German armies in the west came into contact with the Anglo-American forces, they were inferior in over-all military efficiency—and they were defeated. True, they possessed tanks with wider treads and heavier armor than any Allied tanks in operation at that time, but they lost the battles of Normandy, the battles of France, the battles of the West Wall, the battles of the Rhine, and the battles of Germany. After surrendering himself to the United States Ninth Army on April 25, Lieutenant General Kurt Dittmar, radio spokesman for the Nazi high command, admitted that "the Third Reich had lost the war militarily when it failed to stop the Normandy invasion."

Having captured the headquarters records of the German Seventh Army in France, we now know how great the inferiority of the Germany army was. It could not move its armored forces on anything like the schedules set; its communications were disrupted; its units were isolated; and its general management was hampered by the ignorance of true conditions under which all officers operated—from the youngest lieutenant to Hitler himself. It could not bridge streams, string communication wires, exploit an opportunity as quickly as the Allied armies. It could not feed its own men, care for its wounded, or supply its forces as well as we could. In brief, it could not do the things which the Allied armies could do—and that is the payoff in war.

For a time in late December, 1944, and early January, 1945, the progress of Rundstedt's surprise offensive in the Ardennes seemed to belie these statements. Yet this attack was a prestige- and time-gaining affair which cost the Nazis more than it was worth. At best it delayed the ultimate fate of the Reich by only sixty days. When that offensive was

stopped, the Allied armies began to advance, fought their way through the West Wall, the Saar, the Palatinate, and without pause crossed the Rhine and sprang the biggest trap in history around some 400,000 German troops in the Ruhr. Thereafter the Allied armies progressively cut the German army and the Reich into pieces. These were military achievements of the highest order.

The utter moral rottenness of the Nazi regime and the army was revealed in the craven surrenders of German officers—in many cases after ordering their men to resist to the death—and in the concentration- and prisoner-camp horrors which the army permitted to exist and in some cases controlled. In its defeat and disgrace the German army reaffirmed the ancient truth that the greatness of an army lies in the moral foundations upon which it is built.

## In the Wind

PAT M. NEFF, president of Baylor University, Waco, Texas, thus addressed the graduating class at commencement exercises May 29, as quoted in the *Houston Chronicle*: "Baylor University has been a narrow-minded institution for 100 years, and as long as I'm connected with Baylor it will remain a narrow-minded institution. . . . I want to assure the trustees . . . that Baylor is stepping into its second century with no 'isms.' . . . If anything is a threat today, it's broad-mindedness."

LAWRENCE C. SALTER has resigned as director of public relations for the American Medical Association and organized his own public-relations firm. One of his partners is William Fishbein, brother of Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*.

DR. ROBERT F. GÁLBRAITH, president of Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, offered this advice to students now in the armed forces, in the May 18 issue of the *Holcad*, student newspaper: "We will continue to register sweet, beautiful young women and decent, gentlemanly men. But they will not look the same to you when you come again. You have truly 'grown up' since you walked the paths at Westminster. You have experienced much. Students will have experienced nothing beyond the little routine of college life. . . . So when you come again . . . won't you come understanding the difference you will find? . . . After all, isn't it better to have our girls sweet and fine and not even aware what life can be like? I feel it is."

PUT YOUR MIND AT REST. This is the economic future forecast by the *United States News* of June 1: "Worry about economic problems can be postponed beyond this term, even beyond the next White House term. There may be only a few big problems. Cotton will be one. We tell you of that on page 13. Another will relate to social security and unemployment. Plans in that field are explained on page 15."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## PARIS REGAINED

BY CYRIL CONNOLLY

### III

LEAVING honey-tongued Eluard, splenetic Aragon, and the politico-literary staffs of *Lettres Françaises*, *Action*, *Liberté*, *Carrefour*, *Combat*, *Front National*, and many other bellicose and brilliant newspapers to take care of the French resistance, let us explore some of the quieter corners of the battlefield.

We might do worse than pay a visit to the Café de Flore. This pleasant haunt has now become a kind of literary bourse. The brokers are the editors who sit round with their *sommaires* or contents page of the new magazine they are going to bring out (when they can get the paper!), and these *sommaires*, which are handed round and discussed like a V-Day menu, are the curb prices of literary reputations. Each  *sommaire* contains the same names, and many of the writers are in attendance. That excitable southern figure is Pierre Seghers, of Villeneuve-les-Avignon, whose magazine *Poésie* was the best of the occupational monthlies and famous for its equivocal anti-German and anti-Vichy contents. Seghers is the leader of a group of young poets and one of the bravest of them. With him is André Fréneaud, a solid young Burgundian whose French has almost an English accent and who was a prisoner of war before joining the resistance, and Loys Massan, one of the youngest and most gifted of the group. They are joined by Bertelé of *Confluences*, a magazine edited at Lyon and suppressed by Vichy, which has also published some interesting books. His *sommaire* includes a new poem by Michaux and part of a long philosophical study of Baudelaire's dandyism which Sartre is preparing. Sartre is absent from his favorite table, though generally he remains there most of the day, but his friend Mme de Beauvoir—herself the author of a novel, "L'Invitée," about the whole ambience of the Flore—will show you his *sommaire* for the new magazine he is going to edit, which will have a sociological and political as well as a literary character, like Dwight Macdonald's *Politics*. Koestler and Orwell are the writers about whom she asks for information. Sartre occupies a dominating position in the world of French literature today. He is to its prose what Eluard is to its poetry. It is a position which is criticized, for his philosophy is most obscure, and there is something Central European about his pessimistic thought which antagonizes. But taken as a philosopher, a novelist, a dramatist, and a critic, his bulk is enormous, and tends to obscure perhaps the younger and equally gifted Camus, also all of these four things and editor as well of the newspaper *Combat*. "Les Mouches" and "Huis Clos" of Sartre, "L'Etranger" and "Caligula" of Camus ("Le Malentendu" is a little too much) are real literary achievements, fascinating to read, deeply original and stimulating.

At another table is Max-Pol Fouchet, the gay young inspirer of Fontaine, discussing his *sommaire* with Pierre Emmanuel. Like Sartre a professor of philosophy, Emmanuel,

who is a non-stop talker and arguer, commands several media, but unlike Sartre, he is a strong Catholic and a great admirer of Jouve. They are joined by Jean Lescure, a saturnine and gifted poet who edits both the poetry on the French wireless and also an admirable magazine, *Messager*, which is the best of the poetry productions, though lacking the important *chroniques* aspect of the monthly *Poésie*. At another table is Thierry Maulnier, whose quarterly *La Table Ronde* is a model of expensive printing and rivals the magnificent *Arbalète*, which is edited, printed, and published by one man, Marc Barbezat of Lyon. *La Table Ronde* includes some of the last writings and drawings of Max Jacob, whose terrible death in a concentration camp, wearing the Jew's yellow star, shocked the whole civilized world. It also includes a very long poem by Cocteau, "Léone," whose verse the Master describes as "marchant à pneu crevé," like a car on three wheels. It is a strange limping, somnambulant poem in which all the imagery from his other works parades past him in a waking dream, with Léone elusively personifying his muse. Cocteau you will not see at the Flore, but that smiling and somewhat rough-looking character is Jean Genet, whom Cocteau befriended, and who is the author of the extraordinary "Notre Dame des Fleurs," part of which is published in the eighth number of the *Arbalète*. Jean Genet, who has been in and out of prison most of his life, has managed to produce a novel which makes "Voyage au bout de la nuit," "Tropic of Cancer," and all stories of the milieu and the underworld read like Orphan Annie. It is a passionate, lyrical, and criminal book, and reminds one of those photographs of murderers with a huge *fatalitas* tattooed across their chest. It is the last word in the poetry of homosexual, anti-social outlaws, because the society against which Genet rebels is an unhealthy one, and because he happens to have been born a poet.

But now it is time to leave the Flore, to pay for our *jus de raisin*, *viandox*, or beer. There are still several *sommaires* we haven't seen—that of the charming anthologist Parisot, with his new magazine *Quatre Venis* and his *Vrilles*—and still several more writers we would like to meet: the fantastical poet Prévert, "ah, il est marron, lui," and the more somber Georges Bataille, the post-Nietzschean essayist and one-time editor of the extraordinary *Acéphale*. And it would not be a long walk to call on Picasso in that high studio where the world's last great alchemist turns our dross into gold, or to visit the apartment where his friend Henri Michaux, a somewhat sadistic magician, applies his verbal technique to a general Chinese slicing operation on the bourgeois personality. Or to linger in the sacred rue de l'Odéon, where those two bilingual sirens who have so long enchanted us with all that is best in two literatures, Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier, still decoy. But time is short, we have a last date with Gallimard in his magnificent new office, once Talleyrand's hotel. Here is one more group of non-political literary explorers, who have come to visit Paulhan (he has a *sommaire*, too, for he is soon to get back the N. R. F.).

Paulhan, like Eluard, Sartre, and Michaux, is another prince in the world of letters, an impassioned critic of poetry and painting whose quiet high voice, like Lytton Strachey's, can strike terror, especially when it strikes at terrorists. (His "Fleur de Tarbes, ou la Terreur dans les lettres," is a brilliant attack on the Puritans and anti-literary philosophical pedants who would banish from literature the graces which they neither possess nor comprehend.) Paulhan, a pillar of the resistance movement, is deploring the bad effects on literature of coming into the open again. Art benefits by being clandestine and subversive, he is saying; all writers write best under another name. With him is Francis Ponge, the creator of an extraordinary kind of prose poem, both lyrical and scientific in its approach, which results in a three-dimensional picture of his usually very tangible subject. Pebbles, insects, bits of bread are his specialties. He is, in fact, a word painter of verbal still lives who has been through cubism, a prose Braque. They are joined by Raymond Queneau, also of the *N. R. F.*, a vigorous and many-sided satirist, novelist, poet who, besides editing a new edition of "Bouvard et Pécuchet" and thus lighting the only candle in Paris to the greatest of provincials, contributes poems of a strong verbal dexterity to *Messages*. His "Trains dans la banlieue ouest" is a tour de force like MacNeice's "Bagpipes":

Nanterre et Rueil qui donc arruile  
Qui donc arruile les roseaux  
qui donc enterre qui donc anteille  
larmes mucus odeurs et os

Suresne' Asnière' on va-t-et-vient  
le long du fleuve aux bois méandres  
trainent les pierres trissent les chiens  
sur des sentiers à la chair tendre . . .

It is a pleasure to talk to the husky Queneau and to discuss his fascinating and destructive "Exercices de style"—for he speaks English well and the others merely read it. But we are now quite tired out and must trudge through the blue snow to the Métro, laden with presentation copies which the English customs officers at Newhaven will thumb and snivel over like dogs growling round a stale herring. "This is a *funny* kind of a book—Pie-Kasso—do you mind just coming with me?" And then in an awestruck whisper to his superior, "It's his books, sir, kind of *funny* if you see."

And still I have mentioned only a fraction of the literary world of Paris. I would like to be able to analyze the exhilaration which for eight weeks after leaving Paris I continued to feel, and the absence of which I now deplore. It was partly a sense of liberation, of getting out of the exhausted London atmosphere into a country where the war was felt to be over, and where individuals were their natural size, neither inflated with office nor shrunk with worry. It was partly returning to a world of ideas. For the English literary world is not a world of ideas but of personalities, a world of clubs and honors and ancestor-worship and engagement books, where a writer one wants to meet has to be hunted for several weeks until he is finally corralled at bay under some formidable mantelpiece. But French writers are not pompous; in everything but ideas they travel light; intelligence flows through them like a fast river and is not always being silted up by accretions of the personality, by sales, honors, habits, social

and official positions. On the whole, the present literary world of Paris is young and poor, and its experiences in the resistance have made it both generous and brave. I think if I were to sum up its message in the way in which nearly every English visitor has felt it, it would be something like this: "Don't worry. It's all right. Everything you love is still here. The ideas, buildings, books, and pictures, the wine, the people, the trees. And they won't run away. Art and life are beginning again." The European orchestra is tuning up, and its members are as pleased to see us as we are to be with them; the freemasonry of the intellect is at work, and a new humanism is being born. For what our world now most needs is a positive and adult humanism. America could give it but is too money-bound and machine-dry; Russia lacks the sentiment of individual liberty; England is too bureaucratized and war weary. We have added the adjective "bloody-minded" to our language, and must rest our laurels on that. But France has known the tyrant, and been set free before the knowledge destroyed it. France alone, if it can survive an acute attack of nationalism, is capable of a bloodless 1789, of a new proclamation to the world of the old truths that life is meant to be lived and that liberty is its natural temperature, that brains are to be used and beauty to be worshiped, and that human beings, the only animals who can laugh, are intended to be happy.

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

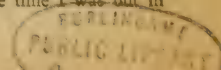
GEORGE W. NORRIS, whose autobiography has recently been published under the title "Fighting Liberal" (Macmillan, \$3.50), grew up in "Plainville, U. S. A." in what were still pretty early days. His father and mother and three of their twelve children had come by wagon from New York State in 1846 to settle in Ohio, where George Norris was born in 1861. Like most farm families the Norrises worked from daylight to sundown in order to make a meager living from the land. When Norris was three, his father died. His oldest brother had fallen in the Civil War. No wonder his mother, who managed to keep farm and family going, is the heroine of George Norris's book.

Norris's parents differed from their neighbors in only one important respect. Both of them, and particularly his mother, believed in education, for boys and girls alike, that went beyond the three R's.

. . . most of these pioneer people clung to the belief that the labor of their children on the farms was infinitely more important than the study of higher mathematics or grammar. There were none more poor, and none needing labor more than my mother, but she insisted I study as extensively as the facilities permitted. Only three—Willis and Jesse Vickery and I—completed the course in grammar.

Norris not only completed the course in grammar. He managed to graduate from a private school which later became Valparaiso University.

Only once was I able to continue through an entire year. Every other year I had to stop school in order to raise money, so that at least half the time I was out in the field at work.



He also taught school during some of the intervals between his attendances at college and in the years of trial and error before he moved from Ohio to Nebraska and opened a law office "south of the square" in Beaver City.

The young lawyer was soon drawn into politics. He had been a passionate Republican at fifteen—that was the faith of his parents. In his teens he had belonged to the local debating society in Mount Carmel, Ohio, and he had continued to debate at Valparaiso.

The debates in Mount Carmel had been wide in range. Senator Norris tells us that on one occasion he had proposed the question: "Resolved, There is more pleasure in living with a neat, cross woman than with a good-natured, slouchy woman." He found that he alone was willing to defend the slouchy woman. The house was packed—and Norris won. On another occasion the question was: "Resolved, That man is a free moral agent." "I was curious then," writes Norris, "concerning the independence of the individual to serve himself and fulfil his responsibilities to his fellow-men." It remained a central question, and Norris's career is, I think, as clear and true an answer as one is likely to find.

Nebraska, when Norris settled there, was Populist. But Norris remained a staunch and even bitter Republican, though he obviously was influenced by the Populist temper. In spite of his party affiliation he was elected within a few years to the office of district judge—by a majority of two. After seven years as judge he was sent to Congress—in 1903. And he entered the national scene still convinced that his party was above reproach and the only one capable of providing good government.

Shortly afterward he began to see that he was mistaken; and the crucial thing is that having seen the truth he accepted it. He did not temper his organic principles to the functional wind. The sophistry of "party loyalty" was beyond him. He soon discovered, moreover, that there was nothing to choose between the two party machines and the powers behind them. He remained in the Republican Party, but he pursued an independent course.

Senator Norris's autobiography contains detailed and instructive accounts of his stubborn, long-drawn-out battles—against Joe Cannon, for the lame-duck amendment, for the anti-injunction law, for the TVA. The greatest of these was the TVA.

To the man from Mars it might seem paradoxical that this man from Plainville, this son of the frontier, this rank individualist, should have become the sponsor of the Tennessee Valley Authority, our most ambitious and successful venture in government financing and regulation, public ownership, and planning. Norris was a man of principle, not of theory. The TVA in his mind "just grew" out of what seemed to him the simple and sensible idea of preventing disastrous floods and saving the homes and livelihood of people in the river valleys. The interesting, indeed the exciting, thing about Norris and the TVA is the readiness with which he accepted all the implications of his simple homespun idea.

Norris and the TVA offer a resounding answer, straight from Plainville, to the well-worn myth that public ownership and long-range planning are alien to "the American way." But the answer contains a lesson for planners as well as for the N. A. M. From the beginning the emphasis, in Norris's

thinking, was not on planning as an abstract good for the welfare of the abstract state but on the day-by-day interests of the specific and very real human beings who lived in the valley. The TVA has been remarkably successful as an example of regional planning. From everything I have heard of it, it has also been remarkably successful in imparting new reality to the long-abused and ruthlessly exploited but still valid concepts of self-government, private initiative, and the democratic process.

Senator Norris's autobiography is awkwardly written and haphazardly organized, but it is very much worth reading nevertheless. His nostalgic story of his childhood and his simple direct expression of his love of nature, of farm lands and of seasons, are very touching. His personality, as it is revealed in his book, has the quality of a "sweet" spring, and the same self-renewing force. There is no trace of the bitterness either of self-righteousness or of vindictiveness. He hated the evil human beings do; but his attitude, even toward the human beings he fought to a standstill when a principle was involved, was quite devoid of personal rancor. By those who obey the order of the day, "Hate thine enemy," Norris's magnanimity may seem to be that of a man whose battles were over, whose life had run its course. But it sprang from a far deeper source. It was a manifestation of his respect for himself, his abiding sense of his own worth, which along with a deep-going humility ruled out the childish, wasteful indulgence of hate.

Some weeks ago Lionel Trilling pointed out in an essay on Whitman that the sense of the importance of personal identity is in the doldrums. We are all trying to escape the responsibility it entails. Senator Norris's career was a continuous affirmation of personal identity; his autobiography is an important document for the triumphant record it contains of what can be accomplished for others by a man who feels that his first responsibility, as a free moral agent, is to his own principles and who therefore can think of other human beings only in terms of himself.

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### The Case of Elizabeth Canning

THE UNSOLVED MYSTERY of the servant girl Elizabeth Canning who disappeared for four weeks and returned with a wild tale of white-slaving gipsies has long been a favorite with those who recount famous trials. Lillian de la Torre has gone back to the voluminous contemporary mid-eighteenth-century accounts and in "Elizabeth Is Missing" (Knopf, \$3.50) has pieced together a fascinating story which reads like fiction but, except for the hypothetical solution, invents nothing. The tale includes nearly every feature of interest that an underworld mystery could be expected to have and gains additional piquancy from the fact that Magistrate Henry Fielding was Elizabeth's London champion as well as from the fact that the heroine spent her last peaceful years in Connecticut, whither she had been transported on a quite possibly unjust conviction for perjury. Miss de la Torre has recently contributed pseudo-historical detective stories to *Ellery Queen's Magazine*, and the present book is lively

enough for the general reader as well as sufficiently informative to interest the student of the eighteenth century. Her suggested solution is ingenious and in its central assumption at least probably correct. Connoisseurs of the hard-boiled may be reminded that at that epoch low life was good and low. There are some interesting illustrations from contemporary prints.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## Baker's Memoirs

"AMERICAN CHRONICLE," by Ray Stannard Baker (Scribner's, \$3.50), is the life story of a man who has sighted many horizons and gone beyond them—yet still likes best of all his own Massachusetts hillside. It is the autobiography of a man whose name is indissolubly linked in history with that of Woodrow Wilson and his fight for a better world. The characterizations of groups, movements, and events are surpassed only by the descriptions of the multitude of important persons Mr. Baker has known.

As a newspaper reporter in Chicago in the summer of 1892, which marks the start of this volume, Mr. Baker covered "Coxey's Army" and the Pullman strike. Then followed years of brilliant reporting for *McClure's Magazine*—"muck-raking"—his work with the *American Magazine*, his trips to Europe, his deep interest in the progressive movement, his writing under the pseudonym of David Grayson, and, finally, his years of association with Woodrow Wilson.

Mr. Baker characterizes himself as a "follower" rather than a "leader." But he has been a highly intelligent and critical follower. He tells us that he was always "treasuring men who are all of a piece: possessed men, sure men, inwardly united men, who expend themselves fearlessly and utterly in some great cause." Inevitably, therefore, he would be drawn to Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Baker has no illusions about Wilson's perfection—analyses of his faults and weaknesses are frequent. Such recognition lends further realism to such a tribute as this: "For he was that rarity, a leader whom a free man could follow without surrender."

Some readers, remembering our rejection of the League of Nations and its ultimate collapse, may be inclined to feel sorry for a man who devoted so many years of his life to following a rejected leader. They should not pity Mr. Baker. It is not tragic to have followed a defeated leader if, in defeat, that leader is proved worthy of being followed. Furthermore, Mr. Baker knows that in the final analysis Woodrow Wilson did not fail.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

## Utopia on Credit

ADVOCATES of the Social Credit theories first proposed by Major C. H. Douglas have taken the statement that money is the root of all evil with a somewhat appalling literalness. In "Aladdin's Lamp" (Creative Age Press, \$3.75) Gorham Munson has combined an unusually interesting, if biased, history of finance in the United States with a polemic for Social Credit which is frequently both naive and irritating.

Many of the world's difficulties arise from the inadequacies of traditional systems of money and credit, but it does not follow that virtually all economic and social problems could be solved overnight by a different handling of fiscal

policy. Utopia is not around the corner, even if we were sure of the road to it. The experience of the last four years has demonstrated a productive capacity in the United States beyond the dream of ten years ago, but it has also demonstrated that production does have strictly finite limits in the immediate future.

If no allowance is made for price increases, the gross national product was nearly doubled between 1940 and 1943. It has not increased very much since 1943, and cannot grow much more without further substantial increases both in capital equipment and the productivity of labor. Total net production of goods and services today amounts to an average of something in the neighborhood of \$4,000 a year per family. The actual median family income is about \$2,600. This is far more than we have ever had before; it is not a level which would permit the complete consumer satisfaction and extensive leisure promised by Mr. Munson and the apostles of Social Credit. Nor does it indicate, as he maintains, that full employment is a mistaken ideal because we can achieve adequate production for a universally comfortable standard of living with considerably less than the total labor force. An economy of real abundance is clearly discernible within the next two or three generations, but it is no service to progress to promise that abundance can be achieved immediately by financial manipulation.

The need for fiscal reform is hampered rather than helped by a gross overstatement of the case, especially when many of the arguments can be refuted by statistics.

CHARLES E. NOYES

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# Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

SEEING an early Fred Astaire film led me to recall with longing the earlier stage musicals in which the book was utter nonsense devised only to bring someone like Astaire on the stage every now and then to sing a song and then to break into a dance in which he was joined by the "boys and girls" in an exciting routine of American stage dancing. The recent tendency has been to have a book that makes sense, or even to adapt it from a play like "Green Grow the Lilacs" or "Liliom"; to have ballets that arise out of the dramatic situations or at least illustrate the sense of the song; and now, in "Carousel," to set stretches of the dialogue to music. This through-composed music (as the Germans call it) in "Carousel" is inept and uninteresting; it leaves room for only a few songs of the usual Richard Rodgers type; and these, even at their best, never attain the brilliance that is offered in such profusion in "Oklahoma." As for Agnes de Mille's dances, they are charming and witty; but, as Wolcott Gibbs remarked, they begin to recall something one has seen before, and make me hungry for the sight of the stage dancing of former years.

"On the Town" is, I think, a far more successful example of this integrated type of musical show. The story provides Jerome Robbins with occasions for his translation of sharp observation of behavior and movement into stylized and humorous dance terms (e. g., the dancing of the dance-hall hostesses, the more hilarious for Alvin Colt's costumes); and the dream ballet of the second act shows deeper psychological insight. And much of Leonard Bernstein's music is very good. As a rule it gets bad when Bernstein gives his show music the benefit of his equipment as a highbrow composer; but one of the funniest songs, "I Am Carried Away," is funny precisely because of its use of one of the devices of serious music, canonic imitation, in an absurd context.

"The Seven Lively Arts" is none of my business, except insofar as it provided me with my ghastliest musical experience of the year. This was when, in between a couple of the tawdry revue numbers, Benny Goodman came swaggering out and proceeded to give the audience five minutes of Art—in the shape of the conclusion of Weber's

Clarinet Concerto, which could not possibly have any meaning or effect, not only because it was placed in that context, but because it was presented without its own context of the entire work and deprived of what meaning or effect this might have given it even in those unfavorable surroundings. Convinced by its meaningless that this was indeed Art, the audience sat respectfully silent for the five minutes, and at the end gave Goodman, as he swaggered off, tremendous applause instead of the kick in the pants he deserved for his pretentiousness and his lack of the musical understanding he pretended to. It left me wondering whether Billy Rose has his Modigliani painting of Cocteau hung amid a lot of Vargas drawings.

Moreover, not content with this black eye to one serious art, Mr. Rose presented Markova not only, again, in an inappropriate context, but in some trash devised by Dolin that confirmed the audience's previous notions of the silliness of classic ballet.

Columbia has issued a recording (Set 564; \$3.50) of Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* performed by Milstein with the Philadelphia Orchestra. The music is enjoyable; Milstein's performance is excellent, except for some sobbing in the first movement; and the orchestra plays well with him; but the recording falsifies the sound of orchestra and violin horribly.

Columbia's other June set (569; \$6.50) offers Rachmaninov's *Symphony No. 2* performed by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony. What can lead the conductor of a major orchestra in a city like New York to perform such rubbish and a recording company to put it on records is beyond my powers of imagination. The recorded sound is strident.

## CONTRIBUTORS

KAY BOYLE is a well-known novelist and writer of short stories. Among her books are "Avalanche," "The Crazy Hunter," and "Primer for Combat."

MAJOR H. A. DEWEERD is associate editor of the *Infantry Journal* and author of "Great Soldiers of the Two World Wars." He was formerly associate professor of history at Denison University and editor of *Military Affairs*.

CYRIL CONNOLLY is editor of the London literary monthly *Horizon*.

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# Letters to the Editors

## Will Austria Become Self-governing?

*Dear Sirs:* Ernst Karl Winter's article on Austria in the May 26 issue of *The Nation* was given an enthusiastic introduction by the editor, only slightly blemished by a somewhat vague reservation regarding the author's interpretation of the role of the right and the left in Austria's past and present. This makes it a bit difficult to comment on the article. But comment is required.

Mr. Winter's article is indeed "interesting and illuminating," but mainly for what it does not say. Reading it carefully, I have found no reference to the requirements of a democratic development in Austria, particularly to the need of a thorough house-cleaning in the party to which Mr. Winter belongs, the Christian Social Party.

This is apparently no accident. Mr. Winter's lack of understanding of the strongest democratic force in Austria, the Social Democrats, seems only slightly less than that of Herr Schuschnigg, whose complete lack of political acumen he inadvertently reveals. Herr Schuschnigg is reported by Mr. Winter to have come to the conclusion—between his trip to Berchtesgaden and his final capitulation—that, if he had the choice, he would take Stalin, not Hitler, and that that "would mean Otto Bauer." This revealing idiocy of identifying the Socialist leader with Stalin was a standard theme of Dollfuss's and Schuschnigg's pro-fascist propaganda. To them the Social Democrat, Otto Bauer, was, in their language, an "Austro-Bolshevik." This was used to justify anti-labor and anti-democratic measures before the rest of the world. Many were the times that Dollfuss tried to convince the French Foreign Minister, Paul-Boncour, that the Austrian Socialists were not Socialists of the French type but Austro-Bolsheviks, and that therefore the Austro-Fascists were justified in acting as they did. If Herr Schuschnigg really felt that he preferred Otto Bauer to Hitler, why on earth was he unwilling or unable to come to terms with the Socialist underground against Hitler at the time of the plebiscite? Gedye, in his "Betrayal in Central Europe," reports in great detail how, even in this last hour before the final catastrophe, Schuschnigg procrastinated in his

dealings with the underground leaders—just because he could not make up his mind between Bauer and Hitler.

Not once in his article does Mr. Winter make it clear that out of the Christian Social Party—which he mislabels the Christian Socialists—emerged the leadership of Austro-Fascism. His only fear is of a *Kulturkampf*—which seems strange at a moment when the new Austrian republic is confronted with so much more pressing problems. (Incidentally, there is no Minister of Public Instruction and Religion in the Austrian Cabinet. This office existed under the Hapsburg Empire and the word "religion" was dropped when the first Austrian Republic was established.) Yet, one of the basic issues of Austrian democracy is whether the rightist party will once for all rid itself of all those monarchist and fascist leanings to which it offered cordial hospitality under Seipel, Dollfuss, and Schuschnigg.

Conspicuously absent in Mr. Winter's article is also any discussion of whether the Austrian government will be allowed to govern. I share Mr. Winter's concern over the prospects of cooperation among the Big Three, but this should not make us overlook the people of Austria itself. Whether the Renner Cabinet, which, I agree, is probably the best that could be set up under the circumstances, is acceptable to all of the Big Three is one question; whether it will be allowed to govern is another question, and one which is of at least equal importance. The Moscow Declaration has made Austria independent from Germany. The question now is whether the Declaration also meant that the Austrians will be given, as rapidly as possible, the right to govern themselves.

ADOLF STURMTHAL

Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y., June 2

## Attention, North Jersey

*Dear Sirs:* A North Jersey Progressive League was formed recently in Hudson, Bergen, and Passaic counties. Our aims are "by education and by political action on a non-partisan basis" to work for "the extension of democracy both in our domestic affairs and in our international affairs." Anyone interested is urged to write us at 516 34th Street.

LEO GAMOW

Union City, N. J., May 30

## It Wasn't Fit to Print

*Dear Sirs:* In your May 5 issue you commented on a New York *Times* dispatch from Bologna reporting the "acclaim" that greeted Prince Humbert's visit there as follows: "It seems strange that during the fifteen minutes of his appearance in public the Prince found 500 assorted Bolognese ready to mill around him, etc."

I received from an American soldier in Italy the following statement, dated May 11:

About the article of the New York *Times* you sent me, I can state that it is a lie. Please tell the guy who wrote it to go and look at the articles printed in our *Stars and Stripes* between April 19 and 25.

These eyewitness stories say that around 600 persons were in the square which was crossed by Umberto heavily escorted by Military Police, *but they didn't show any interest in him.* The best proof that he was not noticed lies in the fact that he is still alive.

In case other lies should come out I state personally that Umberto was in complete incognito in Turin and Milan, otherwise . . .

WALTER TOSCANINI

New York, May 25

## Storm Over Agee

*Dear Sirs:* This is a letter of applause for James Agee's article on atrocity films in the May 19 issue. He was courageous to write it and you were courageous to print it, for it is a point of view not popular right now and yet greatly needed.

R. E. WOLSELEY

Evanston, Ill., May 25

*Dear Sirs:* I roundly condemn your failure to censor James Agee's scandalous article on Nazi atrocity films. It could very well have been signed, "Ghost of Goebbels." Agee admits that he has not seen the films; yet he has the unmitigated gall to prejudge them and to state that, in our passion for vengeance, we are "worse . . . in some respects, than the Nazis." On the little likelihood that the article was published without your knowledge, I call upon you now to give Agee a sound journalistic thrashing in reply.

HERMAN KERSH

New York, May 27

# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

A CITIZEN OF ABILENE, KANSAS, RETURNED TO his native land this week. No American, with the possible exception of Franklin D. Roosevelt, has so caught the imagination of all the peoples who worked to bring about the overthrow of the Nazi-Fascist war machine. Not only has General Eisenhower justified the hopes placed in him as Supreme Allied Commander, but among the leading figures of the Allied nations no one else seems to have grasped so firmly the basic reality of the cooperative effort upon which victory and the peace beyond victory so largely depended. General Ike, who did so much to bring about the victorious coalition, has become the symbol of the unity among peoples upon which the hopes of our generation are based. It is reported that a few days before D-Day an American correspondent asked General Eisenhower what in his opinion would be the greatest story to come out of the war. "The greatest story to come out of the war," Eisenhower replied, "will be the story of Canadian fliers escorting British destroyers convoying American troops to the invasion beach-heads." The man who has been accorded the highest honors from the governments of the leading United Nations sees himself honored only as the representative of those who have paid the high price for victory. "Humility must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned in the blood of his followers and the sacrifices of his friends." He went on to say to the city fathers of London, who had presented him with the freedom of the city, that Abilene, Kansas, was a long way from the ancient city whose roots went back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. "Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity of size and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things—call them what you will—I mean those intangibles that are the real treasure free men possess. To preserve [them] . . . a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene."

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THE ITALIAN CRISIS HAS ENDED IN COMPROMISE that favors the resistance forces. Delegates of the Committee of Liberation for North Italy solved the problem of the Premiership by proposing Ferruccio Parri for the post after Pietro Nenni had been rejected by the Christian Democratic Party. This was the only possible solution, since Alcide de Gasperi, proposed by the right wing, was unacceptable to the Socialist, Communist, and Action parties. Unlike Bonomi, the new Premier is comparatively young and has opposed fascism from the beginning. As early as 1929 Carlo Rosselli described him in these words: "Until I knew Parri, the Mazzinian hero had been a rhetorical abstraction to me. Now I see him before me in flesh and blood, with all the sorrow

of the world and all the energy of the world stamped in his features." Fifteen years later the Mazzinian hero became vice-commander of the Partisan forces that contributed so decisively to the liberation of the North. The new Premier will also hold the important post of Minister of the Interior, with power over the police and local administration—a power previously exercised by the monarchists. These are the favorable aspects of the crisis. The role of the British and Americans has been less satisfactory. They opposed giving the Premiership to Nenni for the same reason that led them, six months ago, to reject Count Sforza as Foreign Minister—because both men are against the House of Savoy. Since the crisis began Nenni has maintained that Crown Prince Umberto should resign to make way for a republic and avoid civil war. That action alone was sufficient to assure him the Allies' veto. The British Tories, in particular, are committed to support of the monarchy as part of their last-ditch fight to prevent Europe from going to the left.

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IN BELGIUM AND IN SPAIN THE SAME GAME IS being played. A major crisis has developed in Belgium as a result of the attempt to force the return of Leopold III to the throne. Belgian labor seems to be rallying solidly behind Achille van Acker, the Socialist Premier, who last Saturday offered his resignation and that of the entire Cabinet in protest against an announcement that the King was returning from Salzburg. The General Confederation of Labor has announced that "it intends to use every means in its power to oppose the reactionary maneuver involved in Leopold's return." In Spain a more subtle maneuver is working toward a similar goal. General Franco has announced the creation of a "Council of the Realm," which would select his successor if the necessity arose. "With the exception of certain relatively short periods in our history," Franco said in an interview at Pardo Palace, "our government has been traditionally a monarchy." The Spanish dictator is convinced that if he can survive the coming critical six months on the international level, the regime will be saved. He counts on a Churchill victory in England and on a rightist orientation of Anglo-American policy as a counterweight to Russia. Foreign Minister Lequerica has persuaded Franco that his chance of remaining in power would be considerably increased should Spain now fall in line with the general movement to restore all possible monarchies in Europe. That the peoples are not prepared to support this plan is demonstrated by the angry reaction of Belgian labor, and by the savage attack in Chambery by Frenchmen on a train they believed was carrying soldiers of the Blue Division back to Spain.

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THE ENTIRE PRICE-STABILIZATION MECHANISM IS gravely threatened by the Wherry amendment, which the Senate, in a moment of confusion, permitted to be attached to the Price Control Act. The amendment would prevent the OPA from establishing ceilings on farm products at less than the cost of production plus a reasonable profit. Since there is no indication of whose costs are meant, the term appears to refer to *any* farmer. The OPA could not impose a price ceiling at a point where any farmer, regardless of his

efficiency, would fail to make a profit. This is tantamount to saying that the OPA cannot exercise any effective control over farm prices, thus opening the way to a sharp rise in all food prices. Although there is a strong possibility that the Wherry amendment may be rejected by the House, the Republicans in that body have a series of other amendments ready, that are only slightly less menacing. One of the most serious is a proposal to insert into the bill a statement of Congressional intent which would require the OPA to adopt a "flexible" pricing policy in order to encourage production. This rule would compel the OPA to abandon the pricing procedures that have proved so effective during the past few years in favor of methods that are frankly inflationary. Food subsidies are the object of the usual attack from the inflationary-minded coalition of Republicans and farm-bloc Democrats. The entire program can be saved only if the public asserts itself, as it has on several occasions in the past when price control was challenged by special interests.

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NAZIS MAY SAFELY OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION, BUT conscientious objectors may not, according to two recent decisions by the Supreme Court. The court has acquitted twenty-four leaders of the German-American Bund convicted in a lower court of interfering with the draft. And it has upheld the Illinois Supreme Court's refusal to admit Clyde Summers, a conscientious objector, whose physical disabilities exempted him from the draft, to the practice of law in that state. The court's five-to-four decision in favor of Gerhard Kunze, former national Bund president, and his twenty-three fellow-members hinged on a provision in the Selective Service Act denying reemployment rights to Communist Party and Bund members. It was in order to test this clause, the majority decision held, the Bund counseled its members to resist service in the armed forces. In a dissenting opinion concurred in by Justices Reed, Douglas, and Jackson, Chief Justice Stone said that the Bund leaders were violating the draft act. In the Clyde Summers case the court again voted five to four. In his dissent from the majority opinion Justice Black held that he was not ready to say that a mere profession of belief in Christ's gospel "is a sufficient reason to keep otherwise well-qualified men out of the legal profession." This opinion was concurred in by Justices Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge. Justice Douglas is to be congratulated for opposing both Nazi and native enemies of freedom; he alone dissented in both cases. Justices Roberts and Frankfurter voted with the majority in both cases. Justices Black, Murphy, and Rutledge emerged as nostalgic exponents of laissez faire liberalism, for they defended both the Bundists and the conscientious objector. Defense of the military against all comers was maintained by Chief Justice Stone and Justices Reed and Jackson. The letter of the law was stretched to the breaking point by Justice Roberts's majority opinion, which noted that the Bundists "always favored a compulsory Selective Service Act, even though they did not wish a draft army to fight with England against Germany."

#### NEXT WEEK

Lincoln Kirstein visits *Der Suermmer*. (His article is written on Julius Streicher's private letter paper.)

## Another Chance in India

WE WELCOME the British government's new move to break the Indian deadlock and, particularly, the release of Nehru and other leaders from jail, a step which ought to be followed by the freeing of all political prisoners. The White Paper, to be sure, is a cautious document. It is, in fact, a slightly revised version of the Cripps plan, plus proposals for an "interim working arrangement." These proposals, it is hoped, will facilitate cooperation between leaders of the different communities in solving the constitutional problem.

At the time of the Cripps mission, in March, 1942, the Japanese were advancing rapidly through Burma. The invasion of India by land and sea appeared an ominous possibility, and the tide had not yet turned in Europe. The British government was therefore playing from a weak hand. There seemed a reasonable chance that it might be bluffing when Cripps insisted his plan must be accepted or rejected as a whole, and that Congress might be able to win further concessions. Actually, the government's weakness may have stiffened its attitude; it felt it could more easily afford civil disorder than any loosening of its grip on the Indian military machine.

With the failure of the Cripps mission, civil disorder duly broke out, but it was drastically suppressed, and since then India has remained comparatively quiet under an autocratic regime. Internally and externally the British are now in a stronger position than in 1942, but they have to look ahead to the time when the Indian army is demobilized and political agitation can no longer be forbidden on grounds of military necessity. Moreover, they cannot ignore the moral pressure of world opinion: imperialism—at least the old-fashioned variety—is unpopular with both of Britain's great allies.

The All-India Congress, also, may be more in a mood to negotiate. Although it is the outstanding political force in the country, it can stir into rebellious activity only a fraction of India's 400,000,000. The comparative ease with which the last outbreak of rioting was put down and the passivity with which the horrors of the Bengal famine were accepted suggest that revolution may not yet be a practical alternative to constitutional evolution. Political consciousness may develop from empty bellies but not from chronic malnutrition.

Another factor which Congress must weigh in considering the British offer is the strengthened strategic position of the Moslem League. Mr. Jinnah never has been able to speak for all the Indian Moslems and cannot do so now, but there are reasons to believe that his following has grown during the last three years. He is also receiving encouragement from the organization of the Arab League by his co-religionists in the Middle East. Jinnah may, therefore, be expected to press his demands for Pakistan—independent status for Indian provinces with Moslem majorities—more strongly than ever.

Congress stands for a united as well as an independent India, but the British cannot obtain union by coercing the Moslems. As the White Paper says, "The working out of India's new constitutional system is a task which can only be

carried through by the Indian peoples themselves." It goes on to suggest that negotiations between the leaders of the main communities might be assisted if they came together in accepting responsibilities in the Central Executive Council and the provincial governments. The British therefore propose to reconstruct the Central Council, with all Cabinet posts filled by Indians selected by the Viceroy on the basis of nominations by the leaders of the chief parties and communities. The Viceroy would remain as chairman with the power of veto, and the British Commander-in-Chief would continue to function as Minister of War. Foreign affairs, however, would pass into Indian hands, and, it is suggested, accredited diplomatic missions could be appointed immediately to represent India abroad.

The original proposal made by Sir Stafford Cripps was rejected by the All-India Congress on the ground that it was not an offer of full Cabinet responsibility. But as Cripps probably pointed out at the time, if the Indian ministers stuck together they would gain the substance of power, for the Viceroy would long hesitate to provoke a political crisis by exercising his veto. The British Cabinet itself was changed from a royal advisory body to a fully responsible executive not by law but by usage. We hope, therefore, that the Indian leaders will regard the British plan, not as a trap to compromise them, but as an opportunity to gain a vantage point from which to press forward to full independence.

## Soft Peace for Japan?

JAPANESE propagandists have given a great deal of time lately to explaining how impossible it is for loyal Japanese ever to accept "unconditional surrender." They have not said they would surrender on terms, but the implication is plain. If we are "reasonable" and provide a formula which would avoid the stigma of defeat, the Japanese might be willing to call off the war. Ordinarily, one would pay little or no attention to what the Japanese put on the air. They have never been clever in their propaganda directed at this country; and if there is one thing on which all the American people have seemed united, it is the necessity for the complete defeat of Japan and the eradication of Japanese militarism. But in the past few weeks we have suddenly begun to hear intimations from various quarters concerning the desirability of either making a conditional peace or "spelling out the terms of unconditional surrender."

Not all the advocates of a conditional peace necessarily are advocates of a soft peace. But many are. One radio commentator went so far recently as to plead for a peace that would leave Japan strong enough to prevent the expansion of Soviet influence in Asia. The New York *World-Telegram* outlined peace terms which conspicuously failed to mention the Cairo declaration, the fate of Formosa, the treatment to be accorded the Emperor, or the Zaibatsu. Writing in a Washington paper, Frank Kent suggested that Japan might be allowed to keep both Formosa and Korea as a reward for an early peace that would save thousands of American lives.

All this would seem of trifling importance if the arrest of six leading critics of State Department policy last week had

not pointed so clearly to the existence of a powerful "soft-peace" clique in high places within the government. The last issue of *Amerasia* to be published before its editors were arrested quoted certain comments which Captain E. M. Zacharias, former naval attaché in Tokyo, is alleged to have made to the Japanese people after delivering President Truman's statement to them over the radio. Captain Zacharias is said to have appealed personally in the most cordial language to leading militarists and diplomats whom he had known, including ex-Premier Yonai, Admiral Nomura, Mr. Kurusu, and Premier Suzuki, and to have ended by telling the people of Japan that "they could choose a peace with honor." *Amerasia* pointed out that this phrase must have come as a shock to the survivors of the Bataan death march. The magazine was also critical of Under Secretary of State Grew's known tenderness toward the Zaibatsu, the equivalent of Germany's Krupps and Thyssens.

The arrest of the six may or may not be connected with these particular criticisms of State Department policy. But it seems to be more than a coincidence that the editors of a magazine that is highly critical of the tendency toward a soft peace should be arrested just at the moment that reactionary and pacifist groups are opening a drive for a negotiated peace. This drive seems to have been launched at the psychological moment when it is most likely to get a hearing. With the European war over, many Americans find it difficult to face the necessity of further heavy bloodshed for a victory that is already assured. There is bound to be a lag of several months before our full military resources can be shifted to the Pacific. Until this is accomplished the war will seem to drag after the excitement of the final campaign against Germany. Moreover, the advocates of a negotiated peace have sought to capitalize on anti-Soviet feeling by circulating wild stories about supposed Russian ambitions on the Asiatic continent.

We do not believe the American people would tolerate a peace for Japan that did not *seem* to involve the complete destruction of Japanese militarism. And we see no danger of conditions that would not go at least as far as the Cairo declaration. But because of the general lack of information there is danger that Americans might consent to a peace leaving Japan in the hands of the feudal-militarist clique responsible for the government's aggressive policies for the past two generations. A peace that maintained Japan's semi-feudal social system would inevitably breed another war. As long as Mr. Grew remains in his present key position, the danger of this kind of "soft peace" will continue. For Mr. Grew has repeatedly, in his book and in various public statements, attempted to distinguish between the militarists, whom he holds responsible for the war, and the "moderate" industrialists, financiers, and officials associated with the Emperor. Yet the record shows that the Zaibatsu, Mr. Grew's "moderates," not only cooperated with the militarists in preparation for the war but have been the chief obstacle to the economic and political reforms necessary for the growth of a genuinely democratic movement in Japan. This group would undoubtedly welcome any kind of peace that left their power intact. Such a peace might save many thousands of American lives during the next year. But it would do so at the cost of millions of lives later on.

## Russia and the West

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

VARIOUS happenings here and abroad have, almost suddenly, lightened the atmosphere of apprehension that has hung over the international scene. The announcement of an early meeting of Truman, Churchill, and Stalin, the beginning of talks in Moscow among the Polish party leaders, the certainty that the United Nations Conference will end in at least a moderate success—all these have helped restore the public mood to normal, or nearly so. People no longer expect war with Soviet Russia day after tomorrow.

Nor is the improvement entirely atmospheric; some clear gains have been made. We know now that the responsible statesmen of the three biggest powers saw the peril of allowing differences among them to continue to accumulate and took steps to save the coalition. The dispatch of Messrs. Davies and Hopkins to London and Moscow was particularly welcome proof that President Truman, despite his properly reserved comments on changes in the State Department, realized that the situation could be remedied only by going outside the channels of ordinary diplomacy. All this is grounds for genuine encouragement.

But it would be foolish, just the same, to assume that these measures are more than emergency salvage operations. Indeed there is the danger, always present in our volatile country, that the sudden swing from panic to relief will lead people to ignore real and continuing difficulties. We cannot afford to sit back and rest on Mr. Hopkins's laurels; one mission does not make a decent foreign policy. The problem of establishing a solid basis for peaceful, cooperative relations with Russia remains unsolved and, for the most part, unfaced. And throughout the years immediately ahead that problem will overshadow every other. One can understand why Sir Stafford Cripps devoted his first speech in the British election campaign to the question of Russia and the peace. Politicians, aware of the intimate anxieties of a war-weary electorate, would prefer to fight the campaign on domestic issues, but they cannot shut out the issue of foreign policy. For, in the not-so-long run, plans for jobs and new homes in England will be only as good as are the relations between Britain and its great allies in both directions, and the shadow of another war will reduce to nothing the campaign promises of the parties—Labor, Tory, or Liberal.

Between Russia and the two chief Western powers a deep conflict of purpose and policy exists, dividing Europe now and promising to divide Asia later. The elements in that conflict cannot be resolved into easy moral categories. It is not enough to say that Russia has become a militarist, imperialist power or that the United States and Britain are supporting reaction in Europe and the Far East. One must examine the labels and analyze the stuff they are supposed to describe. For the ingredients of the conflict are not only explosive, they are very complex. They are political and economic and psychological and all three variously compounded; they arise from the desire for security and the ambition for power, and even these are likely to be aspects of the same thing. The conflict

is taking shape in terms of Russia against the West, but many of the issues will have to be worked out, or fought out, within each nation. The recent Communist shift back to a popular-front policy from a policy of half-fictitious, wholly grotesque class collaboration is not merely a reflection of Russia's desire to revive left-opposition movements as a potential political weapon against the Western powers, though it is probably partly that; it is also an acknowledgement that the economic-political divisions in each country have become wider and less easy to camouflage now that wartime prosperity and the wartime need for unity have begun to diminish. And yet these internal conflicts, based on such solid facts as hunger and joblessness, or rule by reactionaries or democrats, again reflect the broader aspects of the conflict between Russia and the West. The reality behind the vision of democratic disintegration conjured up by Hitler is rapidly taking shape. A cynical friend said the other day: "Hitler has won the war." This is not true. Division among the Allies was for Hitler only a means to achieve the single end of a war between Russia and the West. He will not win a posthumous victory unless that catastrophe overwhelms the world.

The most important job for Allied diplomacy is to avoid that war. That it would end what is left of what we call civilization, everyone admits. But it would do so not only because the destructive capacity of the military machines is increasing by almost geometric jumps, but even more because it would be a civil war. The present war also involved, and developed out of, internal conflicts in each country; but the external enemy, the aggressor, was easy to identify; and the job of defeating him blurred social differences and welded at least a temporary unity in the countries of the anti-Axis coalition. A war with Russia and the Western powers would be, as Reinhold Niebuhr has called it, a "civil war within civilization." For Russia, with all its differences of policy and system, is "on our side." Not even its most ruthless and arbitrary acts have been able to kill the popular belief that the Soviet government has tackled and begun to solve the strangling problems of modern economic life. War with Russia would be a civil war in the most literal sense in every country, dividing classes, ranging party against party, breaking out in a hundred forms, from strikes and fierce propaganda struggles to open rebellion in those nations where hunger and political conflict are near the surface.

Certainly this war within civilization is not as near as irresponsible in and out of the government pretend. The criminal lunatics who openly prefer to "clean up the job while we still have our armies in the field" are unimportant. Sane persons, however much they may dislike Russia, would think more than twice before urging war with a power whose armies at the end of the war in Europe numbered twice the combined forces of the United States and Britain. Besides which, the present war is not over: the value of agreement among the Allies is still tied to the practical necessity of defeating Japan. Even our least imaginative officials recognize our present stake in Russian good will. Today, therefore, Clare Luce is an object of ridicule, hardly even a nuisance. And the fanatics who are beginning to talk about keeping Russia out of the Far Eastern struggle—the same ones, in many cases, who have consistently assailed Russia for failing to come in—are at least "premature anti-Stalinists." War

with a major ally while we have still a major enemy to dispose of is not a popular cause. But the poison emitted by the Russophobes is not wasted. Its effect is insidious and cumulative. We should not dismiss it just because Russia seems to have become more amenable and a prospect of peaceful accommodation has opened. Early war is not the danger we have chiefly to fear. What is necessary is to find a basis of *permanent cooperation*, which alone offers the hope of peace and a gradual reconstruction of Europe and the world. A superficial job of patchwork, leaving all the problems unsolved, will give the fear-mongers and the hate-mongers a chance to do an effective job in the next five or ten years.

The real issues between the Soviet Union and Britain and the United States are profound and deeply rooted. They are issues that exist "within civilization"; the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini only made their universal character more apparent. For Europe's economic structure, badly battered by World War I, shored up with all sorts of ineffective props between 1918 and 1939, has been pulverized by World War II. The Russian revolution was one convulsion of European capitalism's collapse. Fascism was a disastrous, counter-revolutionary attempt to organize, centralize, and save it. The physical destruction of the war just ended, together with the wiping out of capital assets of all sorts, including the savings of the middle class, together with the fantastic jumble of property rights resulting from Nazi policies of expropriation and extermination and forced migration—all these have left the structure of Europe an empty shell. The financial expense of the war—which can only be computed in figures beyond human understanding—would by itself drag a private-enterprise system into profound depression. With the items above added in, I think we can consider that a revolution has been accomplished even though the form of the new system is not yet visible. Europe is living in a limbo of military government and military economics which temporarily conceal the reality and postpone the inevitable reckoning.

We are witnessing, and only half realizing that we are witnessing, one of the great political-economic upheavals of history. It is not going to be subdued by military measures or by small poultices applied in the name of relief and rehabilitation. It is not going to be checked by the imposition of governments of "order." It may, perhaps, be slowed up if America and Britain are willing to back their policy of establishing or salvaging reaction with continued outlays of money and goods in war-time amounts. But Britain cannot and America will not do this. In some form the European revolution will have to take its course. It could be steered into democratic and orderly channels, perhaps, if the great Western powers recognized that it was inevitable and encouraged the best leadership among the democratic elements in each country. But this would require a kind of statesmanship we have not yet found—even in Franklin D. Roosevelt—and we have no democratic leader as strong as he in either country. It would require statesmanship able to accept the wiping out of large property interests and the planning of an economy designed to rebuild the Continent rather than to get out profits. The House of Representatives has passed the Bretton Woods bill. This is a single and important sign that we are beginning to understand the international crisis of capitalism. But it's a long way from Bretton Woods to

the encouragement of democratic revolution in Europe.

Britain, even Tory Britain, understands better than we the need of planned action. But its immediate problems are enormous and certainly its present ruling group does not see their solution in socialism either at home or abroad. If a Tory government is returned, as it probably will be, we may expect in Britain a policy of national and international controls where these are needed to protect profits, combined with energetic competition where British trade can operate advantageously on its own. Only a Labor victory offers hope of an economic program and a foreign policy directed consciously to overcoming the crisis in Europe.

Russia alone, at this moment, is in a position to act positively. Not that Russia is any less stubbornly nationalistic than Britain and the United States. On the contrary, its self-interested policy is reflected in every move it makes, whether along its own frontiers or at San Francisco. The story from Sofia printed in this issue offers illuminating evidence of Russia's drive to assert its power. But that story also shows how differently Russia's self-interest expresses itself in Bulgaria from Britain's in Greece. In economic, and therefore in political, matters Russia is not interested in preserving the property and political relationships that existed before the war. On the contrary, it stands to gain in the long run by change. For reasons of expediency—to conciliate its allies, or win certain local advantages—it has maintained here and there parties or leaders or social arrangements left over from fascist or pre-fascist days. But only a determined Russophile could believe that it has done so for reasons of permanent policy—to prevent the destruction of private property interests and retain in power moribund dynasties for the protection of those interests. In spite of the survival of a Peter or a Michael in countries where Moscow's wish is law today, the over-all effect of Russian control has been to wipe out established pre-war relationships and to smash fascist power. Nazis and collaborators are being rounded up and disposed of. Land is rapidly being divided; schools started; political activity encouraged; production stimulated. Russia would not benefit by preserving the *status quo ante* in Bulgaria; it can afford to jerk Bulgaria into the twentieth century. Britain believes it can protect its interests in Greece only by preventing revolution there. And so the sort of dangerous competition is developing that Mr. Poulos so well describes.

None of this is supposed to suggest that the process taking place in Eastern Europe is a model of democratic change or that Russia's unilateral moves have contributed to an easy solution of the differences between itself and the Western powers. Neither is true. Certainly, from the little we have learned, Russian methods are often both overbearing and ruthless: along with fascists, many democratic elements are suppressed or wiped out. And Russia's calm disregard for even the forms of collaboration in many critical instances has created antagonism in Washington and London where it could easily have been avoided. But this conduct, too, must be examined in the light of the unhappy past. One must constantly bear in mind how deep and essentially well-founded are Russian fears of hostile action. How can any honest person who thinks back over the past twenty-six years—from the first attempts by the Allies to crush the new

Revolution by direct armed intervention and the subsidizing of every local uprising, through the careful construction of the *cordon sanitaire*, down to the final betrayal of collective security at Munich—doubt that Russia is genuinely obsessed with the problem of security? Sir Stafford Cripps warned against saying or doing "rash and impetuous things that are, or reasonably appear to be, hostile to the Soviet Union." He insisted that for Russia there are two possible forms of security—one "a strong international organization in which all countries cooperate with friendship," the other "the sphere of influence and control which, failing a wider system of security, will at least prevent neighboring states from being used as jumping-off ground for future aggression, as they have been used many times in the past."

Certainly the threatening talk of persons in important posts in our own army and of members of the American Congress is not calculated to still Moscow's suspicions or induce it to rely solely on the collective method of achieving security. And if we point out that Moscow's behavior is itself partly responsible for those threats, we are only completing the circle of reciprocal fear and provocation which must be broken if peace is to last between Russia and the West.

To demand of Russia more conciliatory behavior is quite proper. This has been done at San Francisco with considerable success. But I think we may as well admit that, in the long run, Russia will be moved not by arguments but by actions. If the Western powers had a policy that indicated an understanding of what is going on in Europe, that showed strength and a belief in the democratic principles they expound, that showed some tangible results in economic revival and social peace, then, I believe, we might hope for a substantial gain in understanding. Today, British and American criticism of Russia is neutralized in Italy and Spain and Greece—and even more in Germany; it can become effective only on the basis of a positive democratic policy of our own.

It is pure dilettantism to sit back and attack "impartially" both Russia and the West. This may be fun but it leads nowhere. The job of the political analyst is not to shoot his arrows at all wicked men but to try to explain the causes of the difficulties he has discovered and advocate policies which may remove them. Specifically the greatest need today is a united, determined effort on the part of British and American liberals and leftists to point out the immense dangers in their governments' foreign policies and to demand unceasingly a change in men and in direction.

Western Europe still has tremendous resources of democratic energy. During the war the resistance movements organized that energy into a magnificent common effort. Today the Western Allies, with deliberate intent, are dissipating and repressing it. They are doing so to prevent social and political change. Quite rapidly they are converting to enmity the warm and welcoming spirit of the anti-fascists of the Continent. The people of Europe deserve a chance to find their own way to peace and freedom; they deserve the help of the dominant powers. With help, they might work out their economic revolution in terms of democracy. Without help, against opposition, they will inevitably be driven toward the solution offered by Russia; and the world will be driven toward that "war within civilization" on which Hitler staked his final hope.

# Jim Crow Flies High

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, June 15*

IN 1919," according to Malcolm Ross, chairman of the FEPC, speaking before the House Appropriations Committee, "there were twenty-six race riots, most of them caused by this fight for jobs by unemployed people. We had no method of controlling those situations in 1919." We shall have no method of controlling such situations in 1945 after exactly fifteen days, unless public pressure forces action in the Senate on the FEPC appropriation for the next fiscal year or in the House on the bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. A renewed appropriation for the FEPC and legislation to make it permanent are needed for three reasons: first, in order to continue measures for full mobilization of man-power until the Japanese war is over; second, to demonstrate to the colored peoples of the East, whose help we need in that war, that the United States is making progress away from race prejudice; third, to provide a post-war preventive measure to forestall racial outbreaks in the inevitable unemployment of the reconversion period. We do not want a repetition of the dreadful scenes which occurred under similar circumstances after the last war. W. E. B. Du Bois, in his book "Dusk of Dawn," has provided a vivid picture of the race riots of 1919. The dead included "thirty-eight killed in a Chicago riot of August; from twenty-five to fifty in Phillips County, Arkansas, and six killed in Washington," "For a day," Du Bois continues, "the city of Washington in July, 1919, was actually in the hands of a black mob fighting against the aggression of the whites with hand grenades."

It is not difficult to imagine outbreaks of this kind again in such cities as Washington and Detroit if nothing is done now to prevent them. The FEPC, despite all the hostility it has aroused, is a puny enough measure. A stepchild among Washington's swarming war agencies, it is probably the smallest agency of government in the capital, with a staff of but 127 persons all told, including stenographers and office boys. It is asking \$599,000 for the next fiscal year, a drop in the bucket of the huge federal war budget. The FEPC has had a backlog of 2,500 cases for some time and has been just about able to close out enough old ones to balance the new cases coming in. If we were not so half-hearted and almost surreptitious in taking action against race prejudice, the FEPC would have an appropriation at least ten times what it is asking and has as yet been unable to obtain. The inadequacy of its funds becomes strikingly clear when one looks at its regional offices, where complaints are investigated and cases brought. A staff of seven, including three stenographers, handles all the New England states and New York. Three examiners and two stenographers are all the FEPC has for its Atlanta office, which takes care of five states—Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida. There is a staff of three, including one stenographer,

for the state of Michigan. From its San Antonio office two examiners and a stenographer must handle all the FEPC complaints of western Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado. It is a miracle that the FEPC has been able to accomplish as much as it has, and for that miracle great credit is due its chairman, Malcolm Ross. Bringing deep devotion and almost superhuman patience to his difficult task—the breaking down of race prejudice and discrimination in industry, primarily against the Negro—he has made a sizable contribution to the war effort.

About one worker in every twelve in war industry today is a Negro. Negroes are 12 per cent of the workers in shipbuilding, 10 per cent of those in combat vehicles and ammunition, 7 per cent of those in aircraft. The last to be hired, they are apt to be the first to be fired. In the Southern shipyards, in Detroit with its 260,000 Negroes, in Los Angeles with 150,000, in Portland, Oregon, where there has been a phenomenal increase in the Negro population, there may be serious trouble as cutbacks increase and industry shuts down or reconverts. Unfortunately, the FEPC as at present constituted by executive order is limited to war plants. It cannot offer protection to racial or religious minorities in business and factories reconverted to peace-time output, though this is where FEPC action is most needed. Today the FEPC is fighting for its life as a war agency, as well as asking for establishment as a permanent instrument of government.

The House Appropriations Committee, which spent three days grilling FEPC officials last year, was alarmingly swift in dealing with the committee this year. Hearings took little over a day, and the questioning was not much more than a formality. A majority of the committee had their minds made up to kill the FEPC appropriation. In the subcommittee the vote was four to four. Ludlow of Indiana and Dirksen of Illinois, the former a Democrat, the latter a Republican, led the fight for the FEPC, while Taber of New York, who watches the pennies for the G. O. P., led the Southern Democrats into battle against the agency. In the full committee Coffee of Washington and Koppleman of Connecticut fought hard to win approval for the requested appropriation, but lost eighteen to eleven. The committee reported ingenuously that since legislation to make the FEPC permanent was pending, "the only logical course" was to withhold action on the appropriation. This was an interesting squeeze play.

There is still a fighting chance for the appropriation in the Senate. A slim majority of the members of the Senate Appropriations Committee are friendly to the FEPC, though the chairman, Senator McKellar, is hostile. Last year McKellar had the annual appropriation bill printed without the FEPC item, and the committee had to overrule him and order a new bill printed. Should the appropriation lose in commit-

tee, which is possible, and be offered as an amendment from the floor, then McKellar as presiding officer would be in a position to rule it out of order. Some public pressure on the committee would be most useful. The men who need it on the Democratic side are Tydings of Maryland and McCarran of Nevada. The Republicans on the committee who are unfriendly to the FEPC are Bridges of New Hampshire, Wherry of Nebraska, White of Maine, Gurney of South Dakota, Reed of Kansas, and Willis of Indiana. Anyone who helps to build a fire under them on this issue will be doing a good deed.

Prodding is equally urgent on the bill to make the FEPC permanent. Progressives in Ohio might begin by taking some pot shots at Taft. The senior Senator from Ohio and leading corporation lawyer of Cincinnati was chairman of the committee which drafted the last Republican platform, and that platform said, "We pledge establishment by federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee." But Taft himself was the only Republican member of the Senate Education and Labor Committee who voted against favorably reporting the Chavez bill for a permanent FEPC. The committee is a progressive one. The vote was twelve to six in favor of the bill, and it can be called up in the Senate at any time. In the Senate the Chavez bill was also sponsored by Senators Wagner, Murray, Downey, Aiken, Langer, and Capper.

Its counterpart in the House, the Norton bill, is a composite of bills for a permanent FEPC introduced by six Republicans and six Democrats. The Republicans are Baldwin, New York; Bender, Ohio; Clason, Massachusetts; Dirksen,

Illinois; La Follette, Indiana; and Vorys, Ohio. The Democrats are Dawson, Illinois; Douglas, California; Doyle, California; Hook, Michigan; Norton, New Jersey; and Powell, New York. The House bill was reported favorably by the House Labor Committee, with only two dissenting votes, Hoffman of Michigan and Fisher of Texas. The former needs no introduction, as they say at banquets, to *Nation* readers. The latter is a sheep-raiser from southwestern Texas near the Mexican border. The House bill was reported out three months ago and has been bottled up ever since in the Rules Committee.

The Rules Committee, theoretically, is the "traffic cop" of the House of Representatives. It is supposed to expedite action, not to block it. It is authorized to determine when it would be best to let a bill move to the floor and what limitations should be imposed on debate. It is not supposed to consider the merits of legislation. It does, of course, constantly exercise an unauthorized veto on legislation and is trying to do so in this case. Its chairman, Sabath, announced on the floor of the House last Wednesday that he was signing the petition for discharge of the Rules Committee so that a vote could be had on the bill. The fate of the discharge petition depends on the Republican Party, which supported the similar petition on the poll-tax bill last week but has until now played a devious role on the FEPC. The four Republican members of the House Rules Committee did indeed vote in favor of the Norton bill but only after helping the Southern Democrats to delay a vote for three months. And the Republicans did not vote for the bill until they were sure there were enough anti-FEPC Democrats present to block it.

## Canada Stands Pat

BY MAXWELL COHEN

IN A world and in a generation that has not yet resolved the great social contests between left and right the Canadian people have sought the shelter of the center. The federal election of June 11 has returned Mackenzie King to power with at least 118 "straight" Liberals to support him and another 8 to 16 Independents, many of whom will vote with him on all major issues of confidence. The victory was scarcely a clean-cut one, for Mr. King, needing 123 seats out of 245, will live precariously on the margin of majority, depending often on the balloting bounty of Quebec and other anti-conscriptionist Independents.

As this is being written, the Canadian press tabulation remains the best unofficial source of the distribution of the vote. But since the armed-service vote will not be announced until Monday, June 18—when it will probably account for another four or five hundred thousand—the conclusions to be drawn with respect to specific numbers and certain seats have a necessarily tentative character. Nevertheless, the main outlines of the result are now evident. Of the total Canadian vote cast of 4,622,513—including armed-service personnel resident and voting in their constituencies—the party totals and percentages were as follows:

Party	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
Liberal	1,809,206	118	39 per cent	48.2 per cent
Progressive				
Conservative	1,299,484	66	28 " "	26.9 " "
C. C. F.	670,476	26	15 " "	10.6 " "
Social Credit	186,423	13	4 " "	5.3 " "
Labor				
Progressive	105,409	1	2 " "	.4 " "
Others	551,519	21	12 " "	8.6 " "

Among the "others" are 8 Independent Liberals, 8 Independents, 2 Bloc Populaire, and one or two other new-born and obscure hyphenates.

There is, of course, no glib, short interpretation of this the first major post-war election in any part of the English-speaking world. The Progressive Conservative Party, formed in December, 1942, out of the ranks of the lagging, twice-defeated Conservatives, had great hopes. Mr. King's refusal to introduce compulsory military service for overseas and the resultant series of crises in his Cabinet, in the House, and in popular sentiment—all topped by his piecemeal approach to compulsory reinforcement—provided a natural campaign platform for a party always well within the flag-waving tradi-

tion. The Progressive Conservatives had written off Quebec and were satisfied to fight on the straight issue of a divided Canada—although Quebec was not entirely outside their calculations, since they probably counted on the Bloc Populaire to help overturn the government should Mr. King's margin turn out to be slim.

At the same time the C. C. F. loomed larger than any third party since the western Progressives under Tom Crerar had challenged the Liberals in the early twenties. In the late fall of 1943 the C. C. F., according to a Gallup poll, had risen to command 29 per cent of the potential vote. In Saskatchewan it swept into power and demolished a provincial Liberal machine that had functioned with only one or two interruptions since 1905. In Ottawa it had mustered ten members by 1944, most of whom were articulate, hard-working, and idealistic and at the same time effective parliamentarians. The troops were becoming partial to change, and more than a quarter of a million uniformed Canadians had lived in the politically leftist climate of the United Kingdom. By 1943-44 the C. C. F. looked like the real thing, an authentic political threat to the major parties.

Meanwhile in Quebec the Liberal government of Premier Godbout was beaten, and in federal politics the extreme French right wing, the French Canadian Bloc Populaire, was making political capital at Mr. King's expense. Only the Labor Progressives, the whilom Communists, were no real threat to Mr. King as the election drew near; they were busily knifing the moderately socialist C. C. F. in almost every urban community. Their "line" now was to rally to those from whom the Big Three and particularly the Soviet Union would receive the most likely support. By these curious standards Mr. King warranted their acclaim and, in the constituencies not contested by them, their votes.

The results of the Ontario election on June 11 changed the pattern of Mr. King's opposition somewhat, but appeared in no way to improve his chances. Premier George Drew was returned to office with immensely increased strength. The Liberals lost some ground, and the C. C. F. representation was whittled down disastrously from thirty-four to seven seats. The province of Ontario, with eighty-two federal seats, appeared to be in the Tories' pocket, and June 11 was just one week away.

Why did the results on June 11 run counter to the logic of political decent developments? Why is Mr. King still Prime Minister? There are at least five facts that help explain the results:

1. The Liberal Party continues to be the only great party with a fully recognizable body of support in every province and region of Canada. And while it has leaned perhaps too heavily on Quebec, it has, nevertheless, a truly national flavor and cuts deeply across class lines. It has found support among big business and small farmers, liberal intellectuals and urban workers.

2. For five and a half years the Liberal government has done a first-class war-time administrative job. Fiscal policy, price and wage control, production policy (farm and industry), the compulsory mobilization and use of labor, the mushrooming of the fighting services, all have been handled competently, without fuss, and in some cases brilliantly.

3. The Canadian people have experienced "full" employ-

ment, a wider distribution of more than doubled national income, and a rise in "real" income. War-time prosperity has made them almost forget the bitter frustrations of the depression thirties, when government economic policy was pre-Keynes in method and antediluvian in understanding.

4. Nothing that the progressive Conservatives have offered either in domestic economic policies or in international political and economic ideas sounded more "progressive" or more in tune with the major items of the impending post-war world than had already been set out by the Liberals in platform statements as well as in legislation passed or pending. The voter who had not been convinced by the main P. C. line about Mr. King and Quebec could find little in P. C. declarations or leadership to make him hope that this was the party for an uncertain tomorrow.

5. The C. C. F. declined steadily in the last weeks of the spring down to the very day of the election. In the election, the party that had often appeared to be the spearhead of progressive thinking and action in Canada lost its only seat in Ontario, and although it will come to the House with at least sixteen more seats than it had last time, all but one are from the West. Six months ago it was thought the C. C. F. would win sixty or seventy seats. This loss of ground during recent months is not easy to explain. But undoubtedly the most serious handicap for the socialistic C. C. F. was war-time prosperity—the reality of several years of full employment and rising standards in a liberal capitalist society. Capitalism seemed to be working.

The C. C. F. still spoke the old language of the Fabians, still talked about nationalization, still pointed the moral finger at big business and monopolies. But this was the world of Keynes, Beveridge, and Hansen, where private ownership was subsumed, where the real issues were not refinements in the distribution of the national-income pie but the methods of insuring a greater pie, with improving minimum shares for all. Nor did the C. C. F. learn how to translate the great issues of fascism and anti-fascism—of the potential fascism even in Anglo-American society and therefore even in Canada—into concrete believable terms. Mr. Jolliffe's attempt in the Ontario election to saddle Mr. Drew with the ignominy of a political Gestapo spying on his opposition was apparently not enough out of which to make substantial political capital. And finally the C. C. F. said little to meet the great debate implicit in its program, namely, the struggle between freedom and organization. It said little to assure the relatively inhibited Canadian middle-class voter that the C. C. F. had thought out the problems of curbing and qualifying the administrative power of the bureaucracy which would be needed to carry out any full-scale program of nationalization or of controlled private investments.

For these and doubtless many other reasons Mr. King is Canada's First Minister again. He is committed to the attempt to maintain a high national income and maximized employment and to share in all the international obligations soon to be undertaken by the United Nations. He will have perhaps the strongest opposition in the House that he has had since 1925. But out of its criticism and out of the immense fund of his own experience may emerge a more solid national unity and a more skilful approach to the greater difficulties ahead.

# The OWI Under the Ax

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Washington, June 14

UNLESS the Senate reverses next week the House action cutting the OWI appropriation for European activities, America will lose a voice on the Continent at precisely the most crucial stage of the post-war battle for men's minds. With President Truman, in his statement of yesterday, backing the OWI's appropriation request, and with protest over this surrender of the still bleeding European field so widespread, the Senate may well restore the cut. However, the issue is still in doubt here, and it needs airing whatever action the Senate takes. OWI activities to date have cost the American people a bit more than the cost of a battleship before the war. The OWI operated last year on about what it costs the United States to run its share of the war four and three-quarters hours. The OWI spent last year 10 per cent of what Dr. Goebbels spent, and a good deal less than American advertisers spend annually to promote the sale of toiletries. Working on this modest budget, the OWI has had considerable success in accomplishing its primary purpose, to save American lives by shortening the war, and its secondary purpose, to win friends and influence people. Impressive evidence on the first count has been presented to Congress in the form of letters and messages of commendation from various theater commanders: the agency's most celebrated accomplishments were the surrender of the Italian fleet, which was engineered by the OWI radio in North Africa, and the mass surrenders of German troops in the Battle of France under a barrage from OWI mobile transmitters. Even General MacArthur, who long frowned on having OWI personnel in his command, has come around, and recently requested an increase in the psychological-warfare staff. On Guam, according to Major General Henry L. Larsen, new psychological-warfare tactics resulted in the highest proportion of Japanese prisoners ever taken; on Saipan the construction of a medium-wave broadcasting station was the first work ordered after the completion of the B-29 air base; a recent editorial in *Stars and Stripes* declared that "words are cheaper than blood, and both are helping to win the war."

Confronted with this evidence, the House passed an appropriation of \$17,000,000 for psychological warfare in the Pacific. It cut the \$17,000,000 appropriation for activities in Europe and the United States, the latter amounting only to \$1,225,000. In effect, then, the House said it wasn't interested in the OWI's second objective, to win friends and influence people. A more ill-timed move could hardly be imagined.

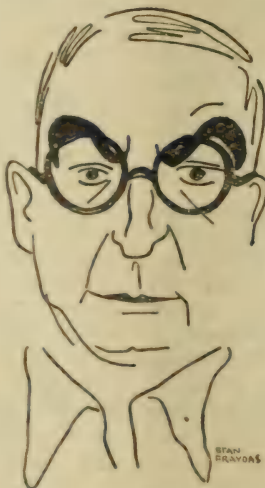
Elmer Davis, head of the OWI, presented the case neatly in his recent testimony before the House Appropriations Committee:

It is evident that the news the Germans are getting now is beginning their education, and every effort is being made to see that the news will give them a real picture of the

world they live in—something of which the Nazi government has deprived them for twelve years past. They must learn why they were defeated, why they would certainly be defeated if they ever tried it again, what crimes their army and their government have committed against other nations, why the individuals guilty of those crimes are being punished, and why the German people, which permitted them, share in the responsibility. Somebody will have to take over the American part of that job when the OWI is through; the objectives and the processes will have to be laid down by the best combined judgment of the entire government—and any thorough reeducation will cost far more than the modest amount provided in our budget for its beginnings—nevertheless, the OWI and the Army, in partnership, are responsible for those beginnings, which are already under way. Provision for Germans of coldly objective news about what is happening to them and why it

is happening, as well as factual reporting of what is going on in the rest of the world, seems the best way we can begin. What is our job in the liberated countries, now that the shooting war is over in Europe? Basically it depends on three facts: . . . there is still a shooting war in the Pacific; there will be American soldiers in some parts of Europe for an indefinite period; and until the conclusion of peace nations which for years have had most of their information about America from hostile sources must be told the truth about America in the hope and confidence that the more they know about us, the more they will be inclined to be well disposed toward this country, and to give their support to American foreign policies and plans for the peace settlement. Wherever and whenever troops of a foreign country are in the midst of a civilian population, even the population of an ally, there is bound to be some friction. To minimize the effects of that friction has been part of the duty of the OWI since its inception in areas so widely scattered as India, Iceland, and Iraq. We have now undertaken that duty, at the urgent request of the army, in France and Belgium.

These objectives—reeducating Germans, insuring the support of liberated countries, and winning acceptance of American troops abroad—are of undeniable importance. Beyond them lies the necessity of presenting the whole picture of American policy, which can only be set forth by the OWI: neither the State nor the War Department is prepared to do



Elmer Davis

the job. Surely it is better to have our policy set forth in American terms and by responsible authority than in foreign terms and by irresponsible persons. The only valid test of any activity in war time—or in the present distressingly warlike "post-war" period—is its result, not the motive or the relative inefficiency of the operation, or the personalities of those directing it, or the expense. By this test the OWI has served its purpose; it has produced results within the field to which it was assigned, and that field cannot now be vacated. Propaganda is a continuing process; the OWI changed the whole attitude of Iceland's highly cultured

leaders toward the United States with a series of articles and radio programs on American arts and science, and helped further Icelandic cooperation with the United States troops stationed there, but last spring the outpost was closed, leaving the field for British and Russian propaganda. The results are not altogether happy to contemplate.

We may have to get over our abhorrence of "government propaganda," and decide that if we are to live amicably with our neighbors in the world of tomorrow, we had better try to tell them more about what kind of people we are and the way we operate.

## Who Fights Health Insurance?

BY GERALDINE SARTAIN

THE battle against health insurance is on again, this time characterized by several new developments. The most important of these are the advertising campaigns promoted by the organized medical profession in its last-ditch stand against what it calls "socialized medicine." One campaign uses the press as its medium and another the air waves. It is interesting to note that in order to underwrite this type of propaganda the doctors had to do a complete about-face and lay aside their traditional opposition to paid advertising.

Even before Senator Wagner introduced the streamlined Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill on May 24, the organized medicals had gone into action. For the fear of "political medicine" has hung over the American Medical Association ever since the late thirties, when Senator Wagner first introduced an extended social-security measure containing insurance provisions that would enable 135,000,000 people to receive comprehensive medical care. His present bill also would provide every man, woman, and child in the country with good medical care, paid for by 1½ per cent of every wage-earner's pay check, plus a like sum from the employer, plus 3 per cent of the earnings of the self-employed, plus government taxes to cover the indigent.

Through the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, which has the blessing of the A. M. A., a series of six paid advertisements entitled "Editorials to Editors" and designed to reach the thousands of newspaper editors in this country began running last month in *Editor and Publisher* and other newspaper trade journals. Each of the series contains a statement of policy in which the committee frankly admits that it "is utilizing to maximum capacity its resources and organization strength in ceaseless efforts to preserve our system of private enterprise." Nothing is said about preserving the health of the nation.

The advertisements urge editors to tell the American people what perils await them: that their "priceless heritage," the private-enterprise system, is endangered; that "the sacred relationship between doctor and patient" is similarly threatened (no mention is made of the millions of our people who have virtually no relationship with doctors, sacred or otherwise, because they haven't the money to pay for it); that "the sanctity of human personality" will be undermined; that doctors are "to be regimented and made subordinate to the

bureaucrat, and the people forced by law to accept such medical care as could be provided by a politically appointed bureaucrat."

John M. Pratt, author of the series, executive administrator and publicity man for the committee, has explained that the idea of propagandizing newspaper editors—at a cost of \$7,000 for the six advertisements—was the result of two years of experiment on various approaches "to a very delicate public-relations problem." The problem was solved by slanting the editorials so they would arouse fear, while dark hints that health insurance "is a fatal step toward complete totalitarian control over the lives and destinies of all men" play further upon the emotions.

The radio campaign is a large-scale attempt at direct popular propaganda, using the fear technique also, but more subtly. A weekly fifteen-minute radio series called *American Medicine* started last fall over twelve stations of the Michigan network under the auspices of the Michigan Medical Society. Now this is planned as a national program to be put on by the medical societies of sixteen states and the District of Columbia. It is a disarmingly friendly program, made up of sweet music with a final commercial plug just before the theme song, "When Day Is Done." This plug contains "a brief message from your family doctor" warning the listeners that "no theoretical plan, government controlled and operated and paid for by taxation, should replace the present plan, which allows you to choose your own doctor." Actually the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill specifically safeguards Mr. and Mrs. America in the right to choose their own doctor and the doctor in his right to choose or reject his patients, as well as to join the new health-insurance system or remain outside it.

The proposed national radio show was auditioned recently by the heads of the seventeen medical societies meeting at the headquarters of the Wayne County (Michigan) Medical Society in Detroit. They promptly voted to underwrite the cost. According to the amusement magazine *Billboard*, the program "is angled at the hottest potato in the field of medical practice today, namely, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill now before Congress, which sundry medical societies, backboned by anti-Administration pressure groups, have widely smeared with the label of 'socialized medicine.'" A station in Detroit will

originate the program and feed it to a special network hook-up of eighteen high-power stations if they accept the program.

Some of them refused it after *Billboard* ran a streamer line on its almost full-page story, plus an editorial, warning the radio industry that such special pleading presented in the guise of entertainment is bad for radio. *Billboard* pointed out that the program American Medicine was first turned down by CBS and by stations owned and operated by Columbia because it was controversial. It quoted C. H. Chapman of the Detroit advertising agency handling the program to the effect that it would reach 71,000,000 listeners in 90 per cent of the radio homes at a cost of \$70,000 for thirteen weeks. This cost included an \$8,000 appropriation for special promotion material to be distributed by doctors belonging to the sponsoring medical societies.

It was figured that the program would cost the 75,000 physicians belonging to the seventeen societies 7 cents a week, or less than \$1 a member for the thirteen-week series. The Michigan Medical Society has already spent \$21,000 for radio within the borders of the state, *Billboard* estimates, starting with a five-minute show over twelve small stations which was later stepped up to fifteen minutes. Its current program is a dramatized sketch based on "true-to-life" medical experiences from listeners' letters, the bait for the letters being a weekly prize of \$35 in war bonds.

These two campaigns, although new and somewhat startling for the medical profession, are a logical development of its line of propaganda during the last few years. The trade association of organized medicine, the American Medical Association—which fought hospital insurance and prepayment health plans in general until it lost its battle against medical cooperatives in the United States Supreme Court—has long been the spearhead of the fight against both compulsory national health insurance and state legislation providing the same benefits. It has now united with some drug manufacturers and casualty-insurance companies, and seeks to woo big business in general. In California the State Medical Society, with the help of chambers of commerce and other business groups, was able to bottle up in committee both Governor Earl Warren's compulsory health-insurance bill and a similar bill put forward by organized labor.

The National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, sponsored by the A. M. A., has for some time been engaged in a double-barreled, three-year campaign, for which it is raising a million and a half dollars, to kill the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and to push health-insurance coverage by commercial insurance companies. The committee is pursuing this course despite the fact that commercial health insurance offers no medical services but merely cash benefits for hospitalization and surgery—in other words, provides for catastrophic illness only and ignores the preventive aspects of medical care. Moreover, since commercial health insurance offers coverage only to people belonging to sizable employed groups, the great masses of the population are ineligible for its benefits.

At a public meeting last year the committee held out to these companies the lure of a billion dollars in new business. It has already circulated, through drugstores, doctors' offices, and other media, millions of copies of a pamphlet attacking the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill as "political medicine

and the socialization of medical practice in the United States." Some *Nation* readers have doubtless received this pamphlet inclosed with their doctors' bills or the packages their druggists hand them. In addition, the committee sends regular releases to 12,000 publications to scare the public away from all government plans, state or federal.

All of this is happening in the face of Senator Wagner's clear-as-glass statement and the plain language of the bill itself. Senator Wagner has said:

Health insurance is not *socialized* medicine; it is *not* state medicine. It is simply a method of paying medical costs in advance and in average amounts . . . of assuring a person ready access to the medical care that he or she needs by eliminating the financial barrier between the patient and the doctor or the hospital. Therefore it should be obvious that health insurance does not involve regimentation of doctors or patients. Neither do I believe that the doctors of this country will lower the standards of medical care simply because they are guaranteed payment for their services. . . . Social insurance has not interfered with our system of free enterprise; on the contrary, it has helped to make our system of free enterprise operate more smoothly and effectively.

Similarly, Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, has said:

We think a good program of social security is absolutely necessary if we are to continue to make economic progress, maintain a stable society, and promote a more productive system of free enterprise. When we loose the chains of fear, we really give enterprise a tremendous boost.

In their opposition to compulsory health insurance the A. M. A. and its allied groups have been joined by the American Bar Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, some other business groups, hospital organizations with a vested interest in voluntary health insurance, some of the farm agencies, the Health and Accident Underwriters' Conference, which has a vested interest in voluntary plans because of the 30,000,000 health and accident policies and the 16,000,000 hospitalization policies in the United States, the American Taxpayers' Association, and similar groups pledged to keep taxes down. On the other hand, all branches of organized labor are for it, and so are the National Farmers' Union and the National Lawyers' Guild. And one must point out that several organizations of progressive physicians have emerged in the last few years. The most important is the Physicians' Forum, the chairman of which is Dr. Ernst Boas, distinguished New York heart specialist, son of the late renowned anthropologist, Dr. Franz Boas. The Forum is an expanding and militant body with growing influence in both professional and lay circles. It is pledged to support the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and corresponding legislation. The Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, a small, compact group made up mostly of doctors on the staffs of top-rank medical schools, is another progressive medical body supporting national health insurance.

The battle lines are drawn. Hearings before the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee are promised for this year. Only a few years ago health insurance was a social problem perceived and understood by a mere handful of persons. Today many national polls show that it is wanted by the majority of the American people.

# Columbia River Bureaucrats

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE novel aspect of the fight now gathering strength in the Northwest over the Columbia Valley Authority is found in the fact that two government agencies are playing an active role in organizing the opposition. Though they are traditionally rival agencies, the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation have formed an agreement to oppose the creation of river-valley authorities. Their chief purpose is to forestall a Missouri Valley Authority, but their opposition extends to one for the Columbia.

Both the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation are old-established, highly centralized agencies, with powerful political connections formed over a period of years. Both regard their traditional policies and procedures with a semi-religious veneration. Within the limitations of this attitude, both agencies are efficiently operated and can be credited with truly impressive accomplishments. Enduring examples of the great work they have done may be found throughout the West. In the past they have frequently clashed over matters of policy, but the opposition which they share to integrated regional authorities has effected a reconciliation. Both organizations are today conducting an under-cover campaign against the various proposals to create a Columbia Valley Authority, particularly Senator Hugh Mitchell's Senate Bill No. 460. The Bureau of Reclamation has always regarded power development as incidental to reclamation; the Army Engineers have always thought of it as incidental to navigation and flood control. It is quite natural that the two agencies should be critical of proposals fundamentally at variance with their respective philosophies. But their clandestine alliance with various special-interest groups constitutes a major public scandal.

The link between these agencies and the private interests that oppose a CVA is the National Reclamation Association and its state and regional affiliates. Since "reclamation" is a magic word in the West, the association provides the perfect front for the forces fighting river authorities. For many years the National Reclamation Association has been an arm—more accurately the "private lobby"—of the Bureau of Reclamation. Its officials have always worked in close collaboration with the Commissioner of Reclamation. Like the bureau, the association is interested not in power development but in old-style, single-purpose reclamation projects. It was once a vital and progressive force, but the dirt farmers of the West have gradually withdrawn from membership, and today both the national association and its affiliates are dominated by the railroads and the private power interests.

The campaign against the CVA was launched at the convention of the National Reclamation Association held at Denver in November, 1944. It was apparent to the genuine reclamationists at this meeting that the private power interests were in control. Two basic themes were emphasized—opposition to regional authorities, including a CVA, and praise for the concordat between the Army Engineers and

the Bureau of Reclamation. Adoption at this meeting of a resolution opposing valley authorities and recommending river development by existing agencies was followed by the adoption of similar resolutions at meetings of the branch organizations.

At these state and regional meetings "the private power boys" were again much in evidence. The chairman of the resolutions committee at the Oregon Reclamation Congress, for example, was the attorney and principal lobbyist for the Pacific Power and Light Company. At a regional meeting held in Spokane a representative of the Washington Water Power Company acted as page and doorkeeper, and the company supplied the stenographic service.

High-ranking officials of the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation also attended the meetings. When called upon to present the point of view of the Bureau of Reclamation on river-valley authorities, one prominent official declined to speak on the ground that the issue was "too hot." The Army Engineers, however, unhampered by any connection with the Department of the Interior, have not hesitated to make known their views. At a recent meeting of the Montana Reclamation Association, Colonel Conrad P. Hardy, district engineer, exclaimed: "While our young men are giving their lives in this war, are we going to let fascism be set up right in this country? Although river authorities are not fascist in name, they are fascist in character." The general strategy of the fight against a CVA was prepared at these meetings, and the delegates were repeatedly assured that "ample funds" would be "forthcoming" to finance the campaign. At the Oregon meeting speakers suggested that the Power Division of the Department of the Interior be abolished and its functions returned to the Bureau of Reclamation.

Next the various state legislatures were urged to go on record against a CVA. A memorial asking Congress to defeat "any bill to establish a Columbia Valley Authority" was approved by the Oregon legislature after it had "studied" Senator Hugh Mitchell's bill for exactly ten minutes. This memorial was introduced at the request of the Oregon Reclamation Association (*Portland Oregonian*, March 3). A regional meeting of the reclamation association was held in Spokane on March 9 for the specific purpose of organizing a grass-roots campaign against a CVA. As a result, resolutions and petitions against Senator Mitchell's bill were adopted by civic groups, chambers of commerce, and similar organizations throughout the Northwest.

Thus a number of interests are lined up against the CVA: two old-line government agencies, with many "friends" throughout the West; the private power interests and the railroads, working through the various reclamation associations; the reclamation associations themselves; the chambers of commerce; and many absentee-owned or -controlled industries. In addition, organized labor is to some extent opposed. In the Northwest the private power interests have shrewdly

cultivated the political support of organized labor by working out satisfactory agreements with such unions as the electrical workers. Dave Beck, the dominant labor leader in the region, is reported to be unfriendly, if not actively hostile, to the idea of a CVA. Lined up in support of a CVA are the various public-utility districts, the Oregon Grange and the Washington Grange, the C. I. O., and the unnumbered but also unorganized friends of public power throughout the Northwest. Not a single metropolitan newspaper in the area supports the proposed CVA, nor does the rural press, with a few notable exceptions. The fact that the public-power fight cuts across party lines in the Northwest makes it difficult to present the proposal as a clear-cut political issue.

Other federal agencies in the region, while not as actively hostile to a CVA as the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers, give it only lukewarm support. Some of their officials like to quote Mr. Ickes's remark that the problems of the world cannot be solved "by lighting a candle and intoning 'TVA, TVA, TVA!'" And they stress the differences between the Tennessee Valley and the Columbia Valley. Admittedly such differences exist. Soil-erosion and flood control were important considerations in the Tennessee Valley; neither is a major problem in the Northwest. Irrigation was not greatly needed in the Tennessee Valley; it is of paramount importance in the Columbia basin. The development of domestic water supplies was a need in the Tennessee Valley; it is not particularly urgent in the Columbia Valley. Fishing and logging, minor factors in the Tennessee Valley, are major industries in the Northwest. There were no pre-existing reclamation projects in the Tennessee as there are in the Columbia Valley, and the problem of government lands was not involved. In considering the powers to be granted to a Columbia Valley Authority these differences should be carefully examined, but they should not be permitted to obscure the necessity for regional planning. It was required in the Tennessee Valley to rehabilitate an area; it is required in the Northwest to develop an area.

The really important difference between the two regions lies in the fact that existing government agencies had confessed their inability to solve the problems of the Tennessee Valley. The TVA did not have to cope with the opposition of such powerful agencies as the Bureau of Reclamation and the Forestry Service. While Mr. Ickes, by his support of river-valley authorities, has indicated a commendable willingness to permit the reorganization of the Department of the Interior, his subordinates yet stubbornly resist such proposals.

A major reorganization of all federal agencies concerned with the protection and utilization of natural resources is implicitly involved in the idea of river-valley authorities. In the past such agencies have functioned nationally in their specific separate fields—wild life, parks, forests, soils, or mineral resources; the success of the TVA shows the value of a different approach—of an integrated development of natural resources on a regional basis. For this the most efficient tool is the public corporation.

While the need for a reorganization of federal agencies concerned with natural resources was not stressed in the fight for the TVA, it will be a major issue in the fight for the Western valley authorities, those proposed for the Columbia, Rio Grande, Central, and Missouri rivers. The public

should therefore scrutinize carefully any changes President Truman may make in the Cabinet. To supplant Mr. Ickes, for example, with some Westerner identified with the work of the Bureau of Reclamation or the Army Engineers, whatever his reputation as a "conservationist" or "reclamationist," would certainly not improve the prospects for the early establishment of a Columbia Valley Authority. As a doughty fighter, Mr. Ickes is just the man to deal with the bureaucratic collaborationists in the Department of Interior. At the proper time and place he can be relied on to curb their thinly veiled political activities against the public interest.

[This is the last of three articles on the development of the Columbia River Valley and the need for a CVA.]

## In the Wind

ERICH VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN, journalistic apologist for Franco and the House of Hapsburg, has dropped the pseudonym "Francis Stuart Campbell." His articles are now signed "Richard F. Kestrick."

THE COLE CHEMICAL COMPANY of St. Louis is currently advertising "Bral—for Relief of Hangovers" in medical publications. With each advertisement is a postcard which a doctor may send for a professional sample.

RIDERS ON THE SUBWAYS of New York can now contemplate these two advertisements: (1) "Meet Miss Subways—Charming Veronica Robinson. Blue-eyed and lovely, Veronica is a statistician who dreams of being a model." (2) "'Low, I am with you always.'—Mathew 20:20. Best Seller Publicity of New York."

V. S. PRITCHETT, the urbane London diarist of England's *New Statesman and Nation*, records in the issue of May 19 a conversation he had with a horse on V-E Day. "A damn good thing it's over," said the horse. "Now we can get rid of . . . all these damn regulations and damn foreigners, Dutch, French, Greeks, the whole damn lot. Send the Jews back to Palestine, the Americans back to America, the Italians back to Italy. They've been the ruin of this damn country, filling it with half-caste Negro babies. It will take us two generations to recover from it, and unless we put some discipline into people this poor old country will sink to the level of the damn Portuguese." "At which," says Mr. Pritchett, "she cantered off. Quite a number of the damned horses in my part of the country think like this. What have all these foreigners done for us (they ask) that they should now eat our food? One of the repressed emotions of the war: Xenophobia is about to be released like poison gas."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: The salaries of postal employees range from \$1,200 a year to \$2,100. A temporary cost-of-living bonus, amounting to \$300, will expire June 30. The Post Office Employees' Salary Reclassification bill, which would grant a permanent increase of \$400, has been passed by the House and is now in the Senate Committee on Post Offices, headed by Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee. This would be the first permanent increase since 1925.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

## *Bulgaria from the Inside*

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

*Sofia, June 2*

**I**N GREECE people say, "Wait until the British troops leave." In Bulgaria they say, "Wait until the Russians leave."

It may be too early to judge, but in both countries the failure of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States to agree on a constructive post-war policy is apparently having tragic consequences. The people of these countries, one a long-time ally and the other a former Axis satellite, are being squeezed between the conflicting purposes of Tory Britain and Russia. In Greece the British have suppressed a popular movement and strangled the hopes of the Greek people for social and economic freedom. As a result, fascists and quislings are now riding herd over the patriots who not only resisted the Germans but preserved the faith of the Greek people in an Allied victory. In Bulgaria made-in-Moscow Communists are attempting to shape a popular movement according to Russia's needs. The typical trappings of Communist strategy—despotism, maneuvers, seduction, and the repression of existing or potential opposition—threaten to revive the old sharp antagonisms and to prevent the free social development of the Bulgarian people.

Instead of an honest understanding between England and Russia, which would develop into a common effort to help small nations like Greece and Bulgaria to work out their economic and social salvation, we have, on the one hand, British intervention to stifle a social revolt, and, on the other, Soviet determination to exercise complete control over a people's government. The alternative to such one-sided, selfish action—joint Allied action in support of the truly democratic socialist movements which have developed naturally out of the liberation struggle—has been made impossible by the struggle for strategic bases and spheres of influence.

The chief onus falls on British Tory policy. Long before Tito had rallied the majority of Yugoslavs to the partisan cause, long before Bulgaria came under Communist influence, even before the Greek Communists had escaped from the island dungeons of Metaxas, which were turned over intact to the Nazis by the King's ministers, the British decision to maintain control of Greece was publicly proclaimed. In other words, the pretense that Britain acted suddenly in Greece to prevent the bolshevization of the Balkan peninsula and the extension of Russian influence to the Mediterranean should be respectfully interred. Prime Minister Churchill's barefaced reactionary solution in Greece was certainly a challenge to the Soviet Union, and after last December's sordid events in Athens the Russian grip on Bulgaria inevitably tightened.

Russian interference in Bulgaria has not yet reached the degree of British intervention in Greece, even though Bulgaria, unlike Greece, was behind an active war front. The presence of Russian troops enables the Bulgarian Communist Party—the favored political party of the occupying forces,

according to the Teheran formula—to dominate the present Fatherland Front government of Bulgaria, an unnatural coalition of the Agrarian, Communist, Social Democrat, and Zveno parties, the last-named made up of reactionary army officers and conservative intellectuals. Among other important factors which strengthen the position of the Bulgarian Communists is the hope that Russia will oppose the efforts of those members of the United Nations which want to make Bulgaria pay heavily for its alliance with Hitler. There are also a number of sincere Agrarian-leftists who fear that a break-up of the coalition might ease the way for such a bloody suppression of popular forces as took place in 1923-25; they therefore favor close cooperation with the Communists even though for the present it means playing a subordinate role. Bulgarian Socialists, far to the left of the Communists, are supporting the government because they believe that the present opportunity to start the Bulgarian nation on a new path toward progress and democracy should not be lost. The liberal, non-Communist youth look across the border at the fascists holding sway in Greece and draw closer to Russia.

Thus the influence wielded by the Bulgarian Communist Party today is far out of proportion to its actual size. Controlling the Ministry of Interior and the national militia, it is trying to force unquestioning adherence to the party line by all Bulgarians and to strengthen its position for the eventual showdown. Though none of the honest Democrats or Agrarians desire the dissolution of the Fatherland Front, they are determined, especially since they have seen the Communists in action, to cut the Communist Party down to its real strength by a revision of the relationship of the parties and by obtaining their participation in the government on the basis of actual membership. Now that the war is over, this will be done as soon as it seems possible without incurring the wrath of the Russians. The only danger that this internal showdown will be violent and bloody comes from the military, who are professionally inclined toward a coup d'état, and from opportunist agrarians, conservative intellectuals, and chauvinist politicians who fear the increasing power of the workers and socialist trends among the peasants.

Undeniably the Fatherland Front government has brought Bulgaria a long way since the bloodless revolt of September 9, 1944, which followed the Russian declaration of war and the entrance of Russian troops into the country. A Bulgarian army fought with the Russians against the Germans in Hungary. Most of the men who formulated and carried out the pro-Nazi policy have been punished. Many social and economic reforms have been initiated: the democratic organization of cooperatives has been encouraged, higher education is being decentralized, and laws for the protection of workers' rights have been strengthened. A trade agreement has been signed with the Soviet Union, and diplomatic relations have been reestablished with Yugoslavia.

On the other side of the ledger, altogether too many middle- and upper-class Bulgarians still smugly defend Boris's pro-Nazi policy as having been in the best interest of the country. "It kept us out of trouble," they say, "and besides what else could we do? Our only mistake was to declare war on Great Britain and the United States." They ignore the various anti-Allied acts of the pro-Nazi government. They don't like to talk about how Bulgaria supplied the Germans with coal, bolstered the German economy in other ways, and policed sections of Greece and Yugoslavia for the Nazis. They try to forget their part in stripping Yugoslav territory of all livestock and food products and in stealing tobacco, grain, wine, and olive oil from Greece—even the books from its public libraries. They see nothing significant in the fact that Bulgaria has suffered less than any other belligerent country on the Continent. Only the effects of our very successful political bombings of Sofia hint that the war passed this way. Food is abundant, the faces of the people glow with health, and in the fields one sees plenty of livestock. The trains, hotels, restaurants, shops, and bars are crowded with people whose pockets are full of money.

These Bulgarians want the Russian soldiers to leave because then, they think, the workers' aspirations can be curbed; the Russians irk them, moreover, by parking their tanks on the courts of the Tennis Club. As in Greece, the pro-Nazis, the anti-Semites, the non-resisters, and the war profiteers have all become vociferous pals of the Anglo-Americans.

Their attitude, however, does not alter the basic fact that the present government of Bulgaria represents not only an honest effort to break with the past but also the stirrings of awakened peasants and workers who are trying to keep step with the forward march of peasants and workers in other European countries. The workers who took part in a great May Day parade in Sofia were resolute and proud, enthusiastically demonstrating their strength. Like the Greek workers and peasants before the British intervened, the Bulgarian workers and peasants are expressing a strong will for freedom—not just their dislike of the King, their desire for bread and work, but their will to abolish tyranny over their lives and minds. In Greece the British ruthlessly drove this feeling as far underground as it had been under Metaxas, and in Bulgaria the Russians are disciplining it according to a strict party pattern. The Greek workers who demanded "bread and work" last fall are now dead, in jail, or terrorized into silence. The Bulgarian workers who recently made similar demands were publicly denounced by the Communists as diversionists and enemies of the state; a handful of coal miners who struck for higher wages in March were castigated as "anarchists" and rushed off to jail by the Communist-controlled militia.

Possibly Russia's attitude can be explained in terms of the insecurity it feels, of its belief that the capitalist countries are resuming the below-the-belt opposition they gave up in 1941. The Russians know that the British deliberately encouraged anti-Russian feeling in Greece to such an extent that regular Greek soldiers in Salonika beat up Soviet soldiers who had been German prisoners of war ("They were not Russians, they were Armenians," was the comment of the British consul-general in Salonika) and in Athens tore down photographs of Stalin and burned the Soviet flag.

The Russians know that after the liberation of Greece the British told the Greek people that for them the war was over, that they had contributed far beyond their full measure to the common struggle. The resistance forces were urged to lay down their arms and return to their homes and fields to take up the task of reconstruction. Yet three months later the British helped the puppet Plastiras to raise and equip an army of 300,000 carefully selected anti-Communists, thousands of whom had been members of the Nazi-created Security Battalions. For what? The Russians have good reason to fear that the British are trying to build up Greece, and Turkey too, as a buffer state. And so we have a vicious circle—and the Russians do not stay the hand of the Bulgarian Communists.

The war ends on this sour note. The common people of Greece and Bulgaria, full of hope for democratic, socialist development, for peaceful regeneration and lasting happiness, are trapped between reactionary intervention which is destroying their hope and strength, and restrictive interference which denies them freedom of action and expression. The tragedy of this, as Harold Laski and many others have so often pointed out, is that the United States, symbol of liberty, trusted and respected by the Russians as well as by the common people of Bulgaria and Greece, could have acted as the balance wheel. It could have insisted on a middle course and saved these people from the pressure of the extremes. The revolution could have been guided, instead of being crushed.

In the decisive past two years the respect and trust for the United States which Wendell Willkie aptly labeled "a reservoir of good will" has been utterly wasted by indecision, appeasement, and reaction. We failed to live up to the American promise because we failed to comprehend the social upheaval that was closely linked with the anti-fascist liberation struggle and turned up our noses at the awakened popular forces of Southeastern Europe. We flirted publicly with Otto; we dismissed men from the Greek section of the OWI's Overseas Branch because they dared to mention the E. A. M. in broadcasts to Greece; we stopped the Bulgarian section of the OWI from broadcasting denunciations of King Boris and his policies to the Bulgarian people; we forbade the Italian section to refer to the Italian partisans as "partisans"; we closed our eyes to the struggle in Yugoslavia and tried to make believe that Tito didn't exist; we listened to decadent diplomats and prejudiced missionaries who told us that the people of Rumania and Hungary didn't want democracy.

Today any change may be too late. Our influence and prestige are no longer enough. Our talk of free government and economic well-being sounds very hollow to the frightened, confused people of Europe's small nations who are huddled on the sidelines watching the British and the Russians maneuver. Our task has become more difficult and our obligations greater. We must move quickly and effectively if we are to obtain for the common people of the world security and material plenty without a sacrifice of personal and political freedom. It is, of course, far more likely that this heavy task will fall to the British Labor Party and the British workers. But how much greater would be the chance of averting the new catastrophe if the United States did its share!

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

AUSTRALIA is coming to seem very close. It appears that the American editor of *Angry Penguins* is in New York, and he has sent *The Nation* a long angry letter about my comments on the Ern Malley hoax with the demand that it be printed in full. He obviously has picked up Australian ideas of space which don't apply to these pages. Here are the more pertinent parts of his letter.

In *The Nation* of May 5 your literary editor returns to the Australian literary magazine *Angry Penguins*, and in her double-jointed summary of the Affaire Malley she commits errors of fact and at least one error in spelling, which error gives the impression that she is as authoritative as some theater and literary critics who neither bother their objectivity too much by going to the play or by turning a page of a closed book. . . .

If Miss Marshall had read the poems and comments with less fulsome dispatch she would have correctly read the name of Lieutenant McAuley. He becomes McAuliffe in her perception and column, and three times tried at that. Further, Miss Marshall correctly objects to the philistines, noting that the hoax, to them, now discredits modern poetry. Yet she quotes a philistine point of view by Dorothy Green which has the added virtue of stemming from the Communist literary front and is intended to add discredit, not only to the Malley poems as a whole or in part, but to any avant-gardism not seeing eye to eye with them. . . . The Herbert Read cable was followed by a letter from Read which illustrated a point of view held by T. S. Eliot (to be published later) and by many other critics, but Miss Marshall preferred [to quote] the telegraphic response. . . .

. . . A recent note from a friend in Sydney establishes the fact that Lieutenant McAuley is now writing in his best Malley form, as a convinced disciple of his own creation. Read the poems, Miss Marshall.

I apologize—to Lieutenant McAuley—for turning him into McAuliffe. Mrs. Green may be a philistine. The remarks I quoted were not of that order. As for her politics, my opposition to party-liners would be ill served if I resorted to their own tactics and denied the soundness, in this case, of Mrs. Green's observations merely because she is a Communist. For the rest, I did read the poems—that old and by now toothless saw used by critics of critics, namely, the charge that "he didn't even read the book," really ought to be retired; I quoted their defenders; I attacked the philistines. To be sure, I also gave the editors of *Angry Penguins* due credit for providing the philistines with so fine an opportunity. Was I expected to insist that the poems were authentic—no matter how authentic a poet may have invented them—when they had been proved otherwise?

The most interesting item in the letter is the news that Lieutenant McAuley is now writing in the Malley manner.

A FEW WEEKS AGO I made some rather sad remarks about the passive non-resistance of American movie audiences. I should have gone on to say that I don't for a moment think

that all the people all the time are taken in by the idiotic situations, the unlikely characterizations, and the false values of the radio, the movies, the pulps. They *are* taken in by the assumption that they can't do anything about it. What this country needs is ten thousand cat-call clubs, equipped with boos and penny postcards and dedicated to the proposition that the laws of credibility, if not of aesthetics, should be observed. I can already see the march on Hollywood—and I think the police would go over to the people.

Take, for instance, the Utah ranch home portrayed in "Thunderhead." The rancher and his family are no richer than most Utah ranch people, but they live in an elegant fieldstone house straight out of Westchester and furnished by *House Beautiful*. No wonder I had my doubts about the authenticity of the behavior of the horses. And I couldn't help thinking how good the picture might have been if it had conveyed the real quality of ranch life.

"YOU ARE CURIOUS TO KNOW," writes the principal of a school in Detroit, "what [advertising] material is being used in the schools." Then he continues:

Literally tons of advertising material is sent openly into the schools in the form of "helps" to teachers—much better "helps" than the taxpayers are willing to pay for by taxation. Of course they pay for the advertising. Overworked and naive teachers gobble up these colorful charts, booklets, cut-outs, pictures, essay contests, etc.

Administrators and executives are dined and fussed over. Just today I "missed" a dinner given by the Chamber of Commerce. Superintendent Stoddard of Philadelphia said last month that "the marriage of business and education must be consummated." What have we been up to all these years?

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST came out for Gertrude Stein in its issue of May 12. In an editorial it called "Wars I Have Seen" a "mighty fine book" and even put forth an ingenious and amusing defense of Miss Stein's grammar. "Some people think that [hers] is a cockeyed way of writing, but you could say that it is actually in the great tradition of American letters—that is, you could if you included in that tradition the testimony of eminent Americans before investigating committees." Then the editorial quotes two examples:

But it got along in the winter, and then it came February, as I seem to recall it, of 1934, and my company got a telegram, the General Motors people got a telegram, and all the companies that were in the automobile manufacturers' code got telegrams; and the same telegram went to the President of the United States, and the same telegram went to General Hugh Johnson, the head of the National Recovery Administration. It was like these telegrams that go about now.

It had not been many months before that I had been here in Detroit many long weeks in the interest of the company I represent because the banks had closed, and with the banks the automobile plants were practically closed and it was a very serious thing.

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# LEFT TURN CANADA

by M. J. COLDWELL

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I HAVE A SUMMARY of an interesting report on the winter theater season in Rome which was written for the Italian newspaper *Il Popolo* by Dr. Carlo Trabucco. American plays aroused the greatest interest. These included Clare Boothe Luce's "The Women," Irwin Shaw's "The Gentle People," John Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down," Lillian Hellman's "Watch on the Rhine," and Ernest Hemingway's "The Fifth Column." I'm not surprised to hear that "The Women" had a great success. "The Gentle People" was also popular. The other three were "not warmly received." The Germans of Steinbeck and Hellman, according to Dr. Trabucco, seemed unreal to the Italians, who have so far not met with "such romantic and generous Germans." I haven't seen "Watch on the Rhine," but I should agree with the Roman verdict on "The Moon Is Down." On the other hand, Lincoln Kirstein reported that the Steinbeck play was liked in France.

Mr. Kirstein reports, incidentally, that the Austrians, "with a heavy German accent," refer to Hitler not as the Führer but as GAK and GROFAZ. "The way they say it," he adds, "it sounds wonderfully filthy." GAK stands for *Ganz Alte Kämpfer* (Real Old Fighter); GROFAZ for *Grösste Feldherr Aller Zeit* (Greatest War Lord of All Time).

Mr. Kirstein has also sent me two items about Knut Hamsun, recently arrested. One reports that Hamsun had a nervous breakdown when he heard that Germany had capitulated. The other quotes an article Hamsun published in the Norwegian paper *Aftenposten*:

I am not worthy to speak noisy words on Adolf Hitler, and his life and work present no opportunity for sentimentalities. He was a fighter—a fighter for humanity—and it was his mission to proclaim the gospel of the rights of every nation. His was the figure of a reformer of the highest rank. It was his historic destiny, to live in an era of unparalleled brutality, to which he finally succumbed. This is the view which all ordinary Western Europeans can take of Adolf Hitler. And we his intimate disciples bow our heads in face of his death.

"Ordinary Western Europeans" would certainly be the first to admit that Hitler succeeded in "reforming" large segments of humanity into blood and soil. Buchenwald and Dachau were only the most impressive of the graveyards he built.

## "Poisonous Honey Brought from France"

THE AESTHETIC ADVENTURE. By William Gaunt. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

MR. GAUNT begins his survey of the aesthetic movement with Gautier and ends it with Roger Fry, whose theory of Significant Form he calls "art for art's sake brought up to date." Obviously this is a considerable field to treat in a 250-page book crowded with names and picturesque details. There is, to be sure, a theory to account for the rise and fall of aestheticism, but it serves chiefly to furnish some sort of cohesion, and the stress is upon narration and description. All the principal figures get at least one anecdote, plus a brief characterization; some of the lesser ones, including the unfortunate Simeon Solomon, who

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damned himself as irretrievably as Baudelaire or Wilde but got no more for his soul than Enoch Soames got, come in for proportionately fuller treatment. The stories of Whistler's suit against Ruskin and of Oscar Wilde's condemnation are also told well, even though they have been told a good many times before, and certainly the book is an entertaining pot-pourri. Perhaps it is also the best rapid survey of the whole field, though it obviously cannot go very deeply into the work or character of any one man.

Possibly the aesthetic movement doesn't deserve much fuller treatment. Chesterton once remarked that there are two ways of being a slave to the public: one way is to be afraid to disagree with it; the other to be afraid to agree. And it may be persuasively argued that even the biggest men who linked themselves with the movement—even, let us say, Baudelaire and Whistler—were too much concerned with the trivial business of shocking the public, too much therefore slaves of the public, to be really of the very first class.

Mr. Gaunt's theory is that the aesthetic movement began in France as a protest against the philistinism of the post-Napoleonic era. "Thus," he writes, "the artists were gradually forced by circumstances into the position of an aristocracy. The squalor of bohemianism was an accident. . . . With contempt for those who did not understand there grew up the feeling that art was necessarily divorced from the common affairs of men." Here the disputable word is "forced." I realize, of course, that during the decade now just past the tendency has been to assume that everything and everybody is always "forced"—usually by something called "conditions"—to be whatever it or he is. But I wonder whether it is not the business of a good man or a good artist to refuse to be precisely what "conditions" force him to be, and I wonder whether, indeed, one of the measures of the goodness of either a man or an artist is not just his ability to resist this "forcing." From what I read here and there I gather that Evil with a big "E" and even Original Sin are coming into favor again with certain philosophers. Personally I am not too much attracted by theological terms, but I must say that until it can be shown much more conclusively than it ever has been that men who have been exposed to the same "conditions" behave in the same way, I think it necessary to assume the existence of some force operating from outside these conditions. Henry James and Emily Dickinson did not waste so much of their time shocking the public as Oscar Wilde and Swinburne did. Does that mean merely that they were not "forced" by so many "conditions," or does it mean that they were better artists and therefore less slaves to the public?

Mr. Gaunt remarks shrewdly that the "aesthetic man," a creature who recognizes no duties and pursues no interests except those of art, is a fiction comparable to the "economic man" postulated by a different set of theorists. In the words of the aesthetes "great thoughts, great emotions were lacking. They were, indeed, deliberately avoided." But as Chesterton, again, pointed out, the most damning charge which can be brought against the aesthetes is that they were frauds, that they did not practice what they preached. Art, they said, has nothing to do with morality, or as Wilde put it, "there is no

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such thing as a moral or immoral book." But many, perhaps most of them, were actually, like Wilde himself, obsessed by morality, and the fact that it was morality in reverse does not change the result. Few Victorians ever strove more persistently to be pure than Wilde strove to be perverse, and the limitations which he thereby imposed upon himself were, if anything, narrower than those of the most rigid bourgeois respectability. The Hays Office is no doubt a bad influence upon the present-day movie. But it is probably not nearly so deadening as it would be if, as the result of some fantastic change of policy, it should draw up a code designed to guarantee conspicuous and pervasive naughtiness in every film turned out.

Few will be disposed to dispute the conclusion that the "nineties grow smaller" in retrospect, but some may wonder whether it is equally certain that "there was in total result a grain of beauty, impossible to weigh and estimate against the insignificant expenditure of lives." Even as a destructive force used to disrupt an ossified Victorianism the aesthetic movement was far less effective than was that sponsored by such new prophets and preachers as Wells and Shaw—possibly because, as the latter insisted, man is so incorrigibly a moral animal that it is always to the preaching of a new morality, never to the mere denial of any current moral code, that he responds. Moreover, even the puritan Shaw forgets to be instructive rather more often than most of the aesthetes forgot to be perverse. They used to pretend that the perception of beauty could not really begin until one had got over being shocked. The truth is that when one ceases to be shocked, one ceases to find any interest in most of their writing. It is shocking or it isn't anything—which is why it is read chiefly by the very young—in mind if not in years.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Business Man's Dream

ALTHOUGH LISTED AS A SERIOUS BOOK on economics, "Prosperity—We Can Have It if We Want It," by Murray Shields and Donald B. Woodward (McGraw-Hill, \$2), really belongs in the class of light summer fiction. It is, in fact, a veritable tale of Schéherazade that the economist of the Irving Trust Company and the assistant to the president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company have concocted for the delectation of tired business men. It is a tale of a business men's paradise, where the New Deal ogres are chained down, where corporations literally do not have enough taxes to worry about, where the cost of running the government in the post-war period—outside of interest on the debt—is far less than even before the war although the business men's income is tripled or quadrupled, where business men dress up as Santa Claus the whole year round and through "plastics, electronics, synthetics, and innumerable other magic procedures... give to us more than any Christmas tree of our childhood promised in our fondest expectations to contain"—a paradise, in short, where all of us, rich and poor, live in a perpetual "age of miracles, and the greatest miracle of all is the certain knowledge that tomorrow will contain a greater miracle than today."

The title of the book is quite appropriate. All that is necessary for business men to do in order to get their prosperity is, first, to eat a good dinner at the club, then sit back in a comfortable overstuffed chair, light up a king's-size perfecto—and dream.

BENJAMIN GINZBURG

## The Jewish Case

ERNST FRANKENSTEIN, an eminent German-Jewish émigré jurist, has presented the case for a Palestinian homeland for the Jews as persuasively as it can be stated in "Justice for My People" (Dial, \$2.50). "The Jewish people," he declares, "will never commit suicide or slowly disintegrate under the impact of Communist or internationalist tendencies. Since, then, the Jewish problem will not be solved by the disappearance of the people, there is no alternative but the removal of Jewish homelessness." This excellent treatise is somewhat marred by a note of pretentiousness. There is no reason why any author, writing on this subject, should say: "I have tried to state the [Jewish] case to the best of my powers. Another man might have succeeded better. But none was there to take up the task, and my people could wait no longer." Such a statement makes sense only if the author is thinking of the strictly "legal" case which he presents. The case has frequently been presented in non-legal terms. Actually this, as many another cause of justice, is not most persuasive in its strictly legal terms. The morality of the issue outweighs the question of legality.

Uriah Zevi Engelman's "Rise of the Jew in the Western World" (Behrman's Jewish Book House, \$3) is an invaluable historical study of the social and economic evolution of Jewry in Western Europe from the beginning of the Diaspora through the development of bourgeois society. Population and other social statistics add valuable data to the social study. The thesis of the volume is succinctly expressed in its closing sentence: "Jewish modern population expansion came with liberal capitalism. Will it go down with it?"

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## The German Character

IS NATIONAL CHARACTER AN ILLUSION as Hamilton Fyfe thinks, or is it a reality as Emil Ludwig wants us to believe? A century ago the German was generally supposed to be intelligent, kindly, peaceable, gently patriotic, fond of music and of home. An entirely different character grins at us from the portrait Ludwig offers in his recent book, "The Moral Conquest of Germany" (Doubleday, Doran, \$2). The Germans are eternally dissatisfied; Faust is the typical German. They crave power, we are told, but at the same time their ambition is to obey; they are inclined to harshness, do not know or love liberty, and have a mystical urge for expansion. German nationalists as a rule have insisted upon the fixity and clarity of their abstract character. It is surprising, therefore, that Ludwig too believes "there is hardly any difference between the German character of eighty years ago and the type which will be found by the armies of occupation." This divergence of views on the immutability of the national character would matter less were it not for the conclusion that the treatment of Germany should be based upon

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the analysis of this character, of which Goethe and Beethoven, Hindenburg and Hitler are assumed to be equally representative.

Generally speaking, it is correct that "the true German intelligentsia has for four hundred years remained without influence on public affairs," but the treatment of Germany suggested by Ludwig does not guarantee the restoration of this influence. In the rules for American occupation officers he warns against professors and "scholars" as the most dangerous group. With respect to disarmament, including the production of toy arms, Ludwig indorses the program of Lord Vansittart: "I would give to all Germans a full life and a full larder, but keep their arsenals empty." However, re-education can scarcely be achieved by refusing the Germans permission to travel outside of Germany, by suppressing the freedom of the press, by burning all Nazi books, by banning Wagner from the stage, by humiliating the German people, by "the dismissal of four thousand university teachers," in short, by imitating Nazi methods. The homeopathic treatment of megalomania seems scarcely to fit the aim of instilling "tolerance and liberalism."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

## Study of Colonial Agents

DR. ELLA LONN, professor of history at Goucher College and author of several excellent monographs on the Civil War period, enhances her already fine reputation with a study of the men who represented Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas in London during our colonial period. "The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies" (University of North Carolina Press, \$5) discusses the beginnings of the practice of sending agents, the manner of their selection, their duties, their contacts with the colonial legislatures, their cooperation with British merchants, and their successes and failures.

Readers will be amazed at the diversity and difficulty of the work of these colonial agents. Few other than specialists in the area have realized the extent either of their duties or of their successes. The writing and teaching of colonial history will be enriched by Dr. Lonn's careful research. This book has an excellent index, a very fine bibliography, and extensive footnotes. The author displays to a high degree the qualities of a fine historian—objectivity, logical organization, a clear interesting style, a sure grasp of the material, and excellent synthesis.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

## FICTION IN REVIEW

IF WALTER VAN TILBURG CLARK'S new novel, "The City of Trembling Leaves" (Random House, \$3), proved to be at all to my liking, I had intended, before writing about it, to read "The Ox-Bow Incident," his highly esteemed first novel. But the 690 pages of Mr. Clark's present book—it is the detailed story of the boyhood and young manhood of one Timothy Hazard of Reno, Nevada—strained my endurance to the point where no consideration of critical thoroughness could persuade me to pursue this intention. "The Ox-Bow Incident" has been described to me as a tightly knit, dramatic

narrative, very much in contrast to the loosely constructed, undramatic "City of Trembling Leaves," and it has even been suggested that in actual composition the second novel may be the earlier work. Be that as it may, I am content to let it rest that "The Ox-Bow Incident" was all it was said to be and that it is only on Mr. Clark's new novel that my opinion diverges so sharply from majority opinion.

I find little virtue in "The City of Trembling Leaves" and a myriad of all too familiar modern vices, of style and thinking and feeling. It is a novel of boogie-woogie *Weltschmerz*, an anatomy of the melancholy that seems to flourish in the shadow of the bandstand. I have often referred to the influence of hot jazz on current fiction: the more novels I read which are written in the rhythm and vernacular of hot-jazz addiction, and geared intellectually to the level of popular music, the more my distaste for the jazz idiom in literature crystallizes into solid prejudice. This is certainly not to attack popular music, or to offer a low estimate of people to whom jazz is more important than it is to me. It is simply to take a firm position against treating the novel as if it were generated as far below the head as, I gather, hot-jazz music is. And if that will be protested that jazz is an art, if a popular one, with its own discipline and cerebration, then I, in turn, must protest that its discipline and cerebration are not of a kind which artists in literature can borrow to any good purpose. No more than a novelist can gainfully follow the direction of, say, non-representational painting, can the novelist gainfully assimilate to himself the thought processes of the jazz musician.

Here, for instance, is a sample of what I mean by the jazz thinking of "The City of Trembling Leaves"; it is the closing passage of a letter in which Mr. Clark's hero discusses "The Education of Henry Adams":

"So I told Adams one more thing, in order that I should remember it myself. 'Adams,' I said, 'your trouble, after all, wasn't that you wanted too big and too soon. You really wanted the past, Adams, and not enough to go around. You didn't want out, Adams; you wanted in.'

"And I asked him one last nasty question.

" 'Adams, weren't you in love with a stained-glass Virgin? "

Mr. Clark's protagonist has already discredited Adams by calling him to account for not properly appreciating Lincoln (the relation, by the way, between left-progressive political attitudes and hot jazz in current fiction is itself a big, provocative subject which I hope some day soon to have time to dwell on) and by paralleling a thirteenth-century peasant contemplating the stained-glass Virgin and a twentieth-century boy gazing in awe at a new motor car. Surely this is a style of thought which, if not bred in the murky atmosphere of the jazz hangout, would nowhere be more quickly taken for the happy light of a real mind-at-work. Nor do the high Nevada mountains to which Mr. Clark flees from the dark smoky places purify his thinking; they only embarrassingly exalt it. To one reader, Mr. Clark's novel has a way of being cheapest when it reaches for the highest peaks. This is also true of Timothy Hazard's symphony—he is a serious composer as well as an inspired jazz player—which reads on paper like nothing so much as a Hollywood dream of musical stupendousness.

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The point is, of course, that no novel is bigger than its people and that Timothy Hazard and his associates, although they are considered by their author to be persons of stature and dignity, are actually third-rate types. This is not as apparent in the first half of "The City of Trembling Leaves," where Tim is still a boy and his biography is chiefly a morbidly, protracted shadow-fight with sex, as it is when Tim and his friends grow up and their sentimental maunderings are presented as mature struggles for salvation, their beery bitterness as a tragic commentary on the life of the artist. "You and I tasted the worm with the nipple, Hazard," one of Timothy's painter friends finally puts it; and there is no one even to whisper whatever it is that describes the next degree of the maudlin and platitudinous after "corny."

I read another long book this week, Mary Lavin's "The House in Clewe Street" (Little, Brown: Atlantic Monthly Press, \$3)—530 pages. Miss Lavin's novel has none of the inflated quality of Mr. Clark's book; indeed it has none of the obvious modern vices except wordiness; and Miss Lavin's words, although far too many, are almost excessively tempered. "The House in Clewe Street" is what is called, I think, an estimable book, a three-generations portrait of an Irish small-town, middle-class family, done with sympathy and sobriety but crying aloud for both the editorial scissors and creative flair. Even as a change from the self-indulgence and pretentiousness of most contemporary writing, it is hardly worth getting excited about.

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## Drama

JOSEPH  
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KRUTCH

PROBABLY no one will ever know why there were two "Hot Mikados" a few years ago or why there should appear now, within a week of each other, two modernized versions of "Pinafores." One of these "Pinafores" keeps some of the old words but re-scores the music as "swing"; the other sets an entirely new book to the music as written; and the two are so different that it would be confusing not to treat them separately. Probably the only general conclusion to be drawn is that Sullivan's score continues to come through with surprising vitality.

The swing version—called "Memphis Bound" and housed in the Broadway Theater—exhibits the virtue and the defect most conspicuous in nearly every all-Negro musical show I have ever seen: the virtue being the gusto with which individual bits are performed, the defect a lack of organization plus a very uncertain pace. Bill Robinson plays Sir Joseph Porter, and his conspicuous presence would be alone sufficient to make almost any performance worth seeing. At an announced sixty-seven he is still an incomparable dancer; but since that fact is generally recognized, it may be more important to point out that Mr. Robinson is also one of the most *authoritative* comic actors now visible in the United States.

Old-timers like to tell us that all the favorites of their day, ingenue and tragedian alike, had in themselves a power to command attention even when the words they were given to speak were feeble or foolish. Mr. Robinson makes it possible for us to believe that something of the sort may have been true, for he dominates the stage, and he needs only to lift a finger to focus every eye upon him. Something in his very presence seems to say, "Watch me. It will be worth your while." And it always is. No serious actor now playing on our stage really has that power, and though there are two or three comedians—Ed Wynn, for example—who approach it, only Bobby Clark can really challenge comparison with Mr. Robinson. Avon Long, who gets second billing, rises also to considerable heights, and several of the feminine members of the cast distinguish themselves; but the plot, which wastes more than half the evening in an unnecessary attempt to explain why "Pinafore" is being per-

formed at all, is unusually trying even as musical-comedy plots go. Some of the swing arrangements, notably that of the love-versus-reason song, are ingenious and amusing; others seemed to me, who am no *aficionado*, merely far too noisy.

Any description of George Kaufman's scheme for his "Hollywood Pinafore" (Alvin Theater) is bound to make it seem unmanageable. The idea that the good ship of Gilbert's imagination might become a Hollywood studio ruled over by an incompetent Joseph Porter, frequented by a ten-percenter named Dick Live-Eye, and haunted by a gossip columnist called Little Miss Butter-up, sounds like one of those ideas which occur to farce writers late at night and are given up next morning. Thanks, however, to Mr. Kaufman's unrivaled theatrical dexterity, the whole affair works out very smoothly, and the love of a director's star daughter for a humble writer becomes as unthinkable as that of Gilbert's original heroine for a common sailor. Music from several of the Sullivan operas is nicely adapted to new words, and whatever else "Hollywood Pinafore" may or may not be, it is pleasant to listen to, pleasant to look at, and so deftly paced that its very expertness is a delight and makes one wish that Mr. Kaufman, who is director as well as lord high everything else of the production, would undertake to stage an "Iolanthe" or a "Patience" as originally written.

Several reviewers have complained that the jibes at Hollywood are too reminiscent of those the author has delivered himself of on previous occasions, and even that the movies have so matured that they should now be treated with respect. Possibly there is something to be said for these objections, or at least for the first of them. But the really original musical-comedy books of the last few years can be counted on

the thumbs, and "Hollywood Pinafore," besides having the advantage of a distinguished score, is better danced, better sung, better costumed, and better directed than most current musical shows. The charm of William Gaxton usually escapes me, but he is funnier than usual as Dick Live-Eye, and Victor Moore is his usual engaging self. Shirley Booth sings her "I Am Called Butter-up" song so expertly as to stop the show, and Viola Essen, once of Mordkin's Ballet, gives a brilliant performance in one of those dance interludes which have come to be a regular feature of the musical show. This one tells an amusing story about a small-town girl who gets a contract.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

IN ADDITION to the plausible falsehoods with which Rimsky-Korsakov described and justified his revision of Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" after Mussorgsky had died and could no longer protect his work against this vandalism, there was the plausible argument that if the world found the revision wrong it could always go back to Mussorgsky's original version. But Rimsky published his revision, and had it produced in Moscow and St. Petersburg with Chaliapin in the title role, and brought this production to Paris, from where the revised version was carried all over the world; and once it had taken root in opera houses and in the minds of musicians and the general public, then routine, inertia, and lack of understanding kept it there even after the revelation of the outrageousness of what Rimsky had done.

If it had been discovered that some third-rater had touched up a painting

### Stenographic Report of a Debate Between

#### UPTON SINCLAIR AND GEORGE SOKOLSKY "IS THE AMERICAN FORM OF CAPITALISM ESSENTIAL TO THE AMERICAN FORM OF DEMOCRACY?"

The subject of this debate is of interest to all persons who want to understand the position of capitalism in a democratic order. Mr. Sokolsky supports Capitalism, while Upton Sinclair is against that system. This debate included a long questions and answers period, in which each debater hurled questions at the other. The points brought out are of great value, especially in these days when the assumptions of capitalism are being questioned in so many sections of the world and democracy is being knifed by reactionary forces that want the world to be run along totalitarian lines. Copies of this enthralling and thought-provoking debate are ready for immediate delivery. Ask for "IS THE AMERICAN FORM OF CAPITALISM ESSENTIAL TO THE AMERICAN FORM OF DEMOCRACY?" 25¢ per copy; 10 copies for \$1.50; 100 copies for \$10. Prepaid. Send orders to: E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 477, Girard, Kansas.

of El Greco to reduce its distortion and make its colors more conventional, everyone would have been horrified and the attempt would have been made at once to restore the painting to its original state. But even musicians and critics haven't seemed to realize that Rimsky did the equivalent when he altered melody, harmony, rhythm, phrase-length, and form in "Boris Godunov": far from being horrified, they have argued that the revision sounded good, failing to understand that the work ought to sound as Mussorgsky intended; and so there has been no pressure on opera companies to counteract the routine and inertia that have caused them to go on presenting Rimsky's falsification years after the score of Mussorgsky's original work had been published. Even after the opera had been out of the Metropolitan's repertory for about ten years and had to be learned anew, Rimsky's falsification was relearned. And it is the falsification to which Victor has again given the permanence and wide circulation of recording in its new volume of excerpts, when it could have recorded the Mussorgsky originals, since Kipnis had learned them for a broadcast, and the other musicians—the tenor Ilya Tamarin, the chorus trained by Robert Shaw, the orchestra directed by Nicolai Berezovsky—were not from the Metropolitan and, having to learn the music, could have learned the original as easily as the falsification.

The volume (Set 1000; \$5.50) offers for the most part the well-known excerpts: the orchestral introduction and opening chorus (one side); the Coronation Scene (two sides); Varlaam's *In the Town of Kazan* (one side); Boris's *I Have Attained the Highest Power* (one side); part of the subsequent dialogue of Boris and Shuisky, hitherto unrecorded (two sides); Boris's *Ab, I Am Suffocating* (one side); and the Death of Boris (two sides). The music, most of it, is wonderful; the performances are good (though some fussy phrasing and an erratic tempo caught my ear on the first side). By that I mean, among other things, that Kipnis's singing is richly sonorous; but it would be even better if it were less sonorous more frequently; and at its best it lacks the extraordinary timbre and expressive coloring that make Chaliapin's performances incomparable. On the other hand the new volume offers the choral and orchestral parts reproduced with spaciousness, clarity, and beauty of sound—though I must add that my copy also produced a lot of noisy chatter and "hash" from both surfaces and speakers.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### Louis Fischer Elaborates

*Dear Sirs:* Doesn't your reply to my letter of resignation support my charge that *The Nation* has a "line" and sacred cows? Your reply admits to at least one sacred cow, Russia.

I have other grounds for criticizing *The Nation's* treatment of world affairs. I think that your handling of the San Francisco conference, for instance, has been inadequate and misleading. During the many weeks your editors attended that conference I waited, in vain, to see your analysis of the deadly effects of the veto. You remember I wrote against the veto in *The Nation* a year ago. How much have you said about it since then? I would have other complaints. I thought you would ask me to elaborate. Instead, you say you will elaborate. You promise to "fully develop *The Nation's* position . . . in an early issue." It will not be too early. If I have hastened the coming of that explanation I have done a last service to the readers of *The Nation*, to whom I remain attached.

Because you raised the Russian issue I beg leave to reply. I am worried, no less than you are, by the spreading talk of war with Russia. Such a war would be a horrible disaster for mankind. But what is the reason for the mounting "hatred and fear of Russia in the United States"? I abhor the policy that brought Argentina into the San Francisco conference. But surely it is not this which intensifies the peril of war. I condemn the British and American official relation to Franco Spain. But this, obviously, does not threaten to precipitate a clash between the Western powers and Russia. Nor can the growing antagonism to Russia be traced to the unfortunate policies of Great Britain or the United States in India, Greece, or Italy.

What accounts for the present high peak of fear of Russia is Russia's expansion in Eastern and Central Europe. You seem to overlook that factor. You put the blame solely on Britain and America. I think the blame ought to be distributed more widely. I think the Big Three, perhaps all the Big Five, are helping to ruin the peace. But to you, England and the United States are the devils, whereas Stalin, though he misbehaves on occasions, is the archangel. Such preference reflects unclear think-

ing. It is born of double standards in politics. This is my real quarrel with you—the double standards. You condone and apologize for what Russia does. When you do hint ever so lightly that Moscow may have made a mistake, you immediately point to grave capitalist sins. You discriminate; you therefore distort.

Perhaps you believe that the present hatred and fear of Russia stem from ideological differences. I wonder. Haven't we just finished pumping more than eight billion dollars' worth of lend-lease into Russia? We did not do it out of love for Russia. It was dictated by sensible self-interest. And that self-interest was stronger than ideology. Today too, in my opinion, the tension between Russia and the West is due, chiefly, to national and imperial factors.

You say Russia's expansion is not imperialism but "primarily a security policy." How many sins have been committed in the name of security. You cannot prove that Russia's policy is for security. You could prove that all imperialists and aggressors have pleaded security as their motive. Japan wanted Manchuria for "security." Then it wanted China for the "security" of Manchuria, then Siam, Malaya, and the Indies for the "security" of China. Hitler had similar apologies and Mussolini too. In the present air age there is no security in territory. The only security is in effective international organization. The current quest for "security" via spheres of influence and empires will destroy, has possibly already destroyed, the chances of effective international organization. Is this correct? Have you stressed it?

I see this is getting long. I will stop in a moment. You contend that Russia "is carrying through an anti-fascist policy." I could give you a list a yard long of Soviet steps, at home and abroad, that are not anti-fascist, that are, on the contrary, dictatorial, unilateral, anti-democratic, and conducive to neither freedom nor peace. Was the partition of Poland between Hitler and

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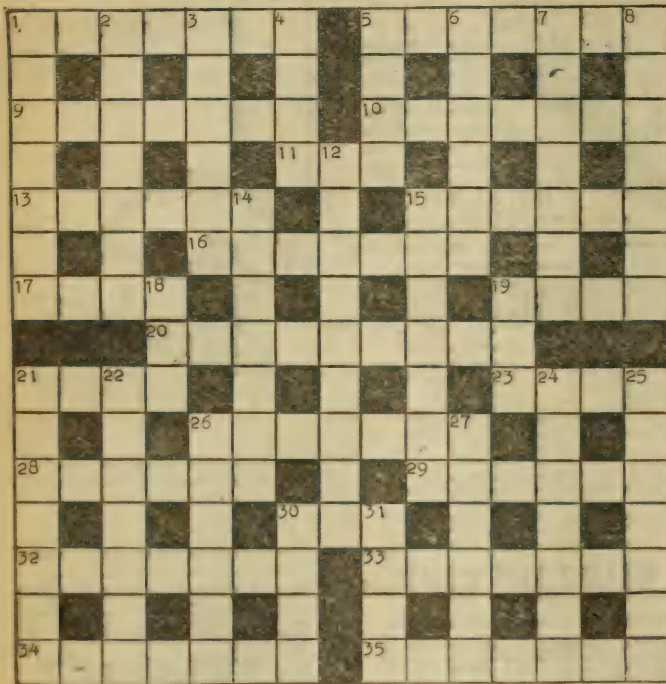
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 120

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Giant in *Pilgrim's Progress*, owner of Doubting Castle
- 5 Greek goddess after whom Athens was named
- 9 A miser, of course, but why drag gin back for him?
- 10 Family prominent in Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby*
- 11 German river
- 13 Half of what we hear and a third of what we read, usually
- 15 What the S in H. S. H. stands for
- 16 A man of learning, or his pupil perhaps
- 17 Is up and down and looks like going off
- 19 The seer has gone all Irish
- 20 Exam reply (anag.)
- 21 The dream of a waking man
- 23 Mixed diet
- 26 Well-devised, and all that's needed to make a politician of Ian
- 28 In which a cue-man shows quickness of perception
- 29 A sister of mercy in close contact with the C.I.O. might well bring a message from the Pope!
- 30 It is fit for a pig
- 32 Dispossess
- 33 Restaurant where you can see what you're getting for your money
- 34 Couches for night-watchmen?
- 35 Back-stage employee. (Wife and furniture in one for some lucky man!)

## DOWN

- 1 Unfinished Byron poem, and basis of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (two words, 3 and 4)
- 2 Easy to see how it could make Ted sigh

- 3 One thing at least the Chinese can count on
- 4 Isle of Wight town in which saddlers should flourish
- 5 Cryptogram
- 6 Dr. Gallup can't get an opinion out of him
- 7 Animal less common than its red namesake (hyphen, 3-4)
- 8 Stern as a U. S. tree
- 12 The purpose of our ancestors' meetings is debatable (two words, 4 & 5)
- 14 Troops advancing in this formation have a clear view ahead
- 15 A foe of crusaders, but a lad at heart
- 18 Order to view
- 19 Peeping Tom risked one—and lost it!
- 21 O, her Dad kept a secret stock
- 22 The "I hope I don't intrude?" gentleman (two words, 4 and 3)
- 24 Scamped (anag.)
- 25 Pig's foot
- 26 Small, feminine and French
- 27 It is not a mug's game that ends in a draw
- 30 Tess hardens
- 31 Space the wagon turned into

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 119

ACROSS:—1 FORELOCK; 5 BANQUO; 10 REPAVER; 11 REPRIZE; 12 SELMA; 13 DEPRESSED; 14 ELIZA; 16 CULLODEN; 19 SPINGLES; 22 TITHE; 24 SEGREGATE; 26 EMBER; 28 AINTREE; 29 TOASTED; 30 TRASHY; 31 SEA KINGS.

DOWN:—1 FORESTER; 2 REPEL; 3 LEPRACAUN; 4 CARADOC; 6 APPLE; 7 QUIESCENT; 8 OVERDO; 9 PROPEL; 15 IPIUGENIA; 17 ON THE RACK; 18 HEBRIDES; 20 LEAVES; 21 SCEPTRE; 23 ASLANT; 25 EARTH; 27 BATON.

[During the summer months the Crossword Puzzle will appear every other week.]

Stalin anti-fascist? Is Stalin's annexation of eastern Poland, in clear violation of the Atlantic Charter (which Russia has accepted three times in writing), an anti-fascist measure? Is the setting up of a Moscow-made puppet government in Poland anti-fascist and democratic? Is the purging of democratic, anti-fascist, and peasant groups in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia anti-fascist? Is it anti-fascism which impels the Soviet government to demand that Sweden suppress a magazine which criticized Stalin and to ask that it doesn't happen again. (I recall that Japan made a similar protest to the United States government when Bill Gropper lampooned Hirohito in an American magazine.)

You declare that Russia "has not used its power to keep fascist or ex-fascist kings and generals and admirals in office." No? What about King Michael of Rumania? What about the pro-Nazi generals in the present governments of Bulgaria and Hungary? What about the coddling of over fifty Reichswehr generals in Moscow, although while they were in command of the Ukraine and other territories terrible atrocities were committed there? What about Soviet and Italian Communist support of Badoglio? What about the readiness of Spanish Communists to unite with Spanish pro-Franco Catholics? You will of course tell me that England and America have done similar things. That is correct. But why don't you say that Russia has done similar things? If you discriminate, you mislead.

I have no wish to enter into a controversy. For me this is the end of the matter. I resigned because I did not want to give even the appearance of responsibility for *The Nation's* partial and therefore wrong presentation of world affairs. I think your reply proves my point.

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, June 12

## CONTRIBUTORS

MAXWELL COHEN is a Canadian lawyer and writer now serving in the armed forces.

GERALDINE SARTAIN has worked for the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, the Shanghai *China Press*, the Paris *Temps*, and the New York *World-Telegram*. She is now a free-lance magazine writer.

CONSTANTINE POULOS has been the only American or British correspondent in Bulgaria for the last three months.

# THE *Nation*

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*Washington Editor*  
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*Literary Editor*  
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## *The Shape of Things*

709 THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE HAS WOUND up its work: President Truman has pronounced a benediction; and as we write these words the delegates are already preparing to start on their long voyages home. What has been accomplished? Is the result worth the effort? People will answer these questions according to their political predispositions, in the light of their hopes and, even more, their fears. Certainly the new world organization will not be hampered in its operations by the shining illusions that bedeviled the League of Nations from the beginning. Rather the danger is that it will be impeded by cynicism and political differences. An advantage of enormous practical importance, which the old League did not possess, lies in the membership of Russia and the United States. Our own view of the new charter is one of very restrained optimism. It promises an instrument which can be used for the preservation of peace if the powers desire peace. It offers a forum for the debate of world problems and a court for the adjudication of disputes. In some structural respects it is better than the League of Nations; certainly it makes more effective provision for the use of force in cases of aggression. It does not create either a world government or a federation of nations; it does not modify in any important degree the existing colonial system; it does not establish freedom where none now exists. The separate sovereignty of the states comprising the new organization is elaborately protected and the authority of the greatest powers is strongly entrenched behind the unanimity rule. But anything less than this would have been rejected, not only by Russia and probably by Britain, but certainly by the United States Senate. The simple fact is that a more democratic instrument would imply a world in which nationalism had been replaced by international brotherhood; such a world could hardly have been fabricated by the gentlemen assembled at San Francisco. A full analysis of the new organization by Percy E. Corbett will appear shortly in these pages together with further editorial discussion.

✱

SOLUTION OF THE POLISH ISSUE HAS REMOVED the greatest immediate obstacle to collaboration among the Big Three and has cleared the air for their next meeting. The Russians were wise not to impose severe sentences on General Okulicki and the fifteen other Poles accused of carrying on diversionary activities behind the Red Army lines. Had any of them been sentenced to death the conversations on the revision of the Polish government would have been gravely threatened; and former Premier Mikolajczyk and the Socialist leader Jan Stanczyk could not have participated in the new government. Some may say that there should have

been neither arrests nor trials. But it would have been too much to demand that the Russians should simply renounce the opportunity of proving their case against the London government in the interest of harmony and conciliation. Those whose minds are already set against Russia will dismiss the declaration made by the defendants as "another farcical performance of typical Soviet injustice"—as certain Poles opposed to the new Warsaw government have already done. But this attitude is an offense against the unanimously recognized personal courage of the Polish people, and particularly of General Okulicki. The accused were the last people likely to yield to pressure or fear of reprisal. The *London Times*, which has never been accused of "following the line," presents a more convincing view. It states that anyone who has been in contact with some of the Polish émigrés in London and has had an opportunity to measure their hatred of Russia could not be greatly surprised to find them involved in anti-Russian activities.

✱

THE MOST ENCOURAGING ASPECT OF THE NEW Polish government is the appointment to the Presidential Council of Three of Wincenty Witos from inside Poland and Stanislaw Grabski from London. No one who respects facts can charge that either one is "in the service of Moscow." Under the present constitution the Presidential Council has great authority. The presence of Witos and Grabski is, therefore, a hopeful sign that Moscow does not intend to force the new Cabinet into a hopeless position of dependence. Nor is there reason to assume that men like Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk, who, on various previous occasions, refused to join the Warsaw regime, have now suddenly resigned themselves to being puppets. These four men seem to offer a reasonable guaranty that the revised government will act, not under the dictates of a single party, but according to the will of the wide range of political groups that comprise it. At the same time it must be recognized that much of the new government's success in the difficult task of reconciling conflicting elements among the population will depend upon the Russians. It will be to Moscow's greatest interest to dispel the suspicions that have surrounded the Polish problem and to prove finally that it is serious when it speaks of an independent, democratic Poland. If truly free elections are held in Poland as soon as possible Russia's moral position, after the months of controversy that almost ruined the San Francisco conference, will be greatly strengthened and distrust reduced to a minimum.

✱

THE APPOINTMENT OF "VINEGAR JOE" STILWELL to command the Tenth Army, conquerors of Okinawa, is bad news for the Japanese but extremely good news for the United Nations. General Stilwell's military prowess is legendary in the Pacific. With a handful of Americans and a few thousand ill-trained Chinese he put up a brilliant defensive battle for Burma in 1942. Three years later these same Chinese, trained in modern warfare, with the aid of a somewhat larger force of American and British troops, reconquered Burma in accordance with a strategic plan drawn up by Stilwell and defended by him against stubborn British and Chinese opposition. Stilwell's value in the final drive against Japan is enhanced by the fact that he is the

only American general officer who has specialized on the Far East, is fully familiar with its geography, and has a thorough understanding of both the Chinese and the Japanese. If he leads his Tenth Army into China, he will find ready and enthusiastic cooperation both from the local provincial troops and the guerrilla forces which operate along the China coasts. But above all, Stilwell is a fighting general, the kind of leader who inspires his men to great sacrifices. His appointment indicates that the war is just beginning for Hirohito.

✱

REPORTS OF BOTH CHINESE VICTORIES AND Japanese advances have presented the average newspaper reader with a most confusing picture of the military situation in China. But careful study of the map reveals a clear pattern in recent Japanese operations. Faced by the prospect of an early American landing, the enemy has withdrawn from a large part of the insecure land corridor to Indo-China but has taken steps to widen and strengthen the vital route to Canton and Hongkong. Since those two cities are the key to the rich economic resources of South China, the shift has served to consolidate Japan's position and make the Allied task more difficult than ever. Much the same sort of shift has been under way on the China coast. The Japanese have retreated northward some miles beyond Wenchow but have established powerful defenses to protect Hangchow Bay and the vital industrial area northward toward Shanghai. Although the evacuation of the China coast opposite Okinawa seems to invite an American invasion in this area, the difficult communications between this stretch of coast and the interior render such an expedition of doubtful value. The Japanese may have been weakened by our air attacks on the home islands, but their strategic position in China is still strong.

✱

EXCEPT FOR ONE SECTION, WHICH SEEMS TO safeguard Jewish rights in Palestine, we see nothing to commend and much to deplore in the so-called United Nations charter for colonial peoples. The trusteeship idea emerges as a glamorous fraud, a maximum cover for standard imperialism but hardly even a meager concession to the just aspirations for self-rule and self-development of 750,000,000 colonial and colored peoples. The powers may annex whatever colonial territories of the Axis they feel necessary to their security; this takes care of "our" Pacific islands. Whether any conquered territory or existing mandate is placed under the new trusteeship council will depend entirely on the possessing or mandatory power. There is no provision for native representation on the council, or for a right to appeal to it, or for the right of dependent peoples to request an investigation of their grievances. The principal change, so far as dependent peoples are concerned, is that the great powers are permitted to fortify colonial areas and to levy on their population and resources for the defense of the empire which holds them in fief. The powers could not do this under the League mandates system: that is, they could not do it legally; they did do it covertly. Hardly a historic reform.

✱

THE CANADIAN SOLDIER VOTE MERITS STUDY. It shows a distinctly more leftward slant than the civilian

poll. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation received 32 per cent of the soldiers' ballots, 16 per cent of the civilian vote; both old-line parties, Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, showed less soldier than civilian backing. The most spectacular C. C. F. victory was, of course, in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, where E. L. Bowerman dislodged Prime Minister W. L. MacKenzie King from his well-worn seat. In Ottawa, the C. C. F. total has now moved up from 10 members in the last Parliament to 28 members—a sizable progressive bloc. Throughout the country its popular vote was well over 800,000, more than twice the vote the party received in 1940. The *Toronto Star*, commenting on the service vote, wrote editorially: "The military vote is all the more important because it is the vote of young or comparatively young men and women, and may therefore be thought to reflect future trends of thought. No doubt it does reflect such trends. Youth seeks reform. . . . The returning men and women of the armed forces will expect a better Canada than they left behind." It is a pleasure to be able to revise our earlier appraisal of the Canadian election in this hopeful direction. Canada, which in a phrase of Mr. Maxwell Cohen in last week's *Nation* seemed to be seeking "the shelter of the center," has apparently received an infusion of progressive new opinion from the battlefields which will not be contented with the old political patterns. The C. C. F. is in a crucial position to give responsible leadership.

✱

CONGRESS MADE AMENDS LAST WEEK FOR SOME of its recent misdeeds. In an impressive reversal, the Senate deleted the Finance Committee's limitation on the tariff-cutting powers of the President in the Trade Agreements Act and passed the measure by a vote of fifty-four to twenty-one. Although the Republicans had voted almost solidly against it in committee and had vigorously, but vainly, pressed for crippling amendments, nearly half of them supported the bill in the final showdown. The result seems to presage early acceptance of the legislation setting up the Bretton Woods stabilization program. Meanwhile the Senate Appropriations Committee voted to restore most of the funds for the OWI and the FEPC, which had been eliminated by the House, but the Southern Democrats are expected to carry the fight against the latter agency to the Senate floor. In the House the disastrous Wherry amendment was struck out of the price-control bill, but House Republicans succeeded in pushing through a series of amendments designed to weaken the effectiveness of the OPA's control over food prices. It is to be hoped that most of these last-minute changes, together with the Wherry amendment, will be dropped by the Senate-House conference.

✱

MEANWHILE DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY THE House Appropriations Committee, which has been out of bounds again, remain unresolved. One of its recent attempts to influence policy in the course of providing or withholding funds for federal agencies immediately affects several hundred thousand workers and next winter's food supply. By a recent amendment to the National War Agencies Appropriations bill the House denied the War Labor Board

jurisdiction in disputes involving "agricultural labor" as defined by the Social Security Act. This definition includes a larger number of agricultural workers than any of the other definitions adopted by Congress and the various federal administrative agencies. If the bill is passed by the Senate in its present form, existing administrative confusion concerning the status of an extremely large number of agricultural workers will be greatly increased. The situation might then well arise in which the National Labor Relations Board would certify a union as the sole collective-bargaining agency for a group of workers but the War Labor Board would be powerless to settle any strike or dispute to which the union so designated was a party. During the war there have been remarkably few labor disputes in industrialized agricultural areas such as California and Texas. But if the War Labor Board is divested of all jurisdiction over "agricultural laborers" labor unrest is bound to increase there and in other large commercial farming areas. If Congress is really concerned about the food situation it will promptly reconsider this provocative amendment.

## Spain Stays Out

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

IN A letter written to the Friends of the Spanish Republic in San Francisco on May 4 Secretary Stettinius insisted that "the question of the admission to the proposed International Organization of specific states not at war with the enemies of the United Nations is not one which is expected to be brought before the conference." He admitted in the same letter that a request for admission by Spain "might properly be entertained by the International Organization after its formation." In a second letter, dated May 25, the Secretary of State repeated the first point and then went on to say that the provision in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals covering the admission of new members would almost certainly "be written into the charter substantially without change." These words represented the view and undoubtedly the intention of the State Department a month ago. It is interesting to recall them today, for events turned out very differently from Mr. Stettinius's prediction—and in the end the American representative on the Commission on General Provisions found it expedient to support the reversal.

The vigorous intervention in the meeting of that commission by Luis Quintanilla, former Mexican Ambassador to Russia, had been long expected and often postponed. But when it came, it was effective beyond the best hopes of the democratic delegates; for Quintanilla's declaration, part of an impassioned speech attacking Franco by name and with specific charges of pro-Axis behavior, was approved by acclamation and will be incorporated in the record of the commission. And among the half-dozen or so supporting statements was one by James Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State, who said, "The United States government is in accord with the sentiments expressed by the Mexican delegate and wishes to associate itself with them." The declaration was general in its terms, asserting only that membership in the new international organization cannot be claimed by states whose regimes were

established with the help of countries that waged war against the United Nations "as long as these regimes remain in power." But Señor Quintanilla's explanation of the formula made its meaning amply clear: "We have in mind not only the puppet government of Manchukuo . . . but, closer to us Latin American republics, that in Spain."

Obviously it would have been far better if the wording of the membership clause in the charter had itself been rewritten in the sense of the Mexican declaration, and this was the view taken by the Friends of the Spanish Republic, which had worked consistently for an amendment. But in view of the context in which the declaration was made and the sense of the speeches which supported it—all of them except Mr. Dunn's explicit in their references to Franco—it would be rather difficult for the council of the new world organization to find a loophole for the Generalissimo to crawl through. And so we have reason to rejoice both in the result and in the fact that our own delegation, flatly opposed throughout the conference to any consideration of the question of Spain, was forced at the end to come around far enough to "associate itself" with Señor Quintanilla's eloquent attack on Spanish fascism.

The meaning of the gesture on the part of our government is worth exploring a bit. We don't need to linger over the question whether Mr. Dunn, consistent enemy of Republican Spain, experienced a sudden change of heart. The important problem is whether his statement indicates a change of policy in the State Department. Newspaper comment on the incident has suggested that the United States wished to go along with the Latin American countries—Mexico particularly—in their evident desire to veto in advance any application for membership from Franco. But this is not a very convincing explanation. The Latin American countries tried desperately to bring the issue of Spain before the Chapultepec conference, and the State Department succeeded in preventing it. A more realistic view is that the State Department yielded to a demand which had become too general to ignore or oppose, but managed to do it in a form which leaves its hands untied. First, the declaration has not the force of a clause in the Charter in any case. And, second, if Franco's regime survives, it would be possible, at some later date, to argue—as the Madrid Foreign Office has already argued—that the declaration had no bearing on Spain, since "the [Franco] government was proclaimed October 1, 1936, when no foreigner fought for Spain." This is a lie, but it is a lie which was accepted as truth by the Non-Intervention Committee in London. And if the Security Council also found it convenient to accept it, a way might be found to admit a renovated Franco regime or, even more easily, a regime remodeled to look like something quite different. For the news from Spain indicates clearly that Franco is preparing the way for a new monarchist-plus-fascist set-up. On July 18, the anniversary of his rebellion, he plans to establish a "Council of the Realm," which will be empowered to deal with the question of succession in accordance with Spain's "monarchist traditions." And while cooking up plans to keep himself in power by going through the motions of preparing to replace himself, Franco is also busy reporting to the war-battered Continent that Spain is orderly, well-fed, and about to have a lot of new civil liberties.

The declaration at San Francisco ruling out Franco's dictatorship was a valuable move. The next necessary step is a reunion of the democratic Spanish forces and the restoration of a republic in Spain. The help outside nations can provide in this process is necessarily limited; but one thing at least they can do: they can break with the regime they have shut out of the new security organization. In our own country, we suggest that the Congress adopt without further delay the Coffee resolution calling for an end of relations, diplomatic and economic, with Franco Spain. Then there would no longer be any doubt about the meaning we want to attach to Mr. Dunn's remarks at San Francisco last week.

## Target, Labor's Rights

THE Hatch-Burton-Ball Labor Disputes bill marks the resumption of the pre-war campaign by big employing interests and their middle-class sympathizers to amend the Wagner Act so as to make it apply "equally"—as their phrase has it—to employers and employees. This plausible but specious premise overlooks the basic fact that the Wagner Act merely gave labor rights of self-organization for collective bargaining that capital has always had. It did not create an inequality; it corrected one. As far back as the Senatorial campaign of 1938 certain publishers who hated to bargain collectively with their own men offered to support Wagner for reelection if he agreed to amendments of the kind now outlined. It is to his credit that he refused and won without the publishers' support.

Great shrewdness in the field of public relations is evident in the way this new bill has been presented. Senators Hatch, Burton, and Ball, with Hill of Alabama, sponsored the famous B2H2 resolution for world peace. Now, as Hatch told the Senate, they bring forward a plan for industrial peace. Of these four Senators only one, Lister Hill, has been close to the labor movement. It is significant that he has not associated himself with the new bill. Its prime mover seems to be Donald R. Richberg, who trades on his past record as a labor lawyer. But the assets of good-will so acquired have long been dissipated. Mr. Richberg's effort to use Section 7-a of the old NRA to stifle rather than encourage collective bargaining marked his desertion of pro-labor ranks. He has since enjoyed a lucrative practice as a corporation lawyer in Washington, representing notably the Standard Oil interests. The cloven hoof in his thinking is apparent in the velvety phrases of the "Outline of a Program for Industrial Peace," which he made public as chairman of the self-appointed committee that drafted the bill. When Mr. Richberg objects, as he does in this foreword, to the exemption of labor unions from the anti-trust laws, it is evident where his sympathies lie and whom he serves. This hard-won exemption, gained under Woodrow Wilson in the Clayton Act, has always rankled with the corporate bar. If Mr. Richberg could have his way, he would apparently undo not merely Roosevelt's but Wilson's work in insuring minimum rights to labor and minimum protection against "government by injunction."

Many provisions of the bill will impress persons not too

aware of the realities of labor's struggle and the inevitable orientation of the courts toward property rights. A few suggestions in it are good. We do not question the good faith of the Senators who sponsor the bill or of all the people associated with Mr. Richberg in this venture. But the skilled corporation lawyer will instantly see its advantages in weakening the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction law, in opening rich avenues of litigation, in increasing "the law's delays" in the labor field, and in entangling unions within a net of costly and time-consuming adjudication. As one reads the bill, phrase after phrase strikes the eye which will require elucidation in the courts and invite lengthy appeals at every step.

The bill cuts down the area of collective bargaining by exempting agricultural workers, domestic workers, and workers in establishments employing less than twenty men. We are especially concerned with workers on farms and in processing plants, who need protection badly in an era of ever-increasing mechanization of agriculture, and we call attention here to the still-born La Follette bill to insure their rights. The bill also removes from the protection of the Wagner Act a large area of activities that lie between clearly interstate and clearly intrastate business. It then proposes to launch us on the hazardous seas of compulsory arbitration under legal conditions which would make many legitimate union activities punishable by injunction. Workers, for example, are to be protected from

"interference, influence, or coercion . . . by any party in collective bargaining." What if a union official tries to influence non-members to join; would that become illegal under the new bill? Individual employees or groups of employees may take up grievances directly with management irrespective of union representation in the shop. This is a good way to split and weaken a union. The bill looks therefore like a measure to cut down labor's rights and to foment litigation. It would upset the measure of stability achieved through judicial interpretation of the Wagner Act, replace the existing National Labor Relations Board, and throw every phase of labor relations open to controversy again. This does not seem to us a wise way to procure stable labor relations after the war.

The thinking behind this bill is, at best, the thinking of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Senator Ball told the Senate that we faced "two major post-war problems." One was a "sound" tax program, the other a "fair" federal labor-relations policy. "Not one, but scores of employers have told me," he said, "that unless and until there is a clarification of federal labor-relations policy . . . there is scant chance that managers of smaller enterprises will risk much expansion in the reconversion period." This is the old familiar bogey. The effective organization of our economy for full employment is the crucial necessity. If we achieve that, labor relations will take care of themselves and taxes will be payable.

## UNITED NATIONS CLUB

RULE: All players to play together, but not so as to cramp any player's style. (That would be unrealistic)



'A FINE TEAM—BUT COULD DO WITH A DASH OF UNITY....'

# Two Major Court Decisions

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 21

**L**IBERALS won two victories in the United States Supreme Court this week. One was in the case of Harry Bridges. The other was in the anti-trust suit against the Associated Press. But neither decision was satisfactory. Both were evasive. We have a right to expect more from a New Deal Supreme Court largely made up of younger men with progressive reputations.

It is true that it took courage to free Harry Bridges from deportation and to rule against the Associated Press. Powerful forces, of commanding influence in Congress, the country, and the press, have pursued Bridges with unrelenting hostility for more than a decade. The Associated Press is a combination of the greatest newspapers in the country; their A. P. "franchises" are worth millions of dollars, and their power to make life miserable for any man in political life is obvious.

In the Bridges decision it was disappointing to find the Chief Justice in the minority with Roberts and Frankfurter; Chief Justice Stone's record is a liberal one. There was no surprise in the position taken by Roberts and, truth to tell, little surprise that Frankfurter joined with him and the Chief Justice in about as unenlightened and narrowly legalistic an opinion as has ever come from the Supreme Court. Van Devanter could not have been more complaisant than were Stone, Roberts, and Frankfurter in their acceptance of views which would leave aliens in deportation cases with no protection whatsoever against Congressional bigotry and with very little against administrative oppression. In Frankfurter's case it is hard to believe that this is the same man who fought so bravely for the rights of aliens in the "deportations delirium" after the last war.

Justice Douglas's majority opinion, for himself and Justices Black, Reed, and Rutledge, was narrow and cautious. It invalidated the Bridges deportation order on two grounds. One was that Bridges had not been given a fair hearing on the question of his membership in the Communist Party. The other was that the Attorney General and the lower courts had misconstrued the term "affiliation" as used in the statute. On this second point the majority established a wholesome precedent, of great value in future red hunts and Dies-style persecutions of aliens, government employees, and others. The statute provides for the deportation of persons who are members of, or affiliated with, organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. "But," the majority held, "he who cooperates with such an organization only in its *wholly lawful activities* cannot by that fact be said as a matter of law to be 'affiliated' with it" (the italics are the court's). This should make it more difficult in the future to deport or to oust from government employment persons whose sole "crime" is that they cooperated with Communists in strikes, in aid to Loyalist Spain, or in other lawful causes.

Unfortunately, having done so much, the majority found it unnecessary "to consider the larger constitutional questions" involved in the Bridges case. It was to those larger questions that Justice Murphy devoted himself in a fiercely eloquent separate opinion concurring in the result reached by the majority but on broader and deeper grounds. The final passage of that opinion ranks with the best of Holmes and Brandeis in its passion for justice and its devotion to traditional American ideals of liberty.

The minority did deal with these larger constitutional questions. No one denies that the guaranties of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the procedural clauses, protect aliens equally with citizens. But Stone, Roberts, and Frankfurter agreed with former Attorney General Biddle that Congress can deport aliens for any reason whatever, regardless of the Bill of Rights or these other guaranties. They agreed that an alien who is to be deported has a right only to so much of a fair hearing as is accorded him in the regulations of the administrative agency which handles deportation. And they agreed that the courts must uphold the deportation if there is "more than a scintilla" of evidence to support the order. The majority did not contest these propositions. It contented itself with ruling that Congress did not intend "affiliation" to be construed as loosely as it was in this case and that the Attorney General did not obey his own rules in determining whether Bridges was a Communist.

Justice Murphy felt that to leave the minority opinion uncontested on the broader issues was to free Bridges but to jeopardize the rights of 3,500,000 aliens. If Congress is subject to no constitutional limitations in deportation, Justice Murphy argued, then "the color of their skin, their racial background, or their religious faith may conceivably be used as the basis for their banishment." Justice Murphy attacked the precedents which hold that due process does not apply to deportation hearings because these are purely administrative and technically non-criminal. "The impact of deportation upon the life of an alien," he wrote, "is often as great as if not greater than the imposition of a criminal sentence. . . . There is thus no justifiable reason for discarding the democratic and humane tenets of our legal system and descending to the practices of despotism in dealing with deportation."

Justice Murphy raised two other fundamental points in declaring the deportation statute unconstitutional. He said that "the statute completely ignores the traditional American doctrine requiring personal guilt rather than guilt by association or imputation." It does not require that an alien, to be deportable, "must personally advocate or believe in the forceful overthrow of the government." It is enough if he is a member of, or affiliated with, an organization advocating such doctrine. This brings us to Justice Murphy's second point. He said the statute was invalid under the "clear-

and-present-danger" test developed by Holmes and Brandeis to protect basic liberties. "Not the slightest evidence," Murphy pointed out, "was introduced to show that either Bridges or the Communist Party seriously and imminently threatens to uproot the government by force or violence." The statute, the Alien Registration Act of 1940, requires no such proof. These are all issues that the majority must some day face if basic liberties are to be secure in America.

Justice Black wrote a vigorous majority decision in the Associated Press case. The issue of law should be familiar by now. "Freedom of the press" can no more properly be stretched to exempt the newspaper business from the anti-trust laws than to exempt it from the Wagner Act or minimum-wage legislation. "The effect of our judgment," Judge Learned Hand said in the lower court, "will be, not to restrict Associated Press members as to what they shall print, but only to compel them to make their dispatches accessible to others." The issue of fact is whether the membership by-laws of the A. P. and its exclusive arrangements for the exchange of news with its members operate to restrain trade in the newspaper business. If they do, the courts may properly enjoin them. "It would be strange indeed," Justice Black said, "if the grave concern for freedom of the press which prompted adoption of the First Amendment should be read as a command that the government was without power to protect that freedom" from private interference.

The general principles laid down by Justice Black and in the separate concurring opinions of Justices Frankfurter and Douglas are excellent. Unfortunately, anti-trust adjudication is not a contest in philosophic disquisition. The test is the decree resulting from the decision, and the Supreme Court declined to strengthen the decree issued by the lower court, which is as turgid as it is ambiguous. The decree would forbid an A. P. member from vetoing an application for membership from a competing publisher, and it solemnly enjoins other members not to think of these competitive factors in passing on applications. "It is of course true," Judge Hand said, "that the members may disregard the last provision in practice, but that is not to be assumed." Judge Hand seems to have forgotten that he sits in the Southern District of New York, not within the Pearly Gates.

Publishers, an earthy lot, have not been slow to see the advantages of this judicial honor system. One of their sages has already suggested, in *Editor and Publisher*, that while a member of the A. P. "may remain seemingly inactive" when a competitor applies, "he can have his friends elsewhere kindly administer the anaesthetic." Some cryptic dicta from the Supreme Court indicate that the justices might frown on such procedure. More effective would have been the simple, common-sense ruling that the A. P. must serve all comers. But a decree without loopholes *would* be a break with the most venerable tradition of anti-trust "enforcement."

## The French View on Syria

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, June 21 (by cable)

THE expulsion of the French from Syria, apparently completed last week, has provoked here the profoundest distress. Nobody questions the real meaning of the events in the Levant. The operation carried out under British auspices is seen as designed to liquidate the position of France in the Middle East and compromise it seriously everywhere, particularly in North Africa and the Far East. The weakened French feel they are being forced to yield to the higher interest and superior force of Anglo-American expansion—our new positions must be occupied fast to forestall the possible designs of Russian expansion. But here in Paris the remoter consequences fade before the immediate spectacle: the exodus of French soldiers, priests, nuns, civil servants, professors, and merchants, uprooted and despoiled, occasionally massacred, under the so-called protection of the British army and in a country summoned to play a mature role in the civilized world. François Mauriac, writing in *Figaro*, expressed in measured terms the feeling of most Frenchmen: "When Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden in all good faith addressed themselves to France, showering her with promises, they spoke as gentlemen, as Europeans faithful to a humanist and Christian culture. In Syria we are not dealing with gentlemen but with the course of English history, expressed by no human voice, taking no account of human sentiment."

Earlier the British excused their action by invoking the Japanese war and the possible revolt of the entire Arab world,

and based press attacks against France and the "chauvinistic," "megalomaniac" De Gaulle on distorted dispatches from the Levant. England was shocked that the French, having brought in reinforcements, proceeded to destroy Damascus by artillery and air bombardment. Armed intervention seemed its sacred duty. Hammering on a pan-Arab sounding board, which only yesterday vibrated to the beat of German propaganda, the British roused the Arab world to a crescendo of anti-French shrieks and howls.

The French delegate in Syria, General Oliva-Roget, recently in Paris, explained what really happened in Damascus. The picture has been completed by various declarations by De Gaulle and Bidault, in addition to speeches delivered in the Consultative Assembly, where the Syria debates closed on Tuesday. This picture is believed here despite the denials of Churchill, Grigg, Paget, *et al.*

On May 19 General Beynet, General Delegate to the Levant, communicated to the Syrian and Lebanese governments a memorandum designed to form the basis of negotiations leading to a final settlement but in no sense an ultimatum. Beirut and Damascus were in no mood to negotiate. Since the Syrian campaign in 1941, when the British obtained joint control of the Levant, local British intervention and provocation have been directed constantly toward making the French position untenable and assuring the defeat of the Franco-Syrian-Lebanese treaties. France, which had granted Syria and Lebanon a greater degree of independence than any

Arab country had under British control, wanted to protect its established interests through a treaty considerably more liberal than the Anglo-Iraqi treaty.\* The local governments, however, made the arrival of a few hundred French troops a pretext for breaking off negotiations.

To describe the dispatch of such a small contingent of troops to a country occupied by the vastly superior British Ninth Army as an act of intimidation is obviously far fetched. France, although specifically charged by the Lyttleton-De Gaulle agreement with the maintenance of order in the Levant, had in 1942 withdrawn virtually all its own troops to Libya, leaving in the Levant a territorial force called *troupes spéciales*, composed of some 29,000 Lebanese and Syrian officers and men under French command. As a gesture of good-will several battalions of these *troupes spéciales* were recently transferred to the Syrian government. The arrival of 500 F. F. I. troops should not have been taken amiss, particularly when the British constantly move far greater numbers to and from Syria at will. Politically, however, the timing of the reinforcements, delayed by shipping difficulties, constituted a blunder.

Recruiting for the Syrian national army has been carried on for a long time in Damascus, and the *troupes spéciales* have been exhorted to desert *en masse*. On January 23 Jamil Mardam Bey declared from the balcony of the Damascus government palace, "The army which we will obtain is the army now serving under French orders." On May 19—the date is important—Hilmi Atassi laid before the Syrian Parliament a bill, Article two of which said, "All Syrians employed in the *troupes spéciales* are asked to leave their posts within one month after publication of this law and enlist in the national army." At the same time the national army was supplied with British arms. At a Paris press conference on June 7 Oliva-Roget said, "Beginning on May 19 British trucks came almost nightly to the Citadel to deliver arms and ammunition. I assert nothing by guesswork. During the night of May 22-23 sixty British trucks were seen to enter the Citadel and leave arms for the equipment of what is piously called the Syrian National Army." Apparently the Syrian government and the British were confident that the *troupes spéciales* would desert in droves and that the French, thus diminished, would be unable to control the situation. The *troupes spéciales*, however, remained loyal—only 11 men and no officers deserted from 21,000—and had to be detached forcibly from French command. Oliva-Roget read a letter by Captain Mohammed Hamer, commanding the Seventh Druse Light Squadron, promising that he and his men would fight to the finish.

On May 20 anti-French demonstrations, partly the result of an incendiary press campaign, flared up in Damascus and Aleppo. By the evening of May 30 order had been restored in Damascus. The "destruction of Damascus" had amounted to the dropping of three bombs of a hundred kilograms on the Citadel, plus twenty cannon shots at the Parliament, where Syrian irregulars and gendarmes had opened fire from behind sandbags on the French headquarters. Elsewhere the French, when attacked, returned fire. On the morning of May 31 Oliva-Roget received envoys from several quarters of the city. They had not come on behalf of the government, then inoperative,

but on behalf of certain municipal authorities offering to submit. Oliva-Roget accepted in principle, and the emissaries promised to return at 4 p.m. with a final answer. The emissaries did not return, however, because in the interim it was learned that British intervention was imminent. On June 1 Oliva-Roget received a letter written by Colonel Morgan for the British command on May 31, that is, after fighting in Damascus had stopped. The letter said:

I am charged by the Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East to communicate to you the following order: (1) You have at present no authority except disciplinary authority over your own troops in their barracks. (2) I have assumed responsibility for assuring the protection of the French barracks and installations in Damascus. (3) This being so, there will be no excuse under any circumstances for French troops to open fire in their own defense. (4) I must warn you also that should any French troops open fire, the barracks of these troops will be bombed immediately. I have personally communicated these orders to my troops. (5) All guard posts will be removed immediately; otherwise force may be used. (6) All armored vehicles without exception will be taken to the barracks. (7) No French military personnel will go into the streets without my authorization. (8) Please acknowledge receipt of this communication.

Obedying orders from Paris and London, therefore, the French soldiers silently witnessed their own humiliation and the pillage and murder of their compatriots. These facts are confirmed by a letter written June 3 from Damascus by British Liaison Officer Renton and published in the *New Statesman and Nation* in London.

Pierre Kauffmann, correspondent of *Combat*, returned yesterday from Beirut. He writes in today's *Combat*:

On the plane with me traveled a lieutenant in the Camel Corps. A few days ago he gathered together his company near Palmyra and said, "You have before you an isolated French officer whom you can murder before disbanding." These men from the desert chose to remain under his orders. Shortly afterward the British command intervened, and the lieutenant, according to general practice, was treated as a prisoner by the British. . . . It was to say things like this that I returned to Paris; the cables I sent from Beirut were stopped. . . . Documents exist which prove beyond doubt the nature of the policy followed in the Levant by eminent Foreign Office representatives. General Paget's intervention plan was ready four months ago. . . . The day the pan-Arab conference opened in Cairo, the Anglo-Egyptian censorship prevented mention of the speech of the Syrian delegate, Sahadallah Djabri, thanking Britain for a gift to Syria of 5,000 rifles and 35,000 tons of wheat. . . . The British government pursues in the Levant a policy which shows its determination to eliminate every vestige of French presence. Our people are excluded from the administration of the railways; we are losing the Damascus air base; the role of our officers in joint commissions has become laughable.

General De Gaulle's speech in the Consultative Assembly on Tuesday made it clear that France cannot be bound by a *coup de force*. Rejecting the *fait accompli*, De Gaulle offered to hear British proposals transmitted through diplomatic channels; failing which, only international arbitration remains, to which France is ready to submit.

\* See Syria, Near-East Cockpit, by Michael Clark, in *The Nation* for March 17, 1945.

# In Free Czechoslovakia

BY KLAUS MANN

*Somewhere in Czechoslovakia, May 17*

THIS date line has nothing to do with military security; I simply don't know where we are. Maybe this place doesn't have any name? It isn't even a village—just an isolated hamlet, with three or four farmhouses and a tiny church. Well, we are not in a position to be particular. Our car broke down. It was our capricious vehicle which picked this out-of-the-world place to stop.

I am feeling keyed up because I am *abroad*—in another country. This part of Czechoslovakia has been liberated, and is now being protected, by the Czech and Russian armies. As long as you stick to American-occupied areas, you have never left home. Of course, the scenery changes as you move from one "theater" to another, but there are always the same American uniforms and vehicles, the same American faces and accents, the same American officers and regulations. As soon as you step out of "our" zone, however, things begin suddenly to look different.

We took off from Linz, Austria, this morning and proceeded eastward, leaving behind our familiar G. I. world. Everybody seems pleased to see a couple of Americans. The Czech civilians in the villages wave at us, and the soldiers—Russian as well as Czech—salute and grin and shout "Amerikanski!" The Czech and Russian troops seem to be on the best of terms with each other as well. There is heavy military traffic on the highways—partly in American-made jeeps and trucks, partly in horse-drawn vehicles—and long columns of liberated slave workers and prisoners. At crossroads and particularly crowded spots these movements are directed by smartly uniformed Russian police women, who have at once an authoritative and a graceful manner of manipulating their little red and yellow flags.

You see flags all over the countryside—a lavish display of Czechoslovakia's national colors side by side with the red Soviet banner, the Union Jack, and the Stars and Stripes. Even the smallest villages through which we have passed are festively decorated and have pictures of Benes, Masaryk, and Stalin in the windows.

The peasant woman in whose house we may have to stay tonight told us that Benes had just returned to Prague and received a great ovation. The room into which she has invited us has already been fixed for some Russian officers whom our hostess expects to arrive any day. The wall behind the beds is adorned with a huge crucifix, hanging just over the trinity—Stalin, Masaryk, Benes.

*Prague, May 18*

It's wonderful to be here, to see the city again, to find it free and practically undamaged. The lights are on, most stores and hotels are open, the streets are teeming with people. And all those flags! Prague looks indeed like a victorious capital.

Benes's popularity seems to have increased enormously during his absence. He has always been liked and respected,

but now he is loved as the symbol of national freedom. I daresay his prestige today equals that of his great master and predecessor, Thomas G. Masaryk. Czechoslovakia has a new "President-Liberator."

From our room at the good old Shroubeck Hotel we have a beautiful view over the Wenzels Square. It's fun to watch the crowd—Czech civilians and soldiers, with a sprinkling of Russian uniforms. No Germans. The great question is where to get a bite to eat. The Shroubeck manager informed us politely but positively that he could not feed us unless we had ration cards. Unfortunately, we haven't any.

There was a chap hanging around in the lobby—a slim, gray-haired, rather distinguished-looking fellow—who told us that he was an American, and that he could easily get us all the food we wanted. But for some reason I don't feel like accepting his offer.

*May 19*

Breakfast and lunch at the Alcron Hotel, which most members of the new administration have made their provisional home. A Czech doctor and government official, just returned from exile, introduced us and made the necessary arrangements. Yet the man hardly knows us. He simply met us in the square and welcomed us as Americans.

In the Alcron lobby we were presented to the new Prime Minister, Zdenek Fierlinger, former Czechoslovak ambassador to Moscow, and to Professor Pazak, Minister of Information. We told Pazak we should like to get an interview with Benes, and he said he would forward our request to the President's office. We were tactfully advised, however, that just now the President is exceedingly occupied and would hardly have time to receive any correspondents.

One of Professor Pazak's assistants, Vaclav Zizka, deputy chief of the press department, suggested that we might like to meet General Charles Kutelvaser, the military leader who directed the uprising of Prague's population. On our way from the Alcron to Kutelvaser's headquarters we passed the ruins of the ancient City Hall, destroyed by German bombs after the armistice had been signed. In many streets we found the pavement still torn open or inadequately repaired—reminding us of the barricades behind which Czech men and women had risked their lives in the fight against the oppressors. Everybody we met seemed eager to tell us all about that violent and glorious episode.

General Kutelvaser, with whom we had a long and cordial talk, described dramatically the development of the patriotic rebellion. It started on the evening of May 4, when people in certain districts of the capital demonstrated against the Nazi regime by tearing down German street signs and posters. The next day came the first clashes between Czech patriots and German troops; the street fighting continued and increased in violence until May 11.

The rebellion was a spontaneous, not to say improvised, uprising. The patriots lacked arms and ammunition. Con-

stantly harried by the Gestapo, they had been unable to communicate among themselves or coordinate their plans. There was no such thing as a revolutionary army; the movement consisted of numerous isolated groups—Czech deserters from the Wehrmacht, units of the Prague police force, student organizations, and so forth. But once the fighting started, this vanguard of liberation was joined by the masses.

"You must keep this in mind if you want to understand what has really happened," the General insisted. "The Battle of Prague was not fought by professional soldiers but by the people. Everybody took part, not only men but women and children. Those who were unable to fight helped by building barricades or carrying weapons and supplies."

In spite of so much patriotic unity and collective heroism, the situation looked grim by May 11. General Toussaint, commander of the German occupation army, had asked for reinforcements; five German divisions were approaching the capital. "The Russians came just in time to relieve us!" said General Kutelvaser. "They looked like angels to us as they moved in from Dresden with their heavy armor and artillery. But they might not have been able to take the city as quickly as they did if it had not been for our preparatory action. And if we had not kept the Germans busy, Prague might not exist today; those vandals would undoubtedly have carried out their plan to blow up the city."

I have just had a telephone call from the Ministry of Information. The President will see us this afternoon! Two *Stars and Stripes* men will be the first correspondents to be received by Benes in the liberated capital.

*The same day, later*

I didn't find Benes much changed. He received us in the same room in the Hradshin where I talked with him in 1937. As I congratulated him on his triumphant return, he said: "I have never doubted that I would come back, a little sooner or a little later, and that I would be welcomed by my people the way I actually was. The men and women of Czechoslovakia are with me because they know that my heart has always been with them, even when I was compelled to fight and work for my nation in foreign lands."

The country, he told us, has emerged from the ordeal in astonishingly good shape. The nation is today more united than ever; there have been hardly any quislings. "As for our economic situation, it will quickly improve," he said. "Important parts of our industrial plants have fortunately remained intact. I predict that two or three years from now Czechoslovakia will have regained the prosperity it enjoyed before the German invasion."

The country's present division into two separate zones—one occupied by the Americans, the other by the Russians—does not seem to worry him. "The administration of the Republic is firmly in the hands of the Czechoslovak government," he insisted. Of course the presence of foreign armies always involves certain inconveniences. But Benes emphasized, the behavior of both the Russians and the Americans is absolutely correct. "The Russians," he said, "have so far fulfilled conscientiously all their promises, and I don't doubt that they will continue to do so. Naturally, we shall have to live up to our obligations as well. For instance, it is our duty to feed the Russian forces as long as they are in our country. That may not be easy, but it has to be done."

There was one point which Benes stressed repeatedly. "The future well-being of Czechoslovakia and of Europe," he said again and again, "depends on one vital, indispensable condition—unity among Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. If they continue to collaborate in peace as they did in war, we may live to witness an era of progress and prosperity; if they fail to do so, there will be anarchy and disaster."

I left Benes, after one hour of stimulating talk, as full of respect and admiration as I had been after our first meeting. His idealistic élan is combined with a good deal of political shrewdness and realism. He possesses both faith and flexibility—a combination which makes him akin to a great American President, the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

*May 20*

What a curious place this Hotel Alcron is, with its colorful crowd of government functionaries, high-ranking Czech and Russian officers, diplomats, newspapermen, Czech pilots in dapper R. A. F. uniforms! Most of these people have just come home, after six years of exile. They seem to feel somewhat strange and forlorn in their own country. One young flier told me that he had been born and brought up in Prague, and had spent the past six years in Poland, France, England, and in the skies over many a battlefield, always longing to be home. "Now I am back at last," he said. "It's wonderful, of course, but somehow it isn't quite what I expected. So far I haven't been able to locate any of my relatives or old friends. The Nazis knew I was fighting them; that was why they arrested my whole family."

Any reporter who hangs around this lobby long enough should be able to pick up a lot of stories. But to me the most remarkable thing about the Alcron is the food. In the morning all these important-looking gentlemen and their ladies assemble in the hotel restaurant—the typical pompous dining-room of a typical pompous European palace caravansary. Respectfully welcomed by well-trained and dignified waiters, they take their places at beautifully set tables. The waiters, with long coat tails, white neckties, and all, rush to the kitchen and after a while return, to present—what? A cup of lukewarm *Ersatz* coffee without cream or sugar, two slices of incredibly poor black bread, and a bit of very dubious jam. That is what the government has for breakfast; if you offered such rations to any G. I. outfit, mutiny would break out. And the lunches and dinners aren't any better.

But nobody here seems to mind; the Alcron clientèle has other worries and interests. They talk heatedly during their pathetic meals and afterward in the lobby. There are so many things to discuss, so many problems to tackle.

"We'll have to work—all of us. We'll have to work very hard," exclaimed one of Czechoslovakia's leading bankers with whom we had dinner tonight. "Reconstruction is a hard, sober task. Words won't help us. One thing that *would* help us, the thing we need most urgently right now, is transportation. We need lorries. How can we start reconstruction unless we have enough vehicles to transport our men and materials? Lorries, that's what we should have! A tremendous number of them." "Liberation was just a beginning," he went on. "Now we've entered a new phase. The phase of lorries—if you know what I mean."

Let's send plenty of lorries to Czechoslovakia.

May 21

We have had a curious, rather unpleasant experience with the gray-haired American who lives in our hotel. We finally accepted his invitation to have a glass of wine with him in his room. He talked a lot in a nervous, uneasy manner. Though he tried to appear nonchalant, he could not conceal a peculiar embarrassment; there was something hectic about the friendliness with which he treated us. Soon enough we were to find out what made him so fidgety and apologetic.

He had been in Germany during the whole war, without ever getting interned. Afterward he kept away from American authorities and had not yet visited the American-held zone of Czechoslovakia. He asserted, however, that he was anxious to return to the "good old U. S. A."—mainly for the purpose of suing one of the popular New York weeklies which had "slandered" him two or three years ago.

At this point our host did something almost incredibly reckless. He produced the allegedly "slandering" article and the letter he had written to his lawyer regarding the whole affair. This letter, which he was so naive or so foolhardy as to show us, confirmed beyond any doubt the exposé published in the American magazine. The man whose fairly good red wine we were enjoying was described by the New York weekly as a "short-wave traitor" in the service of Dr. Goebbels. And that is what he actually was, according to his own representation. A resident of Berlin for a number of years and an ardent Nazi sympathizer, he had made a living before and after Pearl Harbor by broadcasting German propaganda to the United States. In other words, our nervous host was a minor Lord Haw-Haw or Ezra Pound.

It was only toward the end of the war, when German victory became more and more doubtful, that he retired from his lovely job. The past two years or so he had spent in a Bohemian spa, proceeding to Prague after the German collapse. The first thing he did in the Czech capital was to present himself as an American citizen to the Ministry of

Information and to broadcast an enthusiastic eulogy of the anti-Nazi uprising. A fellow with principles!

Obviously he had expected us to be amused by his story or even to sympathize with him in his predicament. Our disgust and indignation seemed to surprise him greatly. "I'm extremely sorry you're taking this view," was all he had to say as we expressed our feelings in straightforward words.

We went over to the Alcron and reported the case to a Czech official. An hour later we were informed that our short-wave traitor had been arrested by the Czech police and would be turned over to American authorities in Pilsen. I suppose investigations about him may still be going on; that is why I prefer not to mention his name.\*

May 22

I hate to leave Prague. There are so many issues about which I should like to gather more information.

What about the Sudeten problem? Will it be possible for the Czechs to live in peace with the Goebbels-infected Germans of that area?

What about Slovakia? An English correspondent just arrived from Bratislava told me that Nazi propaganda and Nazi bribes have not been without effect in that part of the republic. The Slovak administration, I understand, still recognizes certain anti-Semitic laws introduced by the Germans.

And what about those lorries?

Clearly, there are plenty of difficulties confronting Benes and his co-workers. But I have a lot of confidence in Benes, and I have a lot of confidence in Czechoslovakia. If any nation has, and deserves, a chance to recover quickly from the tribulations of the past few years, then it is this one. Democrats by instinct and tradition, the Czechs cherish their own freedom and respect the rights of others. They have a shrewd, courageous leader. And they have a beautiful capital—I really hate to leave Prague.

\* The traitor who betrayed himself to Klaus Mann is Edward Leo Delaney; his arrest was reported in the American press last Wednesday.—EDITORS THE NATION.

## Detroit Plans for Chaos

BY IRVING RICHTER

WHILE the United States Chamber of Commerce has been entering into a Labor-Management Charter with the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor, and while progressive management generally is seeking to reconvert to peacetime production with a minimum of economic dislocation, the major corporations in the automobile industry are deliberately fostering disorder and planning for chaos. They have adopted and are acting upon the philosophy set forth last August by John W. Scoville, chief economist for the Chrysler Corporation: "If you believe in economic freedom and competition, then you will be opposed to collective bargaining. . . . As industrial turmoil increases, more and more people will see the evils generated by collective bargaining, and we should look forward to the time when all federal labor laws will be repealed."

To hasten that happy day, automobile manufacturers are

actively stirring up the "industrial turmoil" on which they rely. They are doing it in at least five ways. They are fomenting strikes, conducting lockouts which they call strikes, and utilizing all their power as advertisers to discredit labor for striking. They are following a veterans' reemployment and seniority policy which, while it offers little to veterans entering or returning to the industry, attempts to persuade them that their security depends upon the destruction of union organization. They are conducting a campaign to split off locals of the United Automobile Workers' national organization and to reduce them to the status of "independent" or company unions, as a first step toward eliminating collective bargaining altogether. They are carrying on an active anti-labor, anti-Wagner Act, anti-NLRB lobby in Washington. And they are seeking to carry over segments of our economy—notably the National Association of Manufacturers and the farm organizations—with them on the road to post-war

strife. The detailed documentation of these charges must await the Congressional investigation which U. A. W. officials have demanded, but enough is already known to make the pattern clear.

First, the widely publicized strikes. Two examples are typical. One day last February plant supervisors at Chrysler's Dodge factory in Detroit summarily fired eight officials of the local union while a dispute on production schedules was going through the established grievance procedure. The next day supervisors at the Briggs plant, a close Chrysler affiliate, similarly dismissed eight officials of the local. Men at both plants, exasperated by a number of earlier incidents, struck. Officials of the union charged that the plant supervisors were acting under explicit orders from the top Chrysler management, whose reliance on "industrial turmoil" has been noted. A subsequent event confirmed their suspicions. When union trouble-shooters, whose task it is to enforce the no-strike pledge, appeared at the struck Chrysler plant, the bitterest opposition to their back-to-work arguments came from a plant committeeman, Ray Lovelace. Despite his efforts, the men voted to end the strike—only to learn that Lovelace had been promoted to a company labor-relations job in the South. "Was this a reward for services rendered?" asked the union.

Where provocation by management fails to achieve more than a momentary work stoppage, the company may resort to lockouts, as in the recent Packard episode. There a small group of men walked out when established grievance procedure was ignored. When the rest of the 20,000 workers reported to work next day, they found the plant gates locked against them. The men hung around or went home—only to read in all three Detroit newspapers, "20,000 Packard Workers Continue to Strike; Cause Unknown." The press generally, hungry for automobile advertising, has played the company game with greater ardor than usual.

The industry's ultimate goal—a return to non-union individual bargaining as it existed in the days of Coolidge—is clear both from its words and from its actions. The Automotive Council for War Production—war-time alias of the Automobile Manufacturers' Association—is actively lobbying for amendments to the Wagner Act and decreased NLRB appropriations; its director, George Romney, has been quoted in the *New York Times* as warning that reconversion will be delayed by "the operation of collective bargaining."

While publicly bemoaning the war-time strikes, Romney has advocated "more democracy for local unions" and has asked the government to "decentralize C. I. O. power." He knows, of course, that it has been the international officers and regional directors who have made the no-strike pledge stick. What better proof that Romney and his principals, like Scoville, want more strikes, not fewer?

The General Motors Corporation has recently issued to all its foremen an order which strikes at the heart of established procedure for collective bargaining. The order requires the foreman to refuse to call a union committeeman to hear an aggrieved worker unless the worker has first given the complete story of his grievance to the foreman. It further orders the foreman to remain present at all times while the worker and the committeeman discuss the grievance. Obviously this will discourage all but the toughest union men from reporting a grievance. And if the union cannot be used for han-

dling grievances, the natural reaction of the worker will be to balk at joining or paying dues to the union.

Chrysler's economist, John W. Scoville, makes it very clear why the corporations are out to destroy the C. I. O. Automobile Workers: "Fair wages are wages that are just high enough to attract the required number of employees of the desired quality. No labor unions are required to secure fair wage rates." But it is with respect to veteran reemployment and seniority that the industry has most obviously tipped its hand, and sown dragon's teeth which may some day cause serious trouble in Detroit. The U. A. W., with 300,000 members in the armed forces, has a staff of seven veterans working full time on veterans' needs. The organization knows what may happen if efforts to turn veteran against worker succeed and has demanded that all collective-bargaining contracts be reopened for the insertion of veteran-seniority clauses. To date none of the Big Three has complied.

Instead, the industry's proposal is to grant to veterans a so-called "super-seniority" which in effect provides that the employer can fire anybody at any time, even a veteran of World War I who has been with the company ever since, in order to put a returned veteran in his place. Having displaced the senior employee, however, the returned veteran does not achieve seniority himself under the company proposal. On the contrary, he can be fired like any other novice after the one year provided in the Selective Service Act. In short, the automobile industry proposes to destroy seniority altogether, for veterans and non-veterans alike, under the guise of providing jobs for returned service men. Ultimately the best protection for the veteran as for everyone else will be jobs for all—60,000,000 jobs. The industry's program is to sell the veteran the notion that the only way for him to get a job is to take it away from someone else.

Detroit has tasted full employment—and the companies don't like its savor. Rufus Tucker, General Motors economist, puts it this way: "I believe that three million is the minimum possible allowance for unemployment, even in years when the demand for labor is high." Actually, Tucker's figures call for seven million unemployed in 1950—the three million mentioned, plus four million others—"practically all the men in the emergency labor force and practically all the women who would normally have retired, and at least two-thirds of the women who would not normally have entered the labor force." Scoville, the Chrysler economist, writing in *Barron's*, adds that the right to a job is "one of the most absurd of the current fallacies"; it could be established only by "replacing freedom with communism."

With so many millions out of work, who will buy Detroit's automobiles? The industry has an answer to that one, too. Current demands on the OPA to permit a 25 per cent price increase for automobiles show one side of the coin. The other side is the low production quota of 200,000 automobiles for the rest of 1945, made necessary by present steel shortages. After six months of such limited production, with plants like Willow Run closed down altogether without plans for reopening, Detroit will have sufficient unemployment and industrial turmoil to satisfy the most turmoil-loving enemy of collective bargaining. Incidentally, limiting automobile production to a few hundred

thousand a quarter, divided among half a dozen companies—instead of the 10,000,000 annual production the U. A. W. says is possible and practicable—will make an unassailable case for price rises and open up a post-war perspective featured by fewer cars, more unemployment, racial tension, veteran unrest, and wider profit margins than ever before. Already progress has been made, with an estimated 120,000 let out of jobs since or in anticipation of V-E Day.

Fortunately, attempts to seat other economic interests on the same post-war toboggan have so far not succeeded. The automobile lobby in Washington has joined hands with food processors and with Senator Lee O'Daniel's Christian America Association to cripple enforcement of the Wagner Act in the food industries through a rider to the NLRB appropriation bill. In return, Ivan McDaniel of the fruit-packing lobby, whose earlier anti-labor activities were uncovered by the La Follette committee, is backing the automobile industry's drive for other anti-labor legislation. But the farm organizations generally have shown a most encouraging unwillingness to go along.

The National Farmers' Union, of course, continues its established policy of farmer-labor cooperation. And neither the Farm Bureau Federation nor the Grange has swallowed the Automotive Council bait. Ed O'Neal, Farm Bureau president, has said, "It is axiomatic that national income cannot be maintained unless labor is practically fully employed, and at fair wages"; and a recent Grange report on foreign trade stressed the need "to maintain full employment and thus assure a basis to preserve our American standard of living for agriculture as well as for industry." Perhaps farm leaders have taken warning from the words of Scoville of Chrysler: "While I condemn collective bargaining as an assault on liberty, as an evil thing . . . I realize that collective bargaining is only one chick in the foul breed of vultures that seek to pick the meat from the bones of honest men. . . . *Farmer schemes for parity prices are of this malignant type.*"

But support for the automobile industry's position is being sought chiefly in the Executive Committee of the N. A. M. George Romney of the Automotive Council, though not a member, sat in on the committee's meetings when it decided not to sign the Labor-Management Charter; subsequently he attacked the charter in a series of radio broadcasts. B. E. Hutchinson, vice-president of Chrysler, attacked particularly the provision in the charter which stipulates that "the fundamental rights of labor to organize and engage in collective bargaining shall be preserved." Hutchinson objected that this provision froze "the present situation in regard to labor law." The N. A. M., however, has not yet surrendered to the voices of reaction from Detroit; members of its Executive Committee have let it be known that Romney was asked to leave the most recent meeting of the committee.

Automobile manufacturers themselves, it is important to note, are not solid in their support of the Automotive Council's program for a return to the labor-relations policies and the scarcity of the Hoover era. Paul Hoffman, president of Studebaker and chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, is working hard to implement the labor-management charter. The Ford Company, though it has joined General Motors and Chrysler in playing veterans off against workers, refrained from the general assault which the industry

launched against unionization at the Mead committee hearings in Detroit in April. Even within the companies which support Romney important executives can be found who see the dangers to democracy in the industry's present course. But their fears are voiced only in their homes and clubs; to date not a single management in Detroit has protested.

Eighteen months ago Charles E. Wilson of General Electric warned the National Association of Manufacturers as follows: "I tell you frankly that I am deeply alarmed today over the possibility that a right-wing reaction may draw some sections of capital so far away from our traditions as to imperil the entire structure of American life as we know it." Consciously or unconsciously, Wilson was describing the present high command of the automobile industry.

## In the Wind

MORE THAN A THOUSAND white Georgians prominent in business and the professions have signed a petition to Congress to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission and signatures are still coming in.

THE JOHN C. WINSTON COMPANY, publishers of dictionaries, will omit the word "nigger" from all future editions, beginning with those copyrighted this year; other terms of racial opprobrium, such as "coon," "dago," "sheeney," and "wop," will be deleted as soon as is technically possible.

MOSS A. PLUNKETT of Roanoke, Virginia, president of the Southern Electoral Reform League and a leader in the fight against the poll tax, will seek the Democratic nomination for Governor of Virginia at the primary on August 7. If he is elected it will be a blow to Senator Harry Flood Byrd, a leader of the anti-New Deal Democrats, who comes up for reelection next year. The present Governor, Colgate W. Darden, Jr., is an important part of the Byrd machine.

PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY for June 9 reports that the Treasury Department has ordered a copy of Stuart Chase's book "Where's the Money Coming From?"

THIS IS FROM A LETTER to the San Francisco *Chronicle* of June 13: "The mere fact that we, as Americans, have suffered more and deprived ourselves of more of the necessities of life than any other people, save for the Chinese, perhaps, denotes that world leadership is our destiny. Furthermore, I suggest that the United Nations Conference should set aside a day during which the delegates might pay homage and respect to us, who have saved them from Nazism."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: R. H. 2328, which would close the mails to material inciting to racial prejudice, is now in the House Committee on Post Offices, headed by Thomas G. Burch of Virginia; H. J. Res. 173, which would authorize a Congressional investigation of Jim Crow baseball, is in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, headed by Clarence F. Lea of California.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## A VISIT TO "DER STUERMER"

BY LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Nürnberg, June 4

REMEMBER the brochures bound in heavy brown or rag paper called "Little Journeys" to the homes of eminent authors, painters, and the like, written by Elbert Hubbard and printed by the Roycroft Brotherhood in East Aurora, New York? My favorite was "A Little Journey to the Home of Albrecht Dürer," the old German artist who lived in the "toy" city of Nürnberg, where Hans Sachs and the Meistersingers loved and joked.

Yesterday I made a visit to Albrecht Dürer's home town to inspect the office of Julius Streicher, who already on November 9, 1923, had marched with Hitler to the Feldherrnhalle in Munich, in the demonstration of premature power which was the baptism by fire of the Nazi movement. Even then he was well known for his anti-Semitic obsession. In the years to come his newspaper, *Der Stürmer*, would be the chief weapon against the Jewish peril. Hitler appointed him Gauleiter of Franconia. He was a heavy, bald man who looked like his own caricatures of the criminal international Jew. He had enormous physical energy and painted thin water colors of sunsets.

Nürnberg, since it was once the most perfect large medieval city in Northern Europe, presents the most sickening aspect of any German ruin. A woman in the street told me that there was one month when prisoners detailed to bury bombing victims worked uninterruptedly in three eight-hour shifts. In Mainz, Frankfurt, Würzburg, even Munich, the interiors of some of the fine churches can at least be restored. Nürnberg is a withered, ferocious horror. Almost the only relatively livable building now standing inside the Old Town is Pfannenschmiedsgasse 19, a modern apartment house, on whose second floor Streicher had his office as editor of the *Stürmer*. The paper was printed across the street. A direct hit at the back of the building blew out all the glass, and a fine heavy layer of dust lies over everything that has not already been carried off.

The entrance hall of the office has the usual photographs of Hitler. A plaster head of Streicher has been smashed. An Islamic cocktail bar is propped in a corner. In the editorial rooms disarray prevails. Proof, papier-mâché mats, old copies of the *Stürmer* lie about. I recognize pictures—hideously retouched—of the Oberbürgermeister von New York, Obergaußer La Guardia, Swearing in a Neger as Advocate Against the White Population; of Anna Rosenberg at a Press Conference Plotting Suppression of Free Speech; of Moritz Fischbein Dictating to non-Jewish Doctors with Roosevelt Protection.

In a smashed bookcase is a whole row of anti-Hitler books—Heiden's biographies, Röhm's "Memoirs," early exposés of Dachau, an American slick-paper comic of "Hitler the Murderer," and the Marley Report. One shelf is devoted to the complete works of Jakob Wassermann; another

shelf holds the Manns—Thomas, Erika, and Klaus. Underneath are violet and green leather-bound, privately printed German translations of Rétif de la Bretonne, the Marquis de Sade, the Earl of Rochester's "Sodom," a set of paper-bound novels in French—"Miss," by Elsie Birchwhip, "Mary et Son Hussard," by Irène. There are also some monographs by Magnus Hirschfeld, Moll, Freud, Krafft-Ebing and a lot of semi-scientific books on male and female prostitution.

These books were formerly locked up. On the open shelves, on two large floors and in the basement, is a very fine miscellaneous library of Jewish material, literary, theological, economic, political, and historical, with a huge collection of ancient texts, silver circumcision plate, and so on. Streicher read no Hebrew, but he kept a little man who did. The library is well card-indexed. Streicher's editorial method was simple. He would go through a book, underline in red what was useful, have it typed off, and then recast it with the proper slant. He had an excellent collection of seventeenth-century anti-Semitic and anti-Masonic books in French and German, lives of Disraeli in English, and Harold Nicolson's "Peacemaking."

This was a book I had wanted someone to send me for a long time. Lucid, clear, honest, and decent, it is certainly among the best source-books of the present war. There is a particularly effective account of the whole Bela Kun affair, Hungary's first faltering attempt to make a Communist regime. It is brilliantly written, with the able virulence of the hereditary diplomat. "Bela Kun was no gentleman." Streicher had heavily underlined it, a juicy bit.

The day before I had gone into the country, about fifty miles from Nürnberg, to Streicher's farm, a huge, modern, three-winged, barn-like factory of a place sitting in the middle of nowhere. Here he had a private week-end study reserved for more concentrated work. The library was less interesting—his own leather-bound selected works, recent contributions to the Mendelian theory, and packages of *Life* and *Fortune* still tied up. He used the pictures in these magazines as they seemed apposite, having them retouched to accentuate doubtful Jewish facial features and filed for the moment in world history when they could be pulled out to point a moral.

There were many photographs in albums showing Streicher as Gauleiter laying cornerstones for Hitler Jugend homes, Streicher stripped to the waist (a real atrocity picture) digging a swimming pool, Streicher marching at the head of a parade, reenacting ten years later the original march to the Feldherrnhalle. This was a horrible photograph: Streicher, a bolt of anthropoid energy, bathed in light, behind him three huge, beatific S. S. guards, breasting, between pylons fuming artificial smoke, serried ranks of heiling hands. But these were not the worst pictures. Streicher kept his own private police files here, like a memory book. There were a lot of line-up portraits of people, very ordinary people, coming from the towns and villages of the vicinity of his farm. Their occupations were given as farmer, postman, notary,

butcher. Below each was pasted a newspaper clipping telling of their condemnation and hanging "for offenses against the security of the state." None of them were Jews. The dates were all added in Streicher's hand.

I spent a busy afternoon in the *Stürmer* office. The art-reference library still bore the bookplates of Jewish owners. So did the Aretino and the Marquis de Sade. There were vellum rolls from Prague and Amsterdam. The musical items, which had been used for the compilation of an elaborate "Jewish Enemy in Music," were from Vienna. There were any number of memorial albums in honor of eminent Jewish scholars, art historians, economists, biologists—mostly collections of essays offered by students on a seventy-fifth birthday, with all the signatures on the flyleaf. Only on leaving did I realize that the cocktail bar, which looked like a Moorish whatnot, had formerly been used as a pulpit.

## Koestler's Alternatives

*THE YOGI AND THE COMMISSAR, AND OTHER ESSAYS.* By Arthur Koestler. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

**S**PATIAL metaphors dominate Arthur Koestler's thinking. One of necessity belongs to either the right or the left, and is either progressive or regressive. The yogi and the commissar are diametrical symbols of crucial alternatives: change from within and change from without. History is forever on the move, either upward or downward. Everything is an affair of planes, of levels, of stages. The war is not "horizontal," like the Spanish war, but "vertical," a Tory war. Freud and Marx are the provenance of his ideas; they satisfy his passion for rough dichotomies and graphic analogies.

Koestler's work is journalistic in that it repeats many familiar beliefs without clarifying or refining them. The great weakness of Marxism, he feels, is its spiritual aridity, its intransigent materialism; but he accepts Freud uncritically, which is to say topographically: the unconscious for him is a literal fact rather than a necessary assumption, rather, that is to say, than a definition of the total area of psychological inquiry, and hence a tautology. (The Freudians tend to regard the unconscious as a primordial mass, the emotional as opposed to the intellectual self, or the private as opposed to the social one; the reverse, as Koestler himself seems to imply in his allusions to Jung's "archetypes," is probably much closer to the truth. Emotion rather than thought is the index of consciousness; the thought process is largely subliminal.) One is scarcely reminded in these pages of Koestler's remarkable narrative gift, his brilliant flair for intellectualized melodrama. The essay is a univocal medium compared with the novel, demanding a different kind and degree of intellectual awareness, which, except perhaps in his piece on the intelligentsia, Koestler is hardly able to furnish.

The Intelligentsia is the best thing in the book, partly because it is something of a self-portrait. Koestler himself has the quality of an archetype. He is, with some variations of course, a kind of platonic idea of the modern intellectual. His work is marked, for one thing, by a certain gratuitous coarseness that, for better or worse, peculiarly belongs to the

corrupt modern sensibility; and he has the vividness, the intensity, and the inflexibility of a true ideologue. It is typical of the pertinacity of his convictions that he should write a methodical, heavily documented indictment of the Soviet Union, charging mainly that it has abandoned the principle of equality, and yet allow himself to say that its "economic structure is historically progressive," and, in the same essay, that "the Russian experiment neither proves nor disproves the possibility of socialism; it was an experiment carried out under the most unfavorable laboratory conditions and hence inconclusive." T. S. Eliot remarks somewhere that wisdom consists largely of uncynical disillusion. Koestler is plainly cynical and, it would appear, undisillusioned.

"In this war," he says, "we are fighting against a total lie in the name of a half-truth," as if it were ever, in the nature of things, reasonable to expect to fight for anything better. It is odd that Koestler, a proponent of dialectics, should ignore this truism. His cynicism amounts, in fact, to a kind of dejected, or inverted, idealism; it is a relaxed, relatively impotent version of the very thing he attacks in "Darkness at Noon." There is a good deal of rather arbitrary pessimism in this book concerning the immediate future. What makes it suspect is that it is virtually identical with Koestler's pessimism about the future of the Socialist movement.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### Tom Paine

**TOM PAINE**, the voice of the American Revolution, was vilified during his lifetime far more viciously than, for example, the "atheist" and "Jacobin" Jefferson, and historians have been slow to set the record straight. The first biography of Paine, published in England after the appearance of "The Rights of Man," was commissioned and paid for by his enemies and issued for the express purpose of discrediting him. A second biography, published in the United States shortly after his death, was written by one of the shrillest opponents of his ideas in America. For years these two books were the chief source of information about his life. It was not until the 1890's that the authoritative biography by Moncreu Conway and a complete edition of Paine's writings appeared. During the past two decades Paine has attracted increasing attention. A new edition of his writings in ten volumes and a biography appeared in 1925. Two years later Mary Agnes Best published her "Tom Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy." Hesketh Pearson's "Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind" appeared in 1937, and Frank Smith's "Thomas Paine: Liberator" in 1938. The most widely known portrait of Paine today, of course, is Howard Fast's novel, "Citizen Tom Paine."

W. E. Woodward, author of the most recent volume about Paine, "Tom Paine: America's Godfather" (Dutton, \$3.50), has shown courage in tackling a subject so recently and so thoroughly preempted by a popular novel. Woodward argues, however, that even an author as aware of Paine's merits as Fast has not been free of the influence of the detractors. He contends that Paine was throughout his life more

abstemious than one would suppose from the novel, that Fast's opening scene describing Paine's first meeting with Franklin is wholly out of character, and that Fast's description of Paine's physical appearance has little relation to fact. But however interesting such matters may be, they are of slight consequence compared to an evaluation of Paine's ideas—which were still dangerous enough ten years after his death for a London bookseller to be fined fifteen hundred pounds and sent to prison for three years for selling copies of his books. And here I suspect that Woodward is rather wide of the mark when he argues that "Paine was not a radical within the meaning of that term as it is used today." Gilbert Chinard has written that the Federalists of Jefferson's day had "paroxysms" of indignation when the President invited the old and ailing Paine to return to the United States from France. I doubt whether the Federalists of today would be more hospitable. But if Woodward offers little in the way of interpretation, he will have performed a public service if he scrapes a little of the mud off Paine's reputation—and an even greater one if he sends a few readers back to "Common Sense," "The Rights of Man," and "The Age of Reason."

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

## The Future in the Pacific

FOR A THOROUGH ORIENTATION in the problems of the Pacific as seen by several scores of our leading authorities in this field, Americans can do no better than to study carefully "Security in the Pacific," a preliminary report of the Ninth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Institute of Pacific Relations, \$2.50). The report summarizes the conference's round-table discussions of such topics as The Future of Japan, Economic Recovery and Progress in Pacific Countries, Cultural and Race Relations, the Future of Dependent Areas, and Collective Security. While sharp differences of opinion on all of these issues are revealed, there is a surprisingly large core of agreement among the experts on many matters which are little understood by the public at large. Only through recognition and appraisal of the conflicting viewpoints can we hope to build a sound and lasting peace in the Pacific.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

## The Challenge of Housing

DOROTHY ROSENMAN has grappled with the housing problem both as a settlement leader and as chairman of the National Committee on Housing. In "A Million Homes a Year" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50), her exposition of causes and cures, there are neither tears for the slum dweller nor cheers for the building industry. There are only hard facts and homily.

The author is not too pessimistic about reduction in building costs and sees hope for greater standardization in due time; she heaves out at the critics of public housing, but saves a few blows for the public-housing enthusiasts too, charging that they stand apart from the community when they should be stimulating private as well as public housing and circulating more facts for lay consumption. She hurls a challenge at industry to come forth and do for housing what it did for the automobile, but then expounds upon the ob-

stacles—blight, high municipal taxes, high land and building costs, poor zoning, and reckless subdivision practices.

The book is sprinkled with interesting tables and information, and a good case is made for action. But like others recently issued, it will leave the reader perplexed. How can the job be done and how soon? With a need for 12,000,000 housing units or more in the next ten years, are we to go back to the same old routine of jerry-building, the same old speculation in homes, and the same old trickle of slum-clearance operations? Mrs. Rosenman says no: city planning is necessary. She wants full employment and also more public works. She sees no need for the middleman who laps up profits on materials as they flow from factory to builder. She wants less speculation in land. She wants many things, in fact. But she doesn't tell the reader when and how housing, her "Cinderella of the industrial era," will ever find the prince. "A method must be found" to cure this ailment, and "attentive consideration" must be given to that ailment, but her prescription is a simple compound of "grit," "determination," "patience," and the "pursuit of facts."

There are many stimulating and informative passages in the book, particularly its defense of the public housing program, but it leaves unanswered the big current question, which even the government has dodged: "Where do we go from here?"

CHARLES ABRAMS

## Uncommunicated Excitement

QUENTIN REYNOLDS says of Alice Leone-Moats, author of "No Passport for Paris" (Putnam, \$2.50), that you could drop her into a potato patch in the County Donegal and she would find something to write about, and I quite agree. She would write two sentences about potatoes, a patronizing chapter on the potato growers, and several volumes about the more distinguished of the persons she charmed or outwitted or talked to a standstill. It would all be very, very mysterious and important—and boring. That, at least, is how I find this garrulous book. In some quarters Miss Moats has been regarded as an apologist for Franco. That is not really so, for though her book can be quite unpleasant in its general frivolity, it contains many statements which are critical of the Franco regime. Perhaps it would be just to say that Miss Moats shows little capacity for moral indignation about great matters. She is prone to minimize well-mannered evil.

The second part of the book deals with Miss Moats's clandestine journey into occupied France, for which she was severely reprimanded by the State Department. Without being ready to declare a belief that she has told the whole truth about that escapade, I cannot for the life of me understand why she did it unless it was for the excitement, which she has failed to communicate. Certainly few journalists have ever failed so miserably to make an adventure interesting. And when one notes the comparative ease and comfort of her emotions in circulating among Frenchmen who were risking their lives, one is almost moved to anger. The State Department was making too much of a small matter, but the underground officials who took Miss Moats into France would certainly not have had my trust. A wordy, dull book of unimportant sensations and political chatter, of conservative but not perverse import.

RALPH BATES

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# Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

IN 1936 Toscanini recorded with the New York Philharmonic the performances of Dawn and Siegfried's Rhine Journey from Wagner's "Götterdämmerung" and the Prelude to "Lohengrin" that are in Victor Set 308. About three years ago Victor issued, in Set 853, a recording of a later performance of the "Götterdämmerung" music by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony; and now it has issued, on 11-8807 (\$1), a recording of their later performance of the "Lohengrin" Prelude that must have been made at the same time, since it has the same characteristics. In certain important respects the recorded sound of the later performances is superior to that of the earlier ones; but in others that are no less important it is the sound of the earlier ones that is superior. The later ones are recorded with a wider frequency-range, which gives the sound a distinctness, liveliness, and brilliance on top that it lacks on the old record—the high violins and woodwinds in the first part of the Prelude being breathtakingly real and beautiful. But as the piece continues and the sound descends one hears that the later performance is recorded with insufficient bass, which deprives it of the body and depth that it has on the old record; and as it builds up to its climax one hears that it is recorded with a limitation on volume, which deprives that climax of the massiveness and power, and the entire performance of the correct organic proportions, that they have on the old record. Apart from all this, the sound of the new recording, which was made in Carnegie Hall, is very beautiful, with none of the hardness and reverberance of even the best of the recordings made in Studio 8H.

There are a few extraneous noises; but they are not disturbing.

Victor also has issued, in one of its useless new 25-cent "showpiece albums," the recently made recording of Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony of Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloé" Suit No. 2 (Set SP-1; \$2.25). The music is marvelously orchestrated trash; the performance has long been one of the wonders of our time, unequaled by any other. I speak of the performance as I have heard it in New York—of the particular sonorities, of their refinement, glow, shimmer, and radiance in the particular, and superior, acoustic conditions of Carnegie Hall. I probably would not hear them in Symphony Hall; and probably they could not be reproduced completely by any recording; certainly they are not by either the old or the new one. Here again it turns out that the new one has obvious and important points of superiority over the old; but that the old one is not without important points of superiority over the new. Again there is evidence of the vastly extended frequency-range in the wonderful distinctness and liveliness of the murmuring strings and woodwinds at the beginning, the brilliance on top as the violins take over the melody from the cellos. But again there is evidence of insufficient bass in the lack of depth and body in the wonderful chord that is the climax of that melodic line and one of the great moments of the performance. There is too much bass in the old recording; but it gives that chord its effect. Moreover, the reverberation in Symphony Hall that produced such noisy confusion in the loud portions of "Harold in Italy" also produces it at the climaxes of "Daphnis et Chloé"—for example, at the end of the first side. The old recording is free of this; and the absence of excessive reverberation may be one reason for its greater smoothness and refinement of sound in quieter passages; but another reason may be the fact that the older performance itself is more relaxed. I hope, therefore, that the old recording will be retained in the catalogue.

Oddly enough, a recording (11-8745; \$1) of a performance of Mendelssohn's "Hebrides" or "Fingal's Cave" Overture by Fiedler with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra has excellent balance of treble and bass in its beautiful sound, and no trace of excessive reverberation. The work is charming; the performance good.

Victor's other June releases have not yet arrived.

## CONTRIBUTORS

MICHAEL CLARK, an accredited correspondent of *The Nation*, was in the Middle East from 1942 to 1944 and is on his way back there now.

KLAUS MANN, son of Thomas Mann and well known as a novelist in his own right, is now on the staff of the Mediterranean edition of *Stars and Stripes*.

IRVING RICHTER is the national legislative representative of the United Automobile Workers, C. I. O. He has written for the *Journal of Political Economy* and other publications.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN is in Germany with the Third Army, attached to the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ has contributed to the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Kenyon Review*.

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# Letters to the Editors

## THE FISCHER-NATION DEBATE

THE response from our readers on the exchange of letters between Louis Fischer and *The Nation* indicates a three-to-one support of *The Nation's* position. The many comments we have received from all sections of the country show how widespread is the concern over American relations with Russia and their effect on world peace. Limitations of space prevent our printing any of the letters in full. Several have been summarized below.

Reinhold Niebuhr, one of our contributing editors, supports *The Nation's* position in general terms but believes that we are oversimplifying the problem when we say that, despite mistakes, the Russians have a more rigorous anti-fascist policy than the Americans. Mr. Niebuhr points out that Russia is using fascist forces in Rumania and Hungary. "If Russia destroys the independence of Czechoslovakia completely, as now seems likely, and if it refurbishes Marxism as an instrument of policy in the central and western parts of Europe, while holding the eastern part through pan-Slavism, etc., this will present us with problems that transcend the fascist-anti-fascist category you use. Our primary mistake may not be the use of fascist forces but the general lack of a creative economic policy. Russia's mistake will be that it will destroy possibilities of mutual security by unilateral actions, prompted by fear but creating the object it fears."

Raymond Walsh, New York City, feels that *The Nation's* record is completely sound and that the editors have handled the magazine in an excellent way during a terribly difficult period."

Jacob Fishman, New York City, is "not exactly in love with Mr. Fischer's acrobatics," but neither can he "fathom the intellectual myopia of *The Nation* about Russia." He asks whether the formation of Communist Party cells throughout the world and the sealing off of its own territory and of countries within its sphere of influence are part of Russia's "security policy."

Joseph Kovner, Washington, D. C., holds that liberals have had to make many compromises "in supporting the war as a struggle against fascism." He

believes that *The Nation* has, in a sense, "mortgaged its principles and has taken for security the promises of statesmen and the I. O. U.'s of its own wishful thinking." He doubts that it is "the function of a liberal magazine to bargain with expediency for the sake of apparent action" and suggests that we should rather press for freedom and human rights "above all considerations of power politics and the security of official organizations."

Neal Gilkyson, Washington, D. C., read Mr. Fischer's letter with "alarm and indignation." She insists that "the whole business of objective reporting has become more or less a myth and that the merit of a partisan journal is determined by the values it cleaves to." She approves those of *The Nation* and contrasts them with "that notoriously objective magazine, *Time*."

Dean Beslich, San Francisco, California, who has read *The Nation* for thirty years and describes himself as "merely one of the customers," supports our position and suggests that in view of the crucial issues that lie ahead liberals can ill afford to bother much about the Louis Fischers of the world.

A. E. Swan, Madison, South Dakota, feels that Mr. Fischer's accusations are actually compliments. He points out that no magazine engaged in interpreting important news of the day can avoid having an attitude for or against democracy, world cooperation, and so on, and that such an attitude can always be dismissed as a "line" by those opposing it.

William Weber, Detroit, Michigan, who is eighty-nine and has read *The Nation* for seventy years, criticizes us for not having taken the first steps in severing relations with Mr. Fischer. (Several other readers expressed similar sentiments.) Mr. Weber warns that preparations are being made for World War III by the Catholic hierarchy, British Tories, and certain elements in the State Department.

Eva Robin, New York City, who says she once regarded Mr. Fischer as a "guide and teacher," writes a letter of personal reminiscence excoriating his anti-Soviet bias.

C. H. Coyle, Berwyn, Illinois, congratulates *The Nation* on Mr. Fischer's

resignation and states that only a distinctly anti-Soviet tone, not an impartial one, would have pleased him.

Daniel Kester, Wichita, Kansas, says that anti-Russian sentiment has been developed by capitalists, imperialists, and Roman Catholics to goad the American people into an economic war with Russia.

W. W. Lyman, St. Helena, California, a subscriber of thirty years' standing, asks if it is not "evident that Russia's attitude is due to the anti-Russian basis of fascism rather than to a dislike of fascism per se. To say that to see Russian conditions clearly and to judge them according to the fundamental principles of justice is to promote war with Russia is obviously untrue. We got on very well with Czarist Russia and get on very well with Vargas's Brazil. Stalin is a 'realist'; he might even be influenced in the direction of democracy by a powerful and candid world opinion."

James A. Hardy, Saginaw, Michigan, agrees with *The Nation's* position and discusses local attitudes toward Russia. "It is quite disturbing that so many people out here show an anti-Russian bias. Heretofore it had been held down by the war. But now newspapers carrying articles by people like von Wiegand and H. J. Taylor are stirring up latent anti-Russian sentiments. The official attitude on lend-lease to Russia is baffling. All shipments of completed machines have been sent to storage depots this past month, and now orders have come through to hold up all production work pending further notice. It may be that this is part of pressure diplomacy, but it certainly seems like a good way to get the Russians upset."

Our subscription department was gratified to note that four readers expressed material support of *The Nation* by renewing subscriptions because of Mr. Fischer's resignation. No cancellations have yet resulted, although Joseph Kovner warned us that he does "not now intend to cancel" his subscription. Mrs. Elizabeth Uhling of West Allis, Wisconsin, indulged in a "hollow laugh" when she thought of the \$20 she had contributed to what she had hoped "would be a better cause."

